LA CHANSON DE ROLAND

T. A. JENKINS

Heath's Modern Language Series

LA CHANSON DE ROLAND

OXFORD VERSION

EDITION, NOTES AND GLOSSARY

BY

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UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

REVISED EDITION

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TO

THE MEMORY OF

Beatrice Jenkins Reed

1895–1922

CHI LA CONOBBE

PIANGE

PREFACE

THE present edition of the Old French *Chanson de Roland*, the first to appear with an English commentary and glossary, had its inception in the classroom. Having used, for more years than one likes to remember, the serviceable and unpretentious *Extraits* published by Gaston Paris (1887 and later), the editor desired that American students, beginners in Old French, might have the complete poem at hand, edited to meet their needs. While the work has developed somewhat in the making, it remains essentially an *édition classique* — in the French sense of that phrase — and it should be judged as such.

This edition is intended for College and University students in the English-speaking countries, and for that part of the lettered public which already knows Dante and Chaucer and which may desire a closer acquaintance with the most famous of the Old French epics. The recent appearance of three or four new English translations indicates that such a widespread interest exists, stimulated, no doubt, by our late associations with France and by rumors of discoveries in the field of *Roland* criticism. I have tried to present sympathetically, and as a whole, the epic lay which Mr. A. S. Way, perhaps with some exaggeration, describes as "the first great popular poem written after the coming of our Lord." It was composed, it is now believed, to excite enthusiasm for a crusade, to conserve the higher aims of a crusade, and to strengthen in the leaders of the French people the idea of their world mission: as such it was, and it will always remain, an integral part of the history of France.

Any editor of the Bodleian manuscript is confronted with many thorny problems; these concern not only readings and the meaning of the author-poet, but also linguistic matters, particularly meter, inflections, and spelling. As to the last, a word of explanation may be said here.

I have spelled the close (*o*) sound with the letter (*o*), following the example of G. Paris, wishing, as he did, to present Old French as a stage of language intermediate between Latin and modern French. It will be remembered that the Bodleianus itself is by no means uniform in its use of (*u*) for this sound: in the first 1000 lines, the spellings *home*, *proz*, *meillor*, *por*, *bon*, *baron* are tolerably frequent. For Lat. nos, the exact figures are: *nos* 5, *nus* 12, while for Lat. vos we have *vos* 80 times, *vus* 18. The MS making no difference between *jor* and *jur*, *maior* and *maiur*, *aorer* and *aurer*, I have chosen, for pedagogical purposes, to write (*o*) uniformly: that there is here any real loss in authenticity cannot be seriously maintained, while the gains are such as will be evident to any teacher.

In the course of this long task, I have had to knock at many doors. Cordial thanks are due to colleagues in Chicago, particularly to W. A. Nitze, Karl Pietsch, and James Westfall Thompson; also to E. S. Sheldon, E. C. Armstrong, and Lucy M. Gay. I owe more than one fruitful idea to Lucien Foulet, with whom I had the pleasure of "talking Roland," not on the field of Roncesvaux, but within the precincts of the Norman Abbey of Le Bec, where Turoldus spent the last of his troubled days.

T. A. J.

After six years it has seemed desirable to introduce a number of changes and additions, some of them suggested by further study, others recommended by critics and reviewers. For valuable aid in making the poem better understood and hence more attractive, the editor and the scholarly public are indebted, among others, to Messrs. Jeanroy, Wilmotte, Waters, Shepard, Ford, and especially to Bédier, whose volume of *Commentaries* is the most recent important event in the domain of *Roland* criticism.

T. A. J.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Name of the Poem

The *Song of Roland*, the oldest, the most interesting, and the most famous of the French epics, or *chansons de geste*, might also, and perhaps with greater reason, be called a *Song of Charlemagne and Roland:* when we omit from the title the name of Charles, King and Emperor of the Franks, we are laying more weight upon the subsequent interpretations and developments of the poem than upon the evident intentions of its author.

It is true that William of Malmesbury, writing sometime before 1127, in his account of the battle of Hastings, says:

Tunc *cantilena Rollandi* inchoata ut martium viri exemplum pugnaturos accenderet, inclamatoque Dei auxilio, prœlium consertum . . .

Then beginning the song of *Rolland*, that the warlike example of that man might stimulate the soldiers, and calling on God for assistance, the battle commenced . . .

But we cannot be entirely sure that William of Malmesbury is speaking of the poem which now goes by the name of the *Song of Roland:* if only he had been more explicit! We are sure, however, that Guiraut de Cabreira, a Catalan nobleman, is referring to our poem on Roncesvaux, Ganelon and the Twelve Peers, when, in an *Ensenhamen* written soon after the close of the twelfth century, he says:

Pauc as apres
Que non sabs jes
De la gran gesta de Carlon . . .

Little hast thou learned,
For thou knowest naught
Of the great Gest of Charles . .

Dante does not name the poem, but speaks of the disaster of Roncesvaux as

> la dolorosa rotta, quando
> Carlo Magno perdè la santa gesta, . . .
>
> the dolorous rout, when
> Charlemagne lost the sacred company, . . .

The important manuscript known as Venice IV announces the poem thus:

> Desor començа li traiment de Gayne
> E de Rollant li nef de Çarle el Mayne.
>
> From now begins the treason of Ganelon,
> And about Rollant the nephew of Charlemagne.

But at the end we find: *Explicit liber tocius Romani ronciualis.* Thus it is that some scholars have used a title other than *The Song of Roland:* Boehmer entitled his edition of the poem *Rencesval*, and Gaston Paris spoke of the *Chanson de Roland, ou de Roncesvaux.* It is not of course proposed to lengthen the name consecrated by present usage, but only to commend as quite true the statement of Léon Gautier: "Le rôle de Charlemagne n'y est pas effacé par celui de Roland, et l'empereur y garde réellement le premier rang." (Cf. A. Vétault, *Charlemagne*, 1877, p. 475). In the *fabliau* of the *Two Rascally Jesters* (thirteenth century) one of them makes the claim:

> Ge sai bien chanter a devise . . .
> De Charlemaigne et de Roulant,
> Et d'Olivier le combatant.
>
> (*Des Deus Bordeors Ribauz*, v. 309)

We may believe that if the Oxford manuscript had been given a superscription, it might well have been: Ço est de Charlemaigne et de Rollant.

II. Outline of the Poem

The *Song of Roland*, in the Oxford version,[1] is in outline as follows:

Charlemagne, king and emperor, during an arduous campaign of seven years, has conquered all of Spain except the city of Saragossa, which the pagan King Marsile still holds.

King Marsile holds a council, at which, upon the advice of Blancandrin, it is determined to send an embassy to Charles offering service, friendship, and hostages, and bearing rich gifts; this embassy is to promise that Marsile will come to Aix-la-Chapelle by a certain date, that he will turn Christian, and become the vassal of Charles. But, even though their hostages may be put to death, the Saracens have no intention of keeping any of these promises (verses 1–61).

Ten ambassadors, headed by Blancandrin, proceed to Cordres, (Córdova?), where Charles is only just in possession of the city. Surrounded by his knights, the Emperor receives the embassy, listens to their proposals and returns a non-committal answer (156). The next day, a council of the Franks is held, a council fruitful in disaster. Charles doubts the good faith of his enemy, and Count Roland, in a fiery speech, would flatly reject the proposals, move the army at once to Saragossa, capture that city and thus avenge the execution of two former ambassadors of the Franks. Ganelon, brother-in-law of the Emperor and stepfather of Roland, opposes this plan; he is seconded by the sage Duke Naimon, and the weighty advice of these two, which is to accept the proposals, is approved by acclamation (–243).

Charles then invites the Franks to nominate the customary messenger to carry this decision to King Marsile. Naimon, Roland, and Archbishop Turpin of Reims in turn volunteer for

[1] The Oxford manuscript, kept at the Bodleian Library, has 3998 lines in all; to these all editors are agreed in adding 4 lines from other manuscripts. In the present edition, 9 other lines are added, making 4011 lines in all. These additions, with two exceptions, are all placed in brackets. Stengel, in 1900, made additions of no less than 637 lines, nearly all from V^4.

the dangerous mission, but they are all objected to by Charles: neither the veterans nor any of the Twelve Peers shall be exposed to so grave a risk. Roland then nominates Ganelon, "my stepfather" (or possibly he means "my pseudo-father") and the Franks approve this choice.

At this, the proud and handsome Count Ganelon is enraged; his sudden anger, which seems to be due, in the first instance, to some long-standing irritation against his stepson, is not explained until much later (vv. 3758–59). He utters threats against Roland, who nevertheless offers to go in his place. More high words follow, but Ganelon accepts the commission, after formally defying Roland and Oliver, and also the Twelve Peers because they are Roland's friends. On taking the glove, symbol of official appointment, from the hand of Charles, it falls to the ground, an evil omen. Charles then hands him the rod and the brief. Ganelon says farewell to his men, commending his son Baldwin to them as their lord in case of mishap, and sends greetings to his wife and to Pinabel, his friend and peer (–365).

Ganelon and Blancandrin, on the return journey to Saragossa, fall into converse about Charlemagne. According to the still angry Ganelon, it is Roland and the French, the former unbearably haughty and the latter greedy for spoils, who are really responsible for the Spanish war: the two ambassadors agree that Roland should be put out of the way. At Saragossa, the King of all Spain receives them in the midst of a great crowd, all eager to hear what shall be said. Blancandrin reports that Charles made no immediate response to Marsile's offers, but that he has sent a noble baron who will disclose whether or not there is to be peace (–424).

Ganelon, thus introduced, now speaks with great subtlety: Charles understands that Marsile will turn Christian, but Marsile must be content with only half of Spain; in case of refusal (this threat appears to be of Ganelon's invention) he will be put to a shameful death at Aix. Marsile is enraged, and is only prevented by bystanders from striking at Ganelon with his spear. The

French baron draws his sword, but the chief Saracens intervene: the Algalif (Caliph), uncle of Marsile, counsels patience. "Nothing shall prevent me," cries Ganelon, "from delivering the message entrusted to me," and the pagan crowd is greatly impressed by his noble bearing. Ganelon, standing now nearer to Marsile, repeats his message, stating (again this appears to be his own addition) that it is Roland who is to be lord of the other half of Spain, "and an overbearing colleague, a haughty partner, you will have!" He then delivers Charles' sealed brief: this makes no reference to the conditions twice verbally rehearsed (with additions) by Ganelon, but merely refers to the fact that no reparation has been made for the murder of the two former French ambassadors; it requires, as a condition to the peace, that the Caliph, the King's uncle, be delivered up as a hostage. Prince Jurfaleu, son of Marsile, indignant, here offers to make an end of Ganelon, but Blancandrin now reveals that the French ambassador is ready to make a proposal favorable to the Saracen cause, and Marsile apologizes for his hasty display of temper. Ganelon, strange to say, piques himself upon remaining technically loyal to his lord Charles; he has delivered (with insulting additions of his own) the royal message; he even takes pains to eulogize Charlemagne in the highest terms. Pursuing the same policy, he advises Marsile not to attack the Emperor and the main army of the French, but to renew his promise to accept Charles' conditions, with costly gifts and false news of the death of the Caliph; let Roland and the rear-guard be ambushed when Charles shall be well over the mountains on his way home; Roland once destroyed, Spain will be the scene of no more invasions. Marsile welcomes this advice, and Ganelon is loaded with costly presents and departs in safety (–660).

Meantime, at the deserted city of Galne, Charles awaits the return of his embassy. Ganelon soon arrives with rich presents and twenty hostages. The Caliph is not among the hostages, he explains, because, unfortunately, he has been drowned. Marsile, he continues, accepts all the conditions and will present himself at Aix within a month's time. "God be thanked!" cries Charles,

"you have done well, and deserve a great reward," and the homeward march is begun (–702).

Meantime, a host of Saracens, by forced and secret marches, occupies the foothills of the Pyrenees. Charlemagne is disquieted by two ominous dreams. Next day, it is a question as to the disposal of his forces: Ganelon is at hand and nominates Roland "this step-son of mine," for the rear-guard, and Ogier the Dane for the vanguard. Roland sees no more in this move than a petty revenge for his own former nomination of Ganelon; he accepts the commission with pride. Naimon counsels Charles to be cautious, and the Emperor offers Roland one-half of the whole army; this, Roland imprudently refuses on the ground that it would be a disgrace to accept more than twenty thousand, and it is so arranged (–802).

Roland designates Gautier of the Hum for scout duty to protect Charles' column, and the Emperor descends safely into Gascony. Charles is strangely depressed in spirits; he confides to Duke Naimon that he suspects Ganelon of treachery and that he fears for Roland's safety. Meantime, Marsile has assembled his immense army, which advances until in sight of Roland's banners. Aëlroth, a nephew of Marsile, demands as a favor the first blow at Roland, also that he be allotted eleven valiant companions to oppose the Twelve Peers. Enumeration and boasts of these twelve Saracens, who arm themselves in a grove of pines (–993).

The first pagan division, under Aëlroth, advances, magnificently equipped. A thousand trumpets add to the dazzling effect; the French hear this sound. Oliver is the first to speak and to act: he mounts a high hill, sees the host of enemies on the march, and immediately suspects that they have been betrayed by Ganelon; but the haughty Roland will listen to no such suspicion of his mother's husband (–1027).

Again Oliver ascends a hill: the Saracen host seems to be innumerable. Deeply dismayed he descends, and, looking about upon the slender forces of the French, he urges Roland to use his horn, the "Olifant," to call to King Charles for assistance. "I

should be a fool to do so," replies Roland; "my reputation in sweet France would be lost; let these wicked heathen advance, they are doomed to certain death." A second and even a third time Oliver urges Roland to be prudent, but in vain. Oliver is consumed with mortal anxiety, but Roland remains incredibly serene, confident in the valor of the twenty thousand. On their knees, Archbishop Turpin gives the French knights absolution, and they arm for battle. Roland is by this time convinced that they have been ambushed and betrayed by Ganelon; but, sold out as they are, the King of Spain has yet to get possession of what he has bought. Portrait of Count Roland, seated upon Veillantif, his good war-horse. Oliver, still a prey to apprehension, reminds Roland that he must not blame Charles if disaster should overtake them, and the first clash of arms is heard (–1187).

WILLIAM I AND HAROLD
Broigne. — *Lance* (or *Espiêt*) with *Gonfanon.* Bayeux Tapestry, 11th century.

First, Prince Aëlroth, he who had asked for the first blow, is slain by Roland; then Duke Falsaron by Oliver. King Corsablis, the Berber, is overcome by Archbishop Turpin, Malprimes of Brigal by Gerin, the Emir of Balaguer by Gerier, the Emir of Moriane by Sanson, Torgis of Tortelose by Anseïs the Fierce, Escremiz of Valterne by Berengier. The comely Margarit of Seville attacks Oliver, but, strange to say, escapes from his counter-attack. Roland, drawing his sword "Durendal," slays the monstrous Chernuble (–1337).

Further exploits of Roland and Oliver, of Gerin and Gerier, of Archbishop Turpin, and others. Thus Ganelon's treachery is at work, but patience! he will be well punished in the end. Desperate valor of the French; strange omens in France foreshadow the imminent death of Roland. Of the hundred thousand pagans only two thousand remain alive, and the Archbishop compliments the French: but at this moment, the main army, led by Marsile himself and mustering twenty divisions, issues from a valley. Roland is now doubly sure of the treachery of Ganelon (–1466).

MANNER OF USING THE LANCE (OR ESPIÉT). — SHIELDS
Bayeux Tapestry, 11th century.

Renewal of the battle on a larger scale. The Archbishop slays a cruel Saracen, Abisme. Detailed description of the Archbishop's remarkable war-horse. The French are dismayed at the numbers confronting them; Turpin, in the name of the Church, promises paradise to those who may be killed, and the French, with splendid courage, cry "Monjoie!" Climborin of Saragossa slays Engelier; whereat Oliver is angered and slays Climborin and two others, then unhorses seven Arabites. Valdabron slays Sanson, and is in turn slain by Roland; Malquidant of Africa kills Anseïs the Fierce, and is in turn slain by Turpin; a terrible

combat between Grandónie and Roland is ended by Roland's prodigious blow. In that part of the field, the Saracens, terrified, are turned and driven, calling upon Marsile for reinforcements (–1670).

Elsewhere Turpin, hard pressed, is succored by Roland and Oliver. At this stage all but sixty of the French have been slain. Roland, regretting at last that Charlemagne was not recalled, himself now proposes to use the Olifant, but now it is Oliver who objects strenuously. Roland proposes a second time to recall Charles, and then Oliver is angry; he acknowledges Roland's heroism but reproaches him for foolhardiness. He even threatens to break off Roland's betrothal to his sister, the fair Alda. The Archbishop Turpin intercedes to compose this unhappy quarrel: he would recall Charles, so that the French dead may at least have decent burial and the pagans be punished. Roland's miraculous triple blast on the Olifant. Charles rightly interprets the sound of the distant horn, and, in spite of Ganelon's ridicule and dissuasion, turns and hurries back across the mountains. Ganelon is seized and thrown into chains (–1829).

Charles is still distant from Roncesvaux. The sixty brave French continue the struggle against overwhelming odds. Roland, looking about him, weeps at the sight of the dead. Returning to the fight, he slays a score or more of Saracens, and is complimented by Turpin. Marsile slays Bevon, lord of Beaune and of Dijon; also three other French knights. Roland meets and attacks King Marsile, cuts off his right hand, and slays his son Jurfaleu: at this, about a hundred thousand Saracens flee the field; but the Caliph, Marsile's uncle, now leads forward, with their terrifying cries, a reserve of fifty thousand blacks. Roland perceives that he and his companions are surely doomed, but they courageously face these infidels. The Caliph himself, coming from behind, deals Oliver a mortal blow; Oliver turns and slays him, and fights on heroically. Roland, daunted by Oliver's terrible plight, faints upon his horse; Oliver, blinded by his own blood, strikes Roland by mistake. The death of Oliver. Roland laments his friend and faints a second time. Gautier of the

Hum appears and calls for help: at the sound of Gautier's voice, Roland revives. Joining forces with Turpin, the three attack again with great slaughter, but Gautier is slain and Turpin badly wounded. The Archbishop alone, though wounded and on foot, slays four hundred. Roland's feeble blast is at last answered by Charlemagne's sixty thousand trumpets; the Saracens, alarmed, detach four hundred picked knights and surround Roland and Turpin; these two, undaunted, still face their enemies. At bay, they have taken a stand together; the Saracens, afraid to approach, throw a multitude of darts and spears from a safe distance. They kill Roland's horse, and, when at last assured that Roland is mortally wounded, they hasten from the field (–2165).

Count Roland makes his way to the aid of Turpin. Next he seeks the dead bodies of his companions, ranges them at the knees of the Archbishop, who gives them his benediction. Roland brings in Oliver's body last of all, and laments for his friend. Roland loses consciousness, and Turpin, in trying to fetch water, falls dead, his heart failing him. Roland, recovering, catches the last words of Turpin, and laments his death. He tries to preserve Durendal and the Olifant from enemies; a treacherous Saracen, who had feigned death, tries to take the sword, but is felled by a blow with the Olifant. Roland essays to shatter Durendal;[1] unable to harm the sword, he bids it a long farewell, lies down, confesses his sins, reviews his life, prays, then dies (–2397).

Arrival of Charlemagne on the field of battle; his bitter outcries. Naimon recalls him to the duty of vengeance. The pursuit begins, and there is a miraculous lengthening of the day. The Saracens, overtaken at the river Ebro, make no serious resistance; all are killed or drowned in the stream. Charles gives thanks to God, and camps for the night along the river, but he lies down armed with sword and lance. Wakeful at first from grief, he finally sleeps and is disquieted by two portentous visions (–2569).

[1] This scene, depicted on the Charlemagne Window in the Cathedral of Chartres, is reproduced on the cover of this book.

Marsile's return to Saragossa; the grief and laments of his Queen, Bramimonde. It now appears that Baligant, the great Emir of Cairo, had been summoned by Marsile during the first year of the Spanish war; with a fleet he has sailed from Alexandria for the mouth of the Ebro. Landing just after the battle, he informs Marsile of his arrival, and holds a council of war. Experiences of Baligant's messengers in Saragossa: the Queen perversely praises Charlemagne and the French; Marsile sends word he will relinquish his fief to Baligant if the latter will drive Charles out of Spain. Greatly surprised to learn of Marsile's defeat and mutilation, Baligant himself journeys hurriedly to Saragossa and interviews the Spanish King, who surrenders his fief to him. Full of confidence, Baligant returns and prepares for a great and final conflict (–2844).

Meantime, Charlemagne has returned to Roncesvaux; he seeks first for the body of Roland and faints away upon finding it; his long lament for Roland. Jeffrey of Anjou recalls him to the duty of burying the dead; the bodies of Roland, Oliver, and Turpin receive special honors. Charles is starting on his sorrowful homeward march when two messengers appear, bearing a peremptory challenge from the Emir Baligant. Looking proudly about upon his men, Charlemagne calls upon them to arm (–2986).

Charles arms himself, so do his vassals; he deputes Naimon and Jozerant to organize the army: there are two divisions of Franks, one of Bavarians, one of Alemans, one of Normans, one of Bretons, one of the men of Poitou and Auvergne, one of Flemings and Frisians, one of the men of Lorraine and Burgundy; each division has its leader. The tenth division is of French barons, under Charles' own command. The Emperor prays for victory; the French, hearing once more the booming of the Olifant, weep at the memory of Roland. They enter the Spanish marches (–3129).

The Emir Baligant prepares for battle; his portrait; portrait of his son Malprimes; the two converse as to the approaching contest. Malprimes is promised a fair kingdom, stretching from

Kairouan to Morocco (?) if he succeeds in silencing the Olifant, but, alas for him! Fate willed it quite otherwise (–3213).

Baligant's forces comprise thirty divisions: enumeration of the first ten, the second ten, and the third ten divisions; ceremonies of the pagans; Baligant personally directs three divisions, and the two armies draw near. Discourse of Baligant to his brother, King Canabeus; Charlemagne also harangues his men, and the fronts are engaged (–3351).

CRUSADERS AND MOSLEMS
From a stained-glass window, formerly at the Abbey of St. Denis, 12th century.

Two French knights, Rabel and Guineman, are designated in the place of Roland and Oliver. Count Rabel is victorious over Torleu, king of Persia, while Count Guineman slays the king of the Wilzes. Malprimes assails the Franks, his father meantime anxiously watching the outcome. The engagement becomes general, the Emir and Charlemagne both urge on their men. Malprimes is slain by Duke Naimon, who is in turn fiercely attacked by King Canabeus and only rescued by Charles himself. Baligant slays four French knights, and other Saracens attack with great fury. Baligant offers a prayer to the three pagan gods, and consults the sage Jangleu as to the outcome: the reply is unfavorable, but the Emir rallies his forces and the French lose seven thousand. The veteran Ogier becomes alarmed for Charles' fortunes, but, at this moment, Jeffrey of Anjou overthrows the standard of Bali-

gant, thus bringing momentary consternation to the pagans. All day long the battle rages; towards evening, Charles and Baligant meet in gigantic single combat. The Emir proposes a pact, which Charles rejects. The Emperor receives a terrific blow, but Saint Gabriel reinvigorates him and finally he slays Baligant. Flight and pursuit of the Saracens, even to the gates of Saragossa (–3635).

At the news of this second and more crushing defeat, the crippled Marsile turns his face to the wall, and dies. Charlemagne captures the city, exterminates all vestiges of paganism therein, and retains Queen Bramimonde a prisoner. On the return to Aix, he leaves the Olifant at Bordeaux, buries Roland, Oliver, and Turpin at Blaye, and hastens home to prepare the trial of Ganelon (–3704).

But first, in his palace at Aix, Charlemagne receives a visit from the fair Alda, who comes to ask for news of Count Roland, her betrothed. Charles, in tears, confesses that his nephew is no more, and offers Louis, his son and heir, in Roland's stead. But the lady, stricken to the heart, dies at the Emperor's feet, amid the laments of the French barons. She is buried with great ceremony in a convent of nuns, richly endowed by King Charles (–3733).

Ganelon has been awaiting his trial; before the palace at Aix he is chained to a stake; serfs insult and beat him with sticks and gambrils. By the day of the high festival of Saint Sylvester, all is in readiness. Charles formally accuses the prisoner of treason: "he was in the army and caused me to lose twenty thousand Franks, and Roland and Oliver, and the Twelve Peers. This he did because of bribes." Ganelon answers: "I shall hide nothing! Roland was insufferably superior in money and in wealth, wherefore I sought his death, but that is not treason." The scene is striking, for Ganelon is handsome, the French and many other judges are present, while no less than thirty of Ganelon's relatives are on hand to support him. Ganelon, now addressing the assembly, attempts to throw the blame upon Roland: "I was a faithful vassal in the Emperor's army, when

Roland began to hate me, and sought to compass my death by having me sent to King Marsile. I formally defied him, and Oliver, and the Peers; Charles heard me, so did his barons. A case of private vengeance, yes, but not an act of treason." The case is difficult, and the Franks withdraw to deliberate (–3779).

Among Ganelon's friends and peers is Pinabel, a man of distinction. To him the prisoner now appeals for help, and not in vain. The judges, in awe of Pinabel, decide to ask Charles to overlook the offense. When this plan is proposed it meets with general approval; only Thierry of Anjou, brother of Jeffrey, dissents. The barons return to Charlemagne's presence and report their unwelcome decision. The Emperor, powerless, is in despair, but Thierry stepping forward, champions Charles' suit, offering battle to any one of Ganelon's relatives who will accept the challenge. The volatile Franks now applaud the youthful Thierry (–3837).

Pinabel, a formidable opponent, at once accepts the wager of battle. To Charles he extends his righthand glove, and thirty of his relatives pledge their fiefs that they will produce him at the appointed hour. Thierry likewise hands his glove to Charles and is similarly entrusted to his pledges. Four benches are brought forth: on these sit the judges and they who may be called to fight in case the duel of the two challengers proves indecisive. Ogier of Denmark arranges the preliminaries; after confession, absolution and gifts, the fateful duel begins (–3872).

Description of the great single combat between Thierry of Anjou and Pinabel, Ganelon's friend and peer. The younger man is hard hit, but rallies and finally slays his opponent. "It is a Divine miracle!" shout the Franks. Charles welcomes Thierry with open arms. The thirty relatives who have supported Ganelon and become pledges for Pinabel are equally guilty of high treason: they shall be hanged. The council now considers the punishment of the arch-traitor: not hanging, customary for traitors, but some amazing chastisement is urged, especially by the Franks. Four proud and swift war-horses are brought forward

in the meadows below Aix, and soon bright blood is spilled upon the green grass. If a man betray another, it is not right that he be allowed to boast of it! (–3974).

Thus Charles is fittingly avenged. He now bethinks him of his Saracen captive, Queen Bramimonde: she has heard many sermons and edifying tales, and would be baptized. This is done with great ceremony, and the lady, now a Christian, is named Juliana.

That same night, in his vaulted chamber, Charlemagne hears the voice of Saint Gabriel: "Charles, summon thy armies, at least two expeditions still await thee, both for the rescue of Christians." "God!" said the king, "how unbearably laborious is my life!" With tears in his eyes he pulls his white beard.

Here the story comes to an end, for Turoldus is declining (in health).

III. Personages

Thus it is *Charles the King*, early surnamed "the Great," who opens and closes the poem. His striking and venerable figure dominates the action from beginning to end; it is his expedition into Spain which meets with such lamentable disaster, but is avenged so thoroughly. He is the leader of "the Christian people" against heathendom; he is the right arm of the Church, the personification of civil order and personal piety; he is the favorite of Heaven, whence he receives significant dreams and visions. He rules rightfully, for, like Æneas, he is master of men because he has learned to serve the common weal. When he wages war it is not for the joy of fighting nor the lure of plunder, but to enlarge the confines of Christendom and to baptize the pagan peoples.

He is not only King, but Emperor; although he owns Lombardy and Romagna, Apulia and Calabria, and even Constantinople, he is not yet Emperor of the Romans, but of the Franks (2658). He rules over "sweet France," and his people, when no subdivisions are mentioned, are *la gent de France*, or *les Franceis*. Aix-la-

Chapelle is in "France" (726); here are his palace, his chapel and his marvelous baths; but at times he resides at Laon, and possibly also in the burg of St. Denis (972). Charlemagne is noble, heroic, brave, powerful, wise — the poet lavishes praises upon him; at the same time he is old, and his white beard is conspicuous. He rides with his troopers, however, in amazing vigor of body, and when the Emir of Cairo offers him single battle in one gigantic duel of infidel versus true believer, he comes off victorious; not, however, without some supernatural aid. So great is the fame of his vigor and achievements that in Saragossa the King of all Spain has heard that he has attained the miraculous age of two hundred years (524, 539) or even more (539–52). We are invited to sympathize with, if not to pity, this great and sorely tried ruler, who, while facing rebellion on many borders and treachery within his own household, is bereft of his best soldiers, his ablest leaders, and his beloved nephew. The future for him seems dark, and his life is one of ceaseless labor and agitation.

CHARLEMAGNE
Attributed to Albrecht Dürer, 16th century.

Roland is Charlemagne's nephew, the son of his sister. This lady, whose situation could hardly be more tragic, is not named in

the poem; after the death of Roland's father, she has married Count Ganelon, who becomes a traitor to France. Her son ranks next to Charlemagne himself, he is Charles' "right arm," and in council he speaks first after the Emperor. He is Count of a March, that is, Warden of a Border; he was "Britannici limitis præfectus," according to Einhard's *Life of Charles* (IX, 3), and we may note that the historian Adhemar of Chabannes, in the eleventh-century, spoke of "that Normandy which used to be called the March of France and Brittany" (III, c. 27). Roland is therefore properly a Marquess (630, 2031). His duty, when Charles' march lies in enemy countries, is to protect the main army: this he does with a force of twenty thousand, and with the aid of the Twelve Peers (560, 584). It is not surprising, therefore, that he is assigned to command the rear-guard when Charles retires from Spain.

Personally, Roland is a prince among knights; riding to the hunt with the Olifant, laying waste towns or countrysides, fighting with his sword Durendal, these are his delights; at times, among his peers, he will utter his boast, his *gab*, in due form. His passion is conquest, and his idea of amusement is to present Charlemagne with all the crowns in the world, typified by a bright red apple. Roland is keenly sensitive as to his military fame, and much afraid of the satirical songs such as all soldiers sing. But he is passionately loyal to his family, to his lord Charles, and to the country of "sweet France" which Charles represents; like his master, Roland is devoted to the Christian faith, and would make it prevail everywhere by force of arms.

If Roland have enemies, they will accuse him of haughtiness, of pride, of insubordination; Ganelon hated Roland because, as the traitor explains at the Trial, Roland was overweening in his gold and wealth (3758–59; see note to line). When, on the tragic field of Roncesvaux, in the heat of battle and the exasperation of defeat, Oliver quarrels with his brother-in-arms, he threatens to break off the betrothal of Roland to his sister Alda, and reproaches Roland with recklessness, with heedlessness (*estoltie, legerie*); he

wishes his valiant friend might display more common sense and common prudence (*mesure*). Count Ganelon had previously declared that Roland was too indifferent to the risks run by others than himself (227). To these censures, which no doubt are well-founded, Roland can answer only by his silence and by his suffering; a little later, when Oliver, blinded, smites him cruelly by mistake, Roland with pathetic readiness pardons the blow. Sincerely grieving to have been the chief cause of the death of so many good knights, and of so bitter a loss to Charlemagne, Roland can only offer up his life, surrendering it, as though it were a fief, into the hands of God. After his death, Charles' soldiers hear the booming of the Olifant held by other hands than Roland's, and are moved to tears. Five or six generations after this poem was written a poet records that "many people grieve deeply at the betrayal of Roland, and they weep for pity." [1]

Tempore quo Carolus Spaniæ calcavit arenas
Mortuus est mundo: vivit ubique Deo.

This distich is from the epitaph of Eggihard, who perished along with Roland in the defiles of the Pyrenees, but it might with far greater reason have been written for Roland: his legend, at least, was destined to grow to phenomenal proportions, and his figure is prominent and secure in what Masefield calls "the old, proud pageant of mankind." The earliest poet (or poets) of *Roland* used him to embody a chivalric ideal which still makes a strong appeal. In later days, the nephew of Charlemagne was granted the aureole of the martyr; we may fittingly couple his name with that of Achilles, for the fine lines by Ernest Myers are strikingly appropriate to both:

What gifts hath Fate for all his chivalry?
Even such as hearts heroic oftenest win:
Honor, a friend, anguish, untimely death.

Oliver, son of Duke Renier of Gennes (on the Loire, in Anjou?) is Roland's companion-in-arms: they watch over each other's

[1] Rustebuef, *Complainte d'Outre Mer*, vv. 57–59.

safety, and their gain is in common. Oliver is equal to his companion in prowess. This pair, indeed, is not unlike the Hector and Æneas of Vergil:

Ambo animis, ambo insignes præstantibus armis.

For valor and courage there is little choice between them, but Oliver, perhaps by virtue of a livelier imagination, is more prudent: with him foresight and caution have their place as well as furious courage and mighty blows. As Felix Dahn said, Oliver is more of a Hellene and Roman; Roland is of the North. When ambushed by superior forces in the mountains, quicker-witted than Roland, Oliver would send for help before there has been any trial of strength; a prey to mortal anxiety, he does his utmost to make Roland listen to the voice of reason, but without success. But once overwhelmingly defeated, Oliver is just as clear that it would be shameful then to summon aid; he too will go down with all colors flying.

The poet has drawn his Roland and his Oliver with keen and evident enjoyment: there is even gaiety and humor in their relations as well as a loyal friendship tragically ended. In the early hopeful stage of the great battle, Roland watches Oliver riding through the field and despatching his Saracen opponents; Oliver's lance has lost its point, and Roland has the warrior's grim jest: "Companion, what are you about? For a fight like this, I have no use for a club. Where is your sword?" "I could not draw it," answers Oliver gaily, "I was too busy." Then "Halteclere" is drawn, and Oliver cleaves an enemy even to the backbone of the horse beneath. Roland, who is an excellent judge, enjoys the skillful swordwork with the satisfaction of a fellow-professional: "I do assure you, brother, that Charlemagne loves us for just such bits of work as that." (vv. 1351–72.)

But it is necessary, granted the "dolorous rout," that loss and sorrow should predominate in the fortunes of this pair.

"There are few more melting episodes," observes an excellent critic,[1] "than that which tells of the passage of Roland on his

[1] John Clark, *A History of Epic Poetry (post-Virgilian)*. Edinburgh, 1900.

horse Veillantif to the succor of Oliver, hard pressed and mortally wounded. Roland, with friendly haste, rides to the relief of his comrade, but Oliver, blinded by his own blood, taking him for a paynim, strikes at him with Halteclere, and hits his helmet (1996). There follows a surprised and sorrowful query on the part of Roland, and the quavering reply of one who is too near death to do more than plead his blindness, mention the name of God, and ask to be forgiven. Then, says the poet, they bent lovingly toward one another, embraced, and parted. Almost immediately Oliver died, praying God to bless Roland above all others. Roland, with the weeping outburst —

> Ensemble avom estét e anz e dis,
> Ne·m fesis mal, ne jo ne·l te forsfis
>
> Together have we stood for many a year,
> Thou hast not done me ill, nor I, have I
> Wronged thee in aught —

swooned on his charger, but mastered his faint and pressed to another part of the battlefield. . . .

"To my mind this is one of the most piercingly pathetic incidents in literature. . . ."

Equally pathetic, perhaps, is the subsequent scene where Roland, accustomed as he is to carnage, is daunted by a fearful sight: he sees Oliver, his dearest friend, dripping with blood, having been terribly wounded from behind by a treacherous and formidable Saracen. The jaunty, self-confident Roland is utterly dismayed by the spectacle. For once, on a battlefield, he is impotent, and his agony of helplessness finds expression in the simplest of words:

> Deus! dist li quens, or ne sai jo que face . . .
>
> God! said the Count, whatever shall I do?

Whereupon, he faints for the second time (1988). One is reminded of imperious Cæsar brought low of a fever, and crying in a weak voice for water.

The poet imagined the affection between these two Peers as sincere and constant; their separation arouses deep feeling in both, and Roland, who must survive his heroic friend, grieves for him from the bottom of his heart.

Ganelon also ranks as a Count; he is "of France" (422) but his fief is not named. He has married Charlemagne's sister, only to bring upon her a grief like Hecuba's. Their son, Baldwin, is handsome of person like Ganelon, and is near to his father's heart. An uncle, Guinemer, and a retinue of loyal knights accompany Ganelon to the war; his horse and his sword, like Roland's, are dignified by names. His spurs are of gold, his furs are of costly marten: the latter detail does not escape the cunning eye of King Marsile who, noting his preference, seeks to please him with a gift of sables (515 ff.).

Ganelon had been long at court, as befitted his high lineage; there, as it seems, he was known for his cupidity, for when the suspicion of his treason first enters the minds of the French chiefs they at once ascribe it only to bribery (1148, 3756). "Accursed thirst for wealth, to what do you not drive the minds of men!" Greed for riches and display, and envy of the wealth of others, is the cause of the proud Count's downfall: at his trial, he confesses that he hated Roland because his stepson "overdid" in gold and in possessions (3758; see note to line); this irritation had led to an open quarrel in which the older man, ashamed to confess the real cause of his jealousy, raged publicly at Roland for having nominated him to a dangerous mission. One would suppose, if we did not look deeper, that Ganelon was really afraid of the danger, but events soon prove the contrary; he is certainly no coward. Count Roland has the great defects of his heroic virtues: unknown to himself he has stirred up in Ganelon, an able, proud and jealous man, the primal passions of envy, anger and malice, and out of these are born treachery and unspeakable disaster.

Count Ganelon, however, claims private vengeance as a right. He gives Roland, with Oliver and the Twelve Peers, fair notice

of their danger; having lived long at court, he knows that it is not permissible to attack another knight without the *défi* in due form. One definition of "treason," in those times, was "to seek the life of one's liege lord, or that of his son"; but Ganelon, in the midst of his plans for the ambush at Roncesvaux, speaks admiringly of Charles, even affectionately (530 ff.). Another form of treason was to slay a fellow knight, while pretending friendship. It is his fierce grudge against Roland that Ganelon will feed fat: it is not "treason" if a *défi* is given. So let the Saracen king cut off this haughty and heedless Roland, and there will be no more Christian invasions of Spain!

In the presence of King Marsile and his pagan court Ganelon, therefore, speaks with great astuteness: he must provoke the Saracen into continuing the war, weary of the struggle as he knows him to be; but he must also dissuade the Spanish King from attacking Charlemagne. He promises that all will be well once Roland and the Peers with their small army are put out of the way. The infamous pact is sworn to on both sides, Ganelon is overwhelmed with costly gifts — "these," he says, "I am very far from refusing" (518) — and the traitor returns to Charles' headquarters to face certain suspicion and almost certain punishment. If the treason succeed and Roland perish, his plea will be that it is permissible for one knight to avenge a personal affront, providing always due warning has been given. Charlemagne, however, in his function as king and ruler, takes the view that such private liberty must end where public injury begins, and, in the sequel, the Emperor views his sister's husband torn into pieces by fiery horses. Upon this, the poet's reflexion is sober enough: "If one man betray another, he must not be allowed to glory in the deed" (3974).

Turpin, Archbishop of Reims, is the most important ecclesiastic taking part in the Spanish expedition; below him there are bishops (3667), abbots, monks, canons and priests (2955–56). History indeed knows of a Tilpin, or Tylpin, Archbishop of Reims, 753–794, who died before Charlemagne but after the disaster of

Roncesvaux; Hincmar in the ninth century, and Flodoard, in the tenth, both commemorate him. The latter states that Charlemagne obtained the pallium for him, from Pope Adrian; but neither mentions his having accompanied the Emperor into Spain. When, however, in the poem, the famous rear-guard is forming (799), the warlike prelate comes forward with the words: *Jo irai, par mon chief!* We know that Bishop Odo of Bayeux, at the battle of Hastings, rode armed with a club, churchmen being forbidden to shed the blood of fellow Christians; but no such

TURPIN COMPOSES THE QUARREL OF ROLAND AND OLIVER
Brindisi Mosaic (now destroyed), 12th century.

scruple existed, at least in crusading days, when enemies were followers of Mohammed: Turpin is armed like the rest, and his single combats are catalogued like those of others. There fall before him Corsablis, the enchanter Siglorel, Abisme, and Malquidant; just before he himself is pierced with four spears, his marvelous steed having first been killed, he makes a prodigious clearing around him, slaying four hundred paynims. He outlives Oliver, but not Roland.

Turpin sermonizes the army before and during the battle; in him the Church speaks officially, but he is remembered particularly for his prominent part in two striking scenes: he comes

forward to compose the painful quarrel between Roland and Oliver (1737 ff.) and he encourages Roland to bring in the dead bodies of the Twelve Peers, that they may be duly absolved and blessed (2182 ff.). Seeing Roland faint, Turpin in a last supreme effort would bring him water in the Olifant.[1] But the effort is too great, Turpin expires, and Roland must bear as best he can the terrible thirst of those who have lost much blood (2222 ff.).

Bishop Odo of Bayeux, brother of the Conqueror, was a brutal soldier, greedy of gain, hair-brained and quarrelsome; Turpin recalls rather the venerable bishop-leader of the First Crusade, Adhemar of Le Puy, he who rode at the head of a division at Dorylæum, in whose tent the councils of war were held, and whose rôle was often that of pacifier of the turbulent leaders.[2]

There are other personages, most of them quite definitely outlined by the poet. There is Duke Naimon, later said to be of Bavaria, the close friend and prudent counsellor of Charles: no better vassal than he in the court. There are Alda, the fair lady, betrothed to Roland, and Thierry of Anjou, victorious over Pinabel almost like David over Goliath. On the pagan side are Marsile and his Queen, their nephew Aëlroth, Baligant and his son Malprimes: these are paler figures, but there is life in them, as well as in the portrait of the handsome and irresistible Margarit of Seville (vv. 955–73). All these act and speak in their place, but in general there is scant time and space for characterization: the poet, as though oppressed by the tragic fate of his heroes and by the urgent need for more valorous Christian chevaliers to force back the menacing hosts of Turks, Arabs and Moors, is in haste to tell his moving tale: he must arouse his hearers to the great perils which threaten "the Christian people."

[1] There is, in fact, an excellent spring of water in the plain of Roncesvalles and a crystalline stream flows down to Burguete.

[2] The twelfth century churchmen could not allow the Archbishop Turpin to be slain at the "dolorous rout"; they pretended that he escaped, and he thus lived again to great popularity in the pages of the *Chronicle* of the Pseudo-Turpin. For this work, see Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques*, III, pp. 42–111, and below, p. xciii.

IV. Composition and Poetic Art

It is remarkable that French literature, like Greek literature, begins with a masterpiece. The conscious art of the *Roland* is undeniable, and recent investigation tends to strengthen rather than to weaken this statement. Gaston Paris compared the *Roland* to an arch at the entrance of the long highway of masterpieces of French literature, but added that the arch was perhaps "rather narrow;" it may be claimed that as our knowledge of the poem increases, this arch gains in breadth and in fairness of proportion.

Aristotle conceived of the epic as possessing a dignified theme, as having unity; within this unity the action should move with an ordered progression. In the *Roland*, a detachment of Charles' Christian army is waylaid in the Pyrenees by Spanish Saracens and slain to the last man: the theme is the behavior of these Christian feudal barons when confronted with successful treachery and overwhelming odds. In the action, there are three stable working factors: the perfect loyalty and amazing valor of Roland; Ganelon's personal hatred of Roland; and Charles' able leadership and his ability to achieve ultimate and signal vengeance. To avoid the defeat was still possible had there not been at work a fatal weakness of character; in this case it was recklessness, an overdoing, a *desmesure* in fighting valor. The poet means to contrast the Northman's unrestrained bravery (Roland) with the cooler reason of the Roman-Hellene (Oliver). The poet also confronts devotion to public duty (Charles and Roland) with Ganelon's determination to have personal revenge at any cost.

A fair degree of epic breadth is secured by making the crisis one of religious Truth versus religious Error, as in the eighth book of the *Æneid*, and by making large the number of chevaliers engaged: twenty thousand are slaughtered on the French side, while the pagan army, which is practically destroyed, contains twenty times that number. "The action of the *Roland* is one, simple, and logical from beginning to end, excepting the retouches," said Gaston Paris; "the chain is forged with extreme care, link by link . . .

and the tragedy seems inevitable," adds Walter Morris Hart. In 1909, F. B. Luquiens published a noteworthy study with the thesis that "the original *Song of Roland* was a poem of marked and consistent technical excellence;" the alleged inconsistencies, he showed, have nearly all disappeared under examination, and much former unfavorable criticism has been shown to be baseless. Luquiens' general position has been supported strongly by Bédier and by Wilmotte, the latter in his essay, *Le Français a la Tête épique*, 1917, whose title is the contradiction of Voltaire's well known dictum.

See G. Paris, HPC, p. 24, and *Extraits*, p. xxviii; Walter Morris Hart, *Ballad and Epic*, 1907, pp. 251–52; Luquiens, *The Reconstruction of the Original Chanson de Roland*, 1909; J. Bédier, III, 1912, pp. 385 ff.; W. P. Ker, *The Dark Ages*, 1911, pp. 353–55; Wilmotte, *Revue historique*, CXXVII (1918) p. 4; W. A. Nitze, in Nitze and Dargan, *A History of French Literature*, 1922.

The *Roland* may be, as J. W. Mackail has said, "an epic lay rather than an epic in the full sense," but its 4000 verses are compact with action and strong feeling. As for brevity of diction, the Oxford version is fortunately nearly free from the process of dilution (*délayage*) which is so conspicuous in the later redactions. Says Gaston Paris: "On peut lire trois cents vers de la *Chanson de Roland* sans y trouver un mot à retrancher, pas une cheville, aucune concession à la rime: tout est plein, nerveux et solide. . . . Les vers retentissent pareillement l'un après l'autre comme des barons pesamment armés." And again: "Chaque *laisse* est le plus souvent complète en elle-même, forme un petit tableau ou une petite scène à part. On peut dire que la *Chanson de Roland* se développe par une suite d'explosions successives, toujours arrêtées court et toujours reprenant avec soudaineté." Saintsbury remarked upon the precision of the expression, Legouis upon its clarity, its atmosphere of victory, and upon the *élan* of the poet's inspiration.

The poet's power in depicting scenes is noteworthy. He has the gift of suggestion, which he uses at times in place of direct

statement. Thus, at v. 119, Charlemagne is seated in an ample grove; around him are the Peers and thousands of other chevaliers, but so handsome of form and so proud of bearing is he, that —

S'est qui·l demandet, ne·l estoet enseignier.
Should any seek, no need to point him out!

In the battle, the valiant Grandónie of Cappadocia, flushed with victory, chances to meet Count Roland, whom he has not seen before; the look and bearing of the angered Roland are enough, the effect on the pagan prince is instant and electrifying —

Ne poet muër qu'il ne s'en espavent:
Foïr s'en voelt mais ne li valt niënt.

He cannot help but he is faint with fear,
He starts to flee, but that avails him naught.
(vv. 1642–3)

Of the traditional epic devices, the poet makes use of visions or dreams, of which there are four in the poem (see notes to vv. 718, 725, 2555). Another inheritance from the epic technique of the ancients is the enumeration of the divisions (*eschieles*) of the opposing forces (see note to v. 3024).

Baist finds some traces of an attempt to give an air of archaism: the forms of Charles' army organization and the conduct of a trial by combat, he thinks, must have been obsolete by the first decade of the twelfth century. It is certain that the poet did his best to be true to history (cf. notes to vv. 2921, 2923, 3093, 3995) but the tendency to archaize is not prominent: only three centuries separate the poet from the events he describes, and the times of Charlemagne were no more remote to him than are to us those of Cromwell.

A sober use is made of the supernatural; most of the marvelous happenings, such as the visits of Gabriel to earth and the staying of the sun, had good warrant in the Scriptures. There is some epic exaggeration, most noteworthy, perhaps, in the statement

(v. 2416) that at the sight of the slaughter at Roncesvaux twenty thousand of Charles' men fainted away upon the ground. On the other hand, it is not altogether just to say, as did G. Brandes (in a public lecture, Copenhagen, 1922): "The hero of the *Song of Roland* may kill 100,000 men with his sword, but Homer knows no such fantastic feats." No such statement is made in the Oxford version; at v. 2058, in an outburst of fury, Roland slays twenty of his foes, Walter six, and Turpin five. This is moderate enough, and history records that, shortly before 1090, 300 Castilians defeated near Aledo 3000 Sevillian Arabs sent against them (cf. note to v. 2121, and Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, 1913, p. 700). More marvelous is Turpin's prowess (v. 2092): Charles, we are told, found about 400 dead and wounded in that part of the field where the archbishop had fought, but here again the poet had Biblical example to invoke (see note to v. 2091). So also there was historical precedent for Roland's prodigious blows (see notes to vv. 1327, 1644).

The poet's style is simple and straightforward; it is the language of action rather than that of reflection. Severer critics have called it bald or naked: it certainly lacks much of the charm and variety of the classic epics. Some of its emotional energy and rapidity has been lost by rejuvenation: many sentences, originally juxtaposed without conjunction or relative pronoun, have already in the Oxford version been weakened by the insertion of *que*, *qui*, etc.

Of the conventional ornaments of diction there are almost none: a single simile (vv. 1874–75), a few sententious lines, and the rest is language in action with a high percentage of dialogue.[1] There is none of that deplorable diffuseness of expression and fatal facility in ideas which are so prevalent in later epics and of which Taine so justly complained. The *Roland* was written *by* men of action; it was written *for* men of action.

[1] Wilmotte found that out of 1000 lines no less than 655 are occupied by speeches, dialogues, or monologues (*Revue historique*, CXX, p. 284, n.). This is a higher percentage than either Homer (50) or the *Æneid* (38).

See Luquiens, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–21; G. Paris, *Manuel de la Littérature française au Moyen-Age*, § 36; H. Taine, *Histoire de la Littérature anglaise*, lib. I, cap. ii; Saintsbury, *The Flourishing of Romance*, 1897, p. 31; Legouis, *Défense de la Poésie française*, 1911. For the epic formulas of the *Rol.*, see PMLA, xxxviii, p. 525 (Tatlock).

We find in the *Roland* the direct and straightforward style of a poet anxious only to deliver his message: we find also an exceptional refinement and elevation of tone. "There is not a base thought in the whole poem," remarks J. Clark. Plebeian psychology, so prominent in many of the later epics, is absent here, or nearly so (vv. 761 ff., 1816 ff.). We are far indeed from the triviality and coarseness which disfigure even so interesting a poem as the *Chanson de Guillelme* (cf. vv. 347, 2620, and others). This is the more remarkable because the poet gives scant attention to the feminine half of society; but he gives none at all to the audiences for which the *fabliaux* and the *Proverbes au Vilain* were written. His audience was an élite of princes of Church and State, army leaders, political officers, and secular-minded clergy. The poem is distinctly aristocratic in its appeal; its motto might have been a liminal couplet from the *Roman de Thebes:*

> Or s'en voisent de tot mestier,
> Se ne sont clerc o chevalier! (vv. 13–14)

See John Clark, *A History of Epic Poetry* (*Post-Virgilian*), 1900, pp. 183–93: a sympathetic, if somewhat hurried and (in details) inaccurate, account of the *Roland*. Pio Rajna, 1884: "l'autore del nobile poema non era un uomo volgare nè privo di coltura" (*Origini*, p. 200, n). G. Gröber, ANSL, LXXXIV (1890), p. 321.

In contrast with Vergil's epic and with *Beowulf*, the *Roland* is composed in strophes: these average 14 lines in length. In Old French, an epic strophe is called a *vers*, less commonly a *laisse;* the latter term has been preferred, as *vers* is ambiguous.[1]

[1] The French use also the terms *tirade*, or *couplet*. In OF, *vers* is used not only of the strophe of an epic (as *G. de Dole*, vv. 3097, 3187, and cf. *Introd.* p. xcii, note; Bartsch-Horning, *Chrest.* 135, 20) but also of the strophes of a lyric piece (cf. E. Deschamps, III, p. 70, and Gautier de Coinci, in Constans, *Chrest.*[3] p. 99) and of the sections or chapters in a narrative in octosyllabic couplets (as in Wace's *Rou*, I, p. 36, and in Crestien's *Erec et Enide*, v. 1844).

In his adaptation of the *laisse* to epic narrative the poet has shown great care and skill. The *laisse* achieves unity through the assonance, which is never the same in two successive *laisses*. Usually there is a *laisse* for each incident; change of assonance thus marks a step forward in the action. The *laisses* are often linked together by repetition of words or phrases (cf. vv. 993–4, 1448–9, 1998–9, 2162–3, 2554–5), or by a short descriptive passage (cf. vv. 24, 1093; 156, 1807; 1320, 1413; 814; 1830). The *laisse* and the incident often terminate with a speech or a remark (some 135 cases); often this is sententious in content, or is foreboding in tone (vv. 9, 179, 716, 1806, 1841, 3578, 3914). The last line of the *laisse* is nearly always climactic, and if our explanation of the word *Aoi* is correct (see note to v. 9), it was sung with a *forte* or a *crescendo* in the music.

Another rhetorical device which has attracted much attention is the *laisses similaires*, strophes in which the incident is repeated for greater effect a second, third, and even a fourth time, with change of assonance (see note to v. 24). These triads, says Tavernier, are Turoldus' specialty; they are a form of repetition which eases the tension in an emotional crisis and imparts a sense of power and achievement, as of one who lingers a while upon an eminence. As in Homer, whole lines are not seldom repeated *verbatim*, or with slight variation (cf. vv. 576 and 3755; 2943 and 4001; 828 and 3613; 2645 and 3345; 1412 and 3381).

See Mildred K. Pope, in *Mod. Lang. Review*, VIII (1913), pp. 352–67 · Lindner, *Rom. Forsch.* VII (1893), p. 561 ff.; Nordfeldt, *Les Couplets similaires dans la vieille Epopée française*, Stockholm, 1893; Tavernier, ZFSL², XXXVI (1910), p. 81, n.

The assonance is exact, and not "rough" or "approximate," as is not infrequently stated. A single vowel may assonate with a diphthong, provided it is the stressed element of the diphthong which agrees. The meter is the ten-syllable,[1] with a well marked

[1] For a sketch of the history of this meter, see Thomas, *Le Décasyllabe roman et sa fortune en Europe*, 1904; Stengel, *Romanische Verslehre*, §§ 23–40. 54; Rajna, *Origini*, p. 503 ff. For its origin, cf. F. D'Ovidio, *Versificazione Italiana*, 1910, pp. 267–89; *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, 1913, pp. 37–46 (Sheldon).

cesura after the fourth tonic (stressed) syllable; the cesura as well as the assonance may be feminine (paroxytone); see below, Versification (X, § 11).

This meter is handled with notable ease and power. Not infrequently occur single lines which are memorable for content and form, and for the fusion of these two elements into an organic whole:

Halt sont li pui e li val tenebros.

En Rencesvals, la o fut la bataille.

Bon sont li conte e lor paroles haltes.

Plorent Franceis por pitiét de Rodlant.

Alde la bele est a sa fin alede.

There are many such verses: they sing themselves into the memory; their vigor and simplicity, their easy flow, make them unforgettable.

The recent study of A. H. Krappe shows an extensive use of alliteration in the poem; some eighteen lines in every hundred contain alliterative combinations. In 488 cases the alliteration is confined to a single line; in 243 cases it is a means of linking successive verses:

1053 *R*espont *R*odlanz: Jo *f*ereie que *f*ols.
1111 Plus se *f*ait *f*iers que *l*ions ne *l*euparz.
3172–3 Li amiralz *b*ien resemblet *b*aron,
*B*lanche at la *b*arbe . . .

Very interesting are the six pairs of alliterating proper names which occur, three of pagan personages, three of Christian chevaliers: Gerin and Gerier, Ivoire and Ivon, Gefreit and Jozeran. It seems natural to suppose that this pairing of names is an inheritance from Germanic antiquity, being probably of specific Norse or Danish origin.

See Rajna, *Origini*, p. 54; Kr. Nyrop, *Storia dell' Epopea francese*, pp. 193–94; Kalbow, *Die Germanischen Personennamen des altfrz. Heldenepos*, 1913; Krappe, *Alliteration in the Ch. de Roland and in the Carmen de Prodicione Guenonis*, 1921, pp. 29–31.

The almost total loss of the music to which the OF epics were sung has caused them and the *Roland* to be read, like the epic of Tasso or that of Milton; but the poet intended these verses to be sung, or chanted. "Le jongleur," said L. Gautier, "ne lit pas, il ne dit pas, il *chante*." But the melodies were evidently taught orally: they were not thought worthy of space in the MSS. In the opinion of Aubry, the *chansons de geste* were accompanied by "une mélodie très simple, très courte, deux membres de phrase musicale formant une mélopée sans cesse renaissante." If we judge by the music of the "cantefable" *Aucassin et Nicolete*, lines 1 and 2 of a *laisse* were sung to two different musical phrases; lines 3 and 4 repeated these, and so to the end of the *laisse*, where a new phrase announced the closing line. The music to one line of the burlesque epic *Audigier* is preserved among the songs in the *Robin et Marion* of Adam de la Hale; the meter here is the ten-syllable, but of the *a majori* type (6+4).

See L. Gautier, *Les Epopées françaises*, II², p. 115; Aubry, *Lais et Descorts frç. au XIIIe Siècle*, p. xxiv, note; *Aucassin et Nicolete*, ed. Bourdillon, 1919, p. xxxi; the music of *Audigier* is transcribed by L. Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française*, I, p. 122, note, and by Suchier, *Geschichte der frz. Litteratur*, 1900, p. 22. See also F. Gennrich, *Der musikalische Vertrag der Chansons de Geste*, 1923. Pp. 40.

V. Animating Ideas and Spirit

The alliance of the Frankish monarchy with Rome was one which, as Lord Bryce has said, made the fortune of both parties. But Charlemagne accepted to the full his responsibility for the welfare of the "populus christianus," and the enlightened minds of his time dreamed of a Christian Europe united and militant against the surrounding paganism. At the end of the eleventh century there is a great revival of this ideal in France; the idea is widespread of a mission to destroy the false religion of Islam, both in Spain (where it was nearest) and in the Orient. The *Roland* is deeply imbued with this idea of a Holy War.

The chevaliers taking part in this particular expedition into the

land of Spain are performing an act of piety, it is a religious duty:

Nos avom dreit mais cist gloton ont tort! (v. 1212)

cries Roland when the first clash of arms is heard. From a hill, Archbishop Turpin addresses the whole rear-guard of twenty thousand:

Chrestientét aidiez a sostenir! (v. 1129)

This is the burden of his discourse, and for once in history this great purpose is at one with feudal loyalty to one's king, with the most exalted patriotism, and with the ideals of chivalry. See also the note on the "new penitence," v. 1138.

Count Roland is faithful unto death. His fidelity ennobles his character and admits him to paradise. He is faithful first of all to his friends and companions, also to his family (*parents*, v. 1063), also to his tribe (*les homes de son lign*, v. 2379), also to his chieftain-king, for whom he cherishes an unbounded admiration and affection; finally, to his country, whose welfare and honor he has deeply at heart:

Tere de France, molt estes dolz païs! (v. 1861)

His constant prayer is that France should not be disgraced by defeat:

Ne placet Damnedeu
(Que) France dolce ja chiedet en viltét! (v. 1064)

and, more ardently still:

Damnedeus pere, nen laissier honir France! (v. 2337)

To give effect to this admirable loyalty, the poet has endowed Roland with signal virtues. If he have a touch of the *miles gloriosus* and be frankly afraid lest the soldiers sing a song at his expense (vv. 1013, 1466); if he wants to be first in glory, yet he is also quite willing to be first in danger, and his supreme regret is:

Barons franceis, por mei vos vei morir:
Jo ne vos pois tenser ne guarantir!

Barons of France, blame *me* that you are dying:
I cannot fend for you nor yet protect you. (vv. 1863–4)

Roland's courage, his bravery (*vasselage*) is superlative; he hates cowardice and dreads lest Durendal fall into unworthy hands (v. 2351). The poet gives the hero the fault of this virtue, makes Roland's rashness (*desmesure*) the cause of the great disaster; but, to our great satisfaction, he makes Roland's dogged obstinacy in the end melt away and yield to compassion, when the paladin views the results of his refusal to listen to the counsels of prudence. The fault is atoned for by suffering and by death. Here is the poet's greatest achievement: he has made a drama of human character and conduct, of human strength and weakness. Roland is not at the end the same person he was at the beginning: he has greatly developed, and we find here the orderly progression within unity which Aristotle demanded of the epic.

The poet's ideal chevalier must possess, in addition to bravery, a marvelous skill in the use of arms; he must also learn fortitude and endurance:

Molt at apris qui bien conoist ahan! (v. 2524)

Much hath he learned who knoweth bitter toil,

is one of the poet's rare sententious lines. "For one's overlord," says Roland, "the true soldier

should suffer stress and strain,
And biting cold endure and burning heat,
His hair and skin should offer up at need. (vv. 1010–12)

Here is the same lesson in duty and self-sacrifice that we find in all the great epic poets, the same warning that the common weal must be placed above the preferences and interests of the individual.

At the end of the eleventh century, the close alliance of Rome and Cluny, of the Abbot Hugh (†1109) and the French Pope

Urban II (†1099), gave an inspiring unity to the ideas and aims of the religious world. To carry out these aims, the statesmen of the Church looked to the French, for this was the tradition since the early days. "It was customary," says Guibert of Nogent, "ever to ask for aid from the Franks," and Guibert speaks of the successes of the Norman Bohemond as "French" successes; his history of the First Crusade is entitled "Gesta Dei per Francos." The *Roland* he might have referred to as "Gesta Dei per Carolum Magnum et Rotholandum," and it is pretty clear that the virtues of the perfect knight, as set forth in Count Roland, show the tutelage of the Church. Thus, consecration to an impersonal ideal, avoidance of dangerous extremes (*desmesure* of all sorts), sensibility (see the note on weeping and tears, vv. 349; 773, 1421, 2930), a measure of generosity to foes (see notes to vv. 889, 3164, 2837) — all these, as well as loyalty and unquestioning obedience, have the clerical stamp. In this deeper sense the *Roland* is a clerical poem.

See G. Paris, "La Chanson de Roland et la Nationalité française," in *La Poésie du Moyen-Age* I[5], 1903, pp. 103–18; L. Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, 1884; Schofield, *Chivalry in English Literature*, 1912, p. 271; B. Monod, *Le Moine Guibert*, 1905, p. 248. For religious solidarity and national pride before the epoch of the Crusades, see PMLA, XXIV, p. lxx; XXX, p. 656 (Warren).

VI. Date

The poet Wace, writing about 1160 his *Geste des Normanz*, states that a *jongleur*, Taillefer by name, sang in front of William at Hastings a song of Roland and Oliver and of Roncesvaux:

> Devant le Duc alout chantant
> De Karlemaigne et de Rollant
> E d'Oliver e des vassals
> Qui morurent en Rencevals. (vv. 8037 ff.)

Wace was writing nearly a century after the event, and his statement may be drawn from his predecessor Guy of Ponthieu, or else from William of Malmesbury, whose earlier mention (1120–1127)

of a *cantilena Rollandi* at Hastings has been quoted above. If this *cantilena* was the *Song of Roland* as we know it (and this is a large *if*) we acquire the certainty that our poem, or at least a part of it, was in existence in 1066. More to be relied upon is the fact that there is a strong resemblance between the three stages of the battle of Roncesvaux, as described in the poem, and those of the battle of Zalaca (1086), in which Alphonso VI of Castile was defeated by the redoubtable Yûsuf (see below, and v. 1187, note).

But there are reasons to place the completion of the poem even later than 1086. G. Paris could find no facts compelling him to place the *Roland* as late as the First Crusade (1096–99): the enumeration of the pagan peoples (in the "Baligant" episode, vv. 3220 ff.) seemed to him to reflect a state of knowledge previous to the first expedition of 1096. Of late, however, the opinion has steadily gained ground that the *Roland*, as we have it, was put in its present shape at some time during the progress of the first armed expeditions into Syria and Palestine, 1096 to 1108. The conviction is growing, in fact, that the poem is best explained as an effort not merely to promote the general cause of Christianity versus Islam, but particularly to arouse French public opinion to the great peril in which the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem stood, early in the twelfth century, because of the return of so many Crusaders to their homes, and to the dangers then threatening the Spanish Christians from the continued advance of the Moorish arms. What evidence can be adduced in support of this view?

The Council of Clermont (1095) formulated the policy of converting the former pilgrimages into armed expeditions: the *Roland*, it appears, reflects this new development and the changes of attitude involved; see vv. 1015, 1134, 1138, 3247, and notes. Several striking incidents of the First Expedition (1096–99) seem to have been utilized by the poet; see vv. 1064, 1126, 1167, 1327, 2109, and notes. The *Roland* certainly shows a close resemblance in matter, style, and general atmosphere to the early histories of the First Crusade; cf. notes to vv. 1268, 1452, 1500, 2121, 2456, 2582, 3262, 3526, 3660. The mention of "they of Butentrot" is

significant (see v. 3220), also that of the gigantic paynim slain at Antioch in 1098 (see v. 1218); the incident of the standard is almost certainly imitated from a famous feat-of-arms at Ascalon (August, 1099; cf. v. 3545) while another passage (v. 1444) repeats verbatim a sentence from Urban's address at Clermont, as reported (though probably retouched) by Robert the Monk. Robert's work, it is believed, was written some time between 1100 and 1107. Thus the evidence is both abundant and impressive; its effect is to place us in the heroic period of the first decade of the twelfth century, when the Roman Curia, ably seconded by Benedictine Cluny and by secular princes like Godfrey of Bouillon, Stephen of Blois, and Bohemond, was engineering the first phase of the great return-attack of the West upon the East. We thus return to the opinion of Suchier and of Marignan, both of whom held that *Roland* should be dated "after the First Crusade."

> See ZFSL, XXXVII[1] (1911), p. 118 (Tavernier); *Rom.* XXXI, p. 409 (G. Paris); *Rom.* XLIV, p. 399 (Wilmotte); *Revue historique*, CXX, p. 270 (Wilmotte); J. Bédier, *La Chanson de Roland*, 1922, p. iii; H. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, 1879, pp. XL–XLII; Marignan, *La Tapisserie de Bayeux*, 1902, pp. 134–82; Jenkins, *Mod. Phil.* XVI (1919), pp. 573–5; Boissonnade, *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, 1923, pp. 427–35.

As to a *terminus ante quem*, W. Tavernier, in 1908, attempted to prove that verbal and other reminiscences of *Roland* appear in the *Historia Jerosolimitana* of Baudry of Bourgueil (finished about 1108), and that *Roland* must therefore be anterior to that date. The evidence, however, is far from convincing, and at present, aside from the William of Malmesbury passage (probably written between 1120 and 1127; see above, p. ix) and a mention of the "Frenchman Roland" by Orderic Vital (dated about 1124), the earliest reliable proof[1] of the existence of the *Roland* is the

[1] A Spanish chronicler, the Monk of Silos, writing about 1110, protests against the idea that Charlemagne conquered so much of Spain: had he in mind the opening verses of the Oxford *Roland?* (Cf. note to v. 1.) Menéndez Pidal would answer in the affirmative (*Poema de Mio Cid*, 1913, p. 45.) but unfortunately the passage is too vague to be admitted as proof: it may refer to Einhard's statement, quoted in the note to v. 4.

date of its translation into German. In 1131, Henry X of Bavaria traveled incognito to Paris and brought back home *das buoh* (in French, *lo livre*) which the Bavarian Clerk Conrad translated first into Latin, and then into German, the versified *Ruolandesliet* (1131–34). Conrad's original, in the opinion of Golther, was composed about 1120.

See W. Tavernier, "Ueber einen Terminus ante quem, etc." in *Philologische u. volkskundliche Arbeiten K. Vollmöller dargebracht*, 1908, pp. 113–29; Golther, *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*, 1887, p. 86; G. Paris, HPC, pp. 120–24; Boissonnade, *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, 1923, pp. 435–42.

VII. Authorship

Divergent views are still held as to the authorship of the *Song of Roland:* "his name is Legion," said G. Paris (1901), and R. Weeks has declared himself to similar effect. Others, using the language of two or three generations ago, would still speak of "the poem of Turold," "the work of a man of genius." No doubt the truth lies somewhere between these extremes, but, for most critics, the only certainty is that the Oxford version is "signed," and signed by a certain "Turoldus" who wrote the final line, v. 4002. This line appears to mean, "Here ends this history-poem, for (*que* < Lat. *quia*) Thorold is approaching his end." For other interpretations, see note to v. 4002.

See G. Paris, *Légendes du Moyen-Age*, p. 47. R. Weeks, MLN, XXII (1907), p. 191. J. Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques*, III, pp. 377, 427–49 W. Tavernier, ZFSL, XLI[1] (1913), p. 100. H. Morf, *Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, xii, p. 147. Holbrook, MP, XXI, pp. 155–64.

Aside from the "signature," there is now a general agreement that the person mostly responsible for the *Roland* was certainly a cleric, that he was highly educated, and that he possessed a remarkable ability in literary composition; his work possesses not only sustained feeling and high seriousness, but also technical excellence.

1. The *Roland* contains incidents drawn from the Bible; cf.

vv. 1215, 1436, 2091, 2384, 2450, 3153. The diction is distinctly clerical, both in phrase (cf. vv. 416, 618, 836, 1693, 2311, 2384, 2998, 3694) and in vocabulary (cf. *chrestientêt*, *discipline*, *glorios*, *herite* 'heretic', *saintisme*, *Satanas*, *signacle*, *tenebres*, *salvetêt*, etc.) There are passages which show a close familiarity with the offices and practices of the Church; cf. vv. 1089–3718, 1865–2384, 2249, 2258, 2369, 2963, 3674, 3731. In fact, we have much the same clerical atmosphere as in the tenth century *Passion*, and in the earliest vernacular Lives of Saints (Saint Leger, Saint Alexis). As Wilmotte observed, it is probable that people of the eleventh and twelfth centuries made no clear distinction between these hagiographic poems and a poem like *Roland* or *Vivien*.

See G. Paris, *Extraits*, p. xxv. ("L'auteur de *Baligant* . . . en général est plus savant que celui de R,' where "R" means the Oxford version without the Baligant episode.) W. Tavernier, *Zur Vorgeschichte des altfrz. Rolandsliedes*, 1903, *passim*. M. Wilmotte, *Revue historique* CXX (1915), p. 270; *Le Français a la Tête épique*, 1917, pp. 166–76.

2. Not only was the author of *Roland* familiar with the Latin of the Church, he was also acquainted with Vergil's epic; cf. vv. 2, 70, 72, 333, 702, 820, 916, 995, 1005, 1195, 1207, 1470, 1903, 1948, 2211, 2317, 2379, 2616 (where Vergil is named), 3153. His familiarity with the *Æneid* no longer admits of reasonable doubt. Tavernier also finds reminiscences of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and of the *Waltharii Poesis*, but these are less certain. The author had also read in the Latin histories of the First Crusade (see above, p. xliv); twice he refers to them as the *Geste Francor*, vv. 1443, 3262.

While opinion has become practically unanimous that the *Roland* emanated from clerical circles, especially since the publication of Bédier's *Les Légendes épiques*, it must be admitted that the poem has little or nothing of the narrowly professional spirit of the clergy. We have only to read the immensely popular *Chronicle of Turpin*, which is certainly professionally clerical, or the *Carmen de Proditione Guenonis*, probably the product of an abbey or cathedral school, to be aware of a difference: the *Roland* bridges over the space between lay and cleric; the author is as

deeply interested in what later became the *noblesse d'épée* as he is in the clerical world. No better proof of this could be cited than the fact that G. Paris (see his *Manuel*, § 36) concluded that the author (or arranger) of the Oxford version was probably not a cleric, "possibly he had studied for orders, and later had taken up some other career."

That a member of the higher clergy should take an open part in public affairs, in politics; that such a cleric should compose a fervent "excitatorium" to arouse the crusading spirit, this will not seem strange to any who will examine closely the France of the eleventh century. Bishops and abbots were an essential part of the feudal régime, and their benefices were held under the same conditions of fealty and service as those of the dukes and the counts. Thus, on the "Via sancti Sepulchri," Bohemond and Bishop Adhemar went as companions and as equals.

> See W. Tavernier, ZFSL, XXXVI[1] (1910), p. 71 ff. M. Wilmotte, *Le Français a la Tête épique*, pp. 102 ff., 128; *Revue des Etudes historiques*, LXXII (1916), p. 312; *Mélanges offerts par ses Amis et ses Elèves à M. Gustave Lanson*, 1922, pp. 77–84.

As to the author's race and *milieu*, several indications point unmistakably to Normandy and the March of Brittany, but others to Anjou. The special cult for Saint Michael and the prominence given to the monastery of Mont-Saint-Michel, near Avranches (see vv. 37, 53, 152, 1428, 2394 , indicate some close connection of the poet (or poets) with that famous sanctuary and place of pilgrimage. In the assonances (hence significant as to authorship) occur the unusual words *mel* for *mal* (v. 2006), *caïr* for *chaeir* (v. 2034), and *orilles* instead of *oreilles* (v. 1918), word-forms which definitely suggest northern Normandy or the adjoining part of Picardy proper. With Normandy is also definitely associated the name *Thorold*, which has been and still is common in that territory: cf. Trouville, on the coast, and Bourg-Théroulde, southwest of Rouen.[1] The name is Scandinavian (*Thorvaldr*);

[1] At St. Etienne of Caen one may read upon the newly erected tablet: "E. Thoroude mort en 1916."

it was borne by several personages of the time of the Conqueror and his immediate successors. Among these historical personages, two at least were Norman clerics[1] of distinction and deserve our close attention.

[1] While the Oxford MS was almost certainly written in England, there is nothing in the assonances, or in the versification, which compels us to locate the author there; see *Mod. Phil.* XVI (1919), pp. 569–77. We may select as the most important Anglo-Norman trait the reduction of (*ie*) to (*e*).

The copyist of the Oxford MS very frequently replaces this *ie* with *e*, as is customary with Anglo-Norman scriveners: *melz* for *mielz*, *ben* for *bien*, *cel* for *ciel*; *mester* for *mestier*, *chen* for *chien*, *juger* for *jugier*, *Baivere* for *Baiviere*, etc. In this way, in a score of cases at least, he has spoiled the assonance as intended by the poet. Almost 98% of the assonances in *ie* and *e* (see below, X, § 7) are unmixed and entirely normal: this creates a strong presumption that the twenty cases of violation are due merely to faulty transmission. Thus, in v. 484, the ordinary word-order as well as the correct assonance is restored by transposing *al paien l'ad livrét* into *l'ad livrét al paien*. Similar transpositions restore the normal assonance at vv. 135, 433, 474, 2163, and 2775. The poet himself certainly transposed in order to obtain variety in assonance: thus *l'olifant car sonez* of v. 1059 becomes the *sonez vostre olifant* of v. 1070. Cf. also vv. 62 and 78, also 2 and 2610. No harm is done to the sense by these alterations, either way.

Of the remaining 14 cases, of all of which mention will be found in the Notes, only a few may be treated here.

At v. 1681, the copyist has spoiled the assonance by using the form *chapler* in place of *chapleier:* to supply the needed syllable, he has introduced the superfluous conjunction *e* (= et). But *chapleier* certainly belongs in the poet's vocabulary; he uses it at v. 3462, and, as it happens, in *ei* assonance. Moreover, the reading is confirmed by V⁴ 1782: *De lor spee ferir & caploier*, and by other MSS of the β-redaction. There can be no reasonable doubt: *chapleier* is the original and the correct reading, the form used by the poet.

At v. 2408, the copyist carelessly writes *li bers*, instead of *li fiers* which is the usual "epitheton ornans" of Anseis (v. 105); at v. 796, by similar carelessness, Anseis acquires the adjective *li vielz*, which obviously belongs by right to Girart, in the next verse.

At v. 2173, the preposition *En* has the less common meaning 'upon.' This, apparently, led the copyist to replace *liiét* LIGATUM (as in V⁴ 2325 *alige*) by *botét*, a verb which he writes with *en* = 'into' twice elsewhere (vv. 641, 2590). Similarly, *coper* 'to cut' is a rarer verb than *trenchier;* at v. 1374, *trenchee* is repeated from v. 1372, in place of *copee*, supported by V⁴ 1292: *colpea*. *Coper*, apparently a different word from *colper*, occurs also at v. 1491 (= 1652). At v. 2161, the vigorous expression *geter mort* (which occurs elsewhere, vv. 1970,

1. Thorold, Abbot of Peterborough ("Turoldus de Burgo"), a son or nephew of Bishop Odo of Bayeux, half-brother of the Conqueror. This Thorold was a canon at Bayeux, and followed William to England in 1066; after Hastings, he was given the Abbey of Malmesbury, then that of Burthuna (= Burton on Trent, Staffordshire), then in 1069 that of Peterborough, where he remained as fourteenth Abbot until his death, April 12, 1098. "An exceedingly stern man," according to the *Saxon Chronicle* (ed. Earle, p. 207), this Thorold is well known for his bloody conflicts with Hereward the Wake (see Charles Kingsley's romance). Two slight indications seem to connect him with the *Roland:* first, he was in close contact with the Abbey of Malmesbury, whose librarian,[1] as we have seen, knew of a "cantilena Rollandi"; sec-

3530) is supplanted by the colorless *laisser mort;* note that *laissent ester* occurs in the next line, v. 2162.

There remain 9 other cases (which is 1% of the total assonances in question); a discussion of these would be too lengthy for the present work, but the presumption is that they too are blemishes which should disappear from the text. See Notes to the verses in question.

For a different view, see *Romania* XLVII (1921), pp. 465–480. (J. Bédier.) The author argues, by what seems an excess of scruple, against eliminating any of these *ie* : *e* assonances, which previous scholars have regarded as certainly foreign to the original; to read *chapleier* (v. 1681), or *Anseis li fiers* (v. 2408) is, according to M. Bédier, to "sacrifice the text." The same exaggerated respect for the readings of O might require us, at vv. 796–97, to present readers with an Anseis "the Old," and with a Girart "the Fierce." It may be argued, on the contrary, that to refuse weight to arguments based upon long experience with the habits of fallible and inattentive copyists is the surest way to "sacrifice" the poet's work of art. The effect of the patient work of the past fifty years has been to establish the soundness of the law discovered by Bartsch, and its applicability (except in the cases studied in detail by Suchier) to the writers of the twelfth century, with the exception of those from the extreme west and southwest regions, where the reduction of *ie* to *e* may have originated. See also *Mod. Phil.* XXI (1923), pp. 109.

[1] William of Malmesbury was born in 1067, son of a French soldier from Le Mans and an English mother; besides librarian at Malmesbury, he was a teacher of rhetoric, a musician, and, according to English, a wandering minstrel (I, p. 223). He was at Peterborough, before the destruction of the Abbey, in 1116 (II, p. 273).

ond, the catalogue of the library of the Abbey of Peterborough (which, however, is apparently not older than 1362) contains two entries, as follows: "De bello valle Runciæ, cum aliis; Gallice." And: "Bellum contra Runciæ vallem; Gallice." As this Thorold died early in 1098, and as *Roland* contains matters which refer to a date some years later than 1100, it seems impossible that he could be the "Turoldus" of v. 4002.

See F. Génin, *La Chanson de Roland, Poème de Théroude*, Paris, 1850, pp. lxxv–lxxxv; H. S. English, *Crowland and Burgh . . . to 1193*. 3 vols., London, 1871; H. W. C. Davis, *Regesta regum anglo-normannorum, 1066–1154. I. Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi*, 1066–1100. Oxford, 1913.

2. Thorold of Envermeu. Orderic Vital tells us that as soon as William Rufus heard of the death of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, at Palermo (1097), he gave the bishopric to Turoldus, brother of Hugo of Ebremou;[1] but Turoldus, after seven years, for certain secret reasons, left the high office and became a monk in the monastery of Le Bec under Abbot William (1093–1124), and there, for a long time even to the end of his life, he fought the fight for God, under the Rule, being succeeded in the bishopric by Richard, son of Sanson, who held the office twenty-six years.

This Thorold of Envermeu, a man of noble birth, was evidently born before 1067, for to have been made bishop in 1097 he should have been at least thirty years of age, and no complaint against him on the score of youth seems to have been made at the time of his deposition. Before 1090, he had been an usher (*hostiarius*) in the service of Robert II "Corte Hose," Duke of Normandy; in that year, William Rufus having captured Normandy, Thorold becomes a chaplain in the king's service, and his name is frequently

[1] Envermeu, on the Eaulne (Seine-Inférieure). Seat of a priory of St.-Laurent in the eleventh century, which was absorbed by the Abbey of Le Bec. Note this connection between the lords of Envermeu, and the Abbey of Le Bec-Hellouin, and see Abbé Cochet, *Répertoire archéologique du Département de la Seine-Inférieure*, 1871, col. 27; Dom Beaunier, *Abbayes et Prieurés de l'ancienne France*, VII, p. 81.

found in that capacity attached as witness to the royal acts. Tavernier mentions a letter of this period in which Thorold is referred to as "deliciæ regum," the latter plural being used to include Henry I with William II (cf. ZfRP, XXXVII, p. 708). At this time, the position of royal chaplain was much sought after; it was often a sure stepping-stone to a bishop's palace. The see of Bayeux was one to be coveted, for at that time it numbered eleven churches and upwards of ten thousand people. But Thorold, thus appointed to the bishopric of Bayeux in 1097, unfortunately received the office just at the time when the bitter quarrel over investitures was at its height (1096–99), and he seems to have become, as a royal bishop, one of the chief "bones of contention" between Pope Pascal II and Henry I. Rome complained that he had not been duly elected by the clergy and people of Bayeux. Later, in 1127, a letter of Pope Honorius II implies that Thorold, in addition, had not been sufficiently devout.[1] At any rate, Henry was forced in the end to abandon Thorold; in October 1104, the people and clergy of Bayeux were directed by Pascal II to proceed to the election of a new Bishop. For a while, however, the see is vacant, as appears from a letter of St. Anselm (Migne, *PL*, CLIX, col. 173) and, as late as November 1106, Thorold continues to sign himself "Bishop of Bayeux." The appointment of his successor, Richard, seems to have been delayed as late as March 1107 (see W. Farrer, EHR, XXXIV (1919), p. 340 ff.). Meantime, Henry's six years of war against his brother Robert had caused the burning of Bayeux, the destruction of the Bishop's palace, and the devastation of the surrounding country. The poet Wace feelingly records that

> Entre Baieues e Chaem
> Ne poeit maindre en pais nus hoem. (*Rou*, III, 11193)

[1] "If," says Honorius, who is admonishing Thorold's successor Richard, "you had only been devout, the partially-deserved deposition (*dejectio*) of your predecessor Thorold *because of this very thing* might have instructed you to the work of piety." This letter, badly printed by Migne, *PL*, CLXVI, col. 1276, is emended by Tavernier, ZFSL, XXXVIII[1] (1911–12), p. 118.

Possibly in despair, and disgusted with life, his case being now irrevocably lost, Thorold retired from the struggle and sought refuge in the important monastery where Lanfranc had taught and where Anselm had been Abbot. Here he remained until his death, but this date is still unknown.

See Orderic Vital, ed. Le Prévost, IV, p. 18; *Gallia Christiana*, XI (1874), p. 360. W. Tavernier, ZFSL, XXXVIII[1] (1911), XXXIX (1912), XLI (1913), and XLII (1914); also ZfRP, XXXVIII (1914–17), pp. 99, 412, 703, follows the case with even greater detail. Pascal's letter of 1104 was discovered and published by G. Morin, *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, V (1904), p. 284.

The Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary at Le Bec (near Evreux and Rouen; Eure) was founded about 1030, but owed its first celebrity and influence to Lanfranc, who from Pavia had migrated to Avranches and thence to Le Bec. Imposing new buildings, begun under his influence, had been consecrated in 1077. Lanfranc's Abbey-school attracted crowds of pupils, and a great library was collected (cf. Haskins, *The Normans in European History*, 1915, pp. 177–180). In the next century, leadership in learning passes over to the cathedral schools, but, at the time Thorold retired to Le Bec, that Abbey was supplying leaders to the Church in large numbers; it was, moreover, in the current of European politics, closely allied with Cluny and the Papal Court; it lay in the highway of intercourse between the Continent and England. The matricule of Le Bec (cf. *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes*, XXXVII (1876), p. 522), shows a stream of illustrious visitors, and there can be no doubt that this Abbey was one of the most important centers, along with Lyons and Reims, for the Papal propaganda. Rome was then engaged in two great undertakings: the assertion of the Roman policy in the matter of investitures, and the rescue of Spain and Palestine from the Moslems. Le Bec was, therefore, no hermit residence, and it appears that Thorold soon regretted his resolution to abandon the world and that he gave serious concern to his friends on this account.

See Beaunier, *Abbayes et Prieurés de l'ancienne France*, VII (1914): *Province de Rouen par* J.-M. Besse, pp. 44–47. Luchaire, in Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, II, 2, p. 187 ff. Abbé Porée, *Chronique du Bec*, 1883, and *Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec*, 1901.

Among the letters of St. Anselm, written certainly before 1109, is one to "his very dear friend and brother" Turoldus, monk of Le Bec. This may be quoted in full:

Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, to his brother and very dear friend Turold, by the grace of God monk at Le Bec, greeting: and mayest thou persevere to the end in thy holy purpose.

Blessed be God in His gifts and holy in all His works, who turned your heart from vanity to verity. For all they follow vanity who desire dignities and honors and riches of this world, for these cannot by any means as they promise satisfy the mind; but the more they abound, so much the more do they produce a thirst in the soul, nor do they conduct into any good end. But they hold the truth who with all their hearts despise earthly and transitory things, and with all their power rise to true humility. For to spiritual eyes they who humble themselves never appear to descend, but to mount up the heavenly hill whence one ascends to the celestial kingdom. The divine clemency has directed you into the road to paradise, nay rather, placed you in a kind of paradise in this life, when it led you into the cloistered life of religious vows. Let your prudence take care, therefore, that your heart look not backwards. The monk looks backwards, when he often recalls to mind what he once abandoned. Which if he frequently does, divine love grows cold in him, and the love of the world revives, with dislike to and weariness of his vow. Therefore, as your body is isolated from secular business, let your heart ever be separated from worldly thoughts, and always busy with some useful and spiritual meditation. May the Holy Spirit ever make you to rejoice and to give thanks to God for the good you have begun. Amen.

(Translation by "R. C." in *Cur Deus Homo*, Edinburgh, 1909. The original is in Migne, *PL*, CLIX, col. 169.)

What was this secular business, what were these worldly thoughts (*mundana cogitatio*) for which the archbishop is reproving the recent convert? We may note that *cogitatio*, in the system

of the contemporary scholastic Hugo of St. Victor, is the lowest in saintliness of the operations of the soul: to make progress in holy things, one must leave cogitation for meditation, and this in turn must give place to contemplation. Tavernier surmised that Thorold, author (as he believed) of the *Roland*, still busied himself with his poem after his entrance to the Abbey, and regretted his separation from that aristocratic world of public affairs which was then following, with such passionate interest, the situation in Spain and the fate of the new-born Latin principalities of Antioch and Jerusalem.

But there may be a further record of Thorold and his regrets. A Paris manuscript (*Bibl. nat., fonds latin*, 13,575; described by Hauréau, *Les Manuscrits latins*, II, p. 226 ff.) contains a series of documents which concern the affairs of the Abbey of Le Bec, and dating apparently from 1130 to 1150. One of these, the sixth in the collection (p. 237) refers to an anonymous Bishop who had become a monk and who regretted the change: "In gloria sæculari paulo ante conspicuus eminebas, utpote prælati fungens officio, divitiis abundans . . . servorum numerositate circumdatus . . . et quocumque procedebas fallacis mundi favoribus excipiebaris. Et modo pauper factus es!" But, continues the exhorter, you have at hand (the works of) Anselm the mild, (those of) Helluin the pious, and (those of) Lanfranc the learned; "cesset igitur, frater, hujusmodi fluctuatio, quam diabolus suggerit, mundus ingerit, vagatio mentis enutrit." Certainly there is much in this situation to parallel that of which St. Anselm complained; but, unfortunately, no names are given.

A manuscript of the Vatican (Queen Christine, 499) contains an account of the miraculous healing, through the merits of the blessed virgin and martyr Saint Foy, of the person of Dom Turold, formerly Bishop of Bayeux and at that time monk of Le Bec, brother of Hugo of Envermeu. Space may be found here for this narrative, as it has not hitherto been printed in full. It adds at least two important items to our knowledge of Turoldus of Envermeu: he was seriously infirm in health (see the interpretation

of *declinet*, v. 4002), and he was a marvel in the breadth and excellence of his learning — "cunctis optimis studiis mirabilis."

Miraculum beatæ Fidis de episcopo
Bajocensi qui postea factus fuit
monachus Becci.[1]

Fuit nostris temporibus vir valde venerabilis, Turoldus nomine, germanus Hugonis Euremodensis, pontifex ordinatus Bajocassimæ (*sic*) urbis, sæculi rebus ac dignitate non mediocriter insignis, qui Dei omnipotentis inflammatus desiderio, universa sæculi hujus emolumenta, thesauros videlicet, honores, dignitates pompasque fumeas pro nihilo ducens, divinitus corde compunctus immundum cum sua voluptate fallaci respuit mundum, atque reverentissimum Beccense cœnobium credidit depetendum, ubi devotissime susceptus Dei ac Domini nostri gratia monachi nomen assumpsit et habitum. Monachus autem factus tantæ humilitatis, modestiæ ac gravitatis discretionisque sectator extitit, ut parvo in tempore non solum junioribus iter ad cœlestia capescenda præberet, verum etiam prioribus ipsis in regulæ observatione cunctisque optimis studiis sese mirabilem exhiberet; verumque scriptum est: "Quem diligit Dominus, corripit; flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit." Electorum omnium Pater et Dominus reverentissimum virum hunc tempore prolixo ea flagellavit molestia quæ vulgo nuncupatur ruptura, qua intestinorum non minima portio exiguo foramine in locum egrediens genitalium, dirum valde ingerebat dolorem, sed, natura exigente, revocata interius, diriorem. Hanc vero miseriam vir sanctus, pudore optimo decoratus, adeo teste conscientia studuit operire, ut nulli unquam fratrum familiarissimo, priusquam divinam meruisset consequi medicinam, noluit aperire. At ubi Aurificis in camino Superni hujuscemodi tribulationis fuisset diutius igne decoctus, atque auri more a pristinorum viciorum sordibus expurgatus, vice quadam viscera de more per foramen egressa ita faciente radimiculo (*sic*) subito sunt effecta turgentia, et (*l.* ut?) regrediendi introrsum spes omnis videretur ablata. Quo dolore per momenta temporum accipiente jugiter incrementum, ad extrema nocte quadam pervenisse se credidit, unde abbatem quatinus ad visitandum se properaret, per nuncium exoravit. Nihil ille moratus, a lecto surgens assumptis fratribus secum, velociter pervenit ad ægrum.

[1] Printed here from a MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*fonds latin*, 5427, fol. 125–26v.) Copy by L. Jacob.

Videns vero tam ipse, quam qui cum eo fratres, virum Dei in agone positum, ac velut extremum jam trahentem spiritum, ejus afflictioni vehementer compassi per ipsum levamine Dei omnipotentis misericordiam pronis mentibus implorare cœperunt; porro diu astantibus illis et orantibus coram lectulo decumbentis infirmi, scilla intonuit fratres advocans ad persolvendum Domino confessionem nocturni officii. Tunc venerabilis Pater senioribus qui cum ægro remanserunt pro tempore deputatus ipse cum paucis ad ecclesiam festinavit, ut nocturnam synaxim cum filiis persolveret Summo Patri Deo omnium creatori. Porro æger in ingenti animi afflictione defectuque remansit, sed tamen spei viribus fideique collectis, cœpit virtutum Fidis beatissimæ reminisci, utque sibi tali in periculo constituto succurreret corde contrito et humiliato spiritu deprecari. Nec mora interventu virginis gloriosæ aliquantulum habens melius somnum cœpit, necnon gravissimo in sopore hujuscemodi vocem venientem desuper audire promeruit: "Surge sanus et intellige precibus beatæ Fidis integræ te redditum sospitati et ad te accersito hoc ipsum indicabis abbati. Orabis etiam ipsum quatinus fratrem Girardum, cognomento Giffardum, Longueville dirigat, qui salvatori tuo gratias pro salute tibi concessa referat, ac candelas super ecclesiæ altare reverentissimum offerat." Evigilans autem, ubi dolorem universum recessisse cognovit, manibus admotis certius tactu comperte probare non distulit, utrum esset verum vel non, quod in visione sibi revelatum audierat. Animadvertens vero esse verissimum, quod eidem fuerat divinitus nunciatum, gratiarum actiones multas auxiliatrici suæ Fidi sanctissimæ retulit, imo Deo omnipotenti qui eum tam repente meritis sanctissimæ virginis optatæ reddiderat sanitati, moxque unum ex fratribus deputatis sibi ad Patrem transmisit, utque ad se absque dilatione dignaretur venire mandavit. Cum autem Abbas cerneret ad se properantem monachum, arbitratus est infirmum morti proximum, jamque de sæculo recessurum. Verum, cum celerimme (*sic*) pervenisset ad ipsum, admiratus jocundum et hilarem residere in lecto, quem paulo ante dimiserat veluti in agone mortis extremo, blando sermone sciscitatus est qualiter Dei miseratione ageretur cum illo. Cui ille humiliter percunctanti cuncta quæ circa ipsum, divina clementia, suffragante Fide beatissima, peregisset, ineffabili cum exultatione et lætitia recitavit. Quibus auditis, pastor benignus redditæ sibi sanitati multum congratulatus, omnipotenti Domino, necnon et beatissimæ virgini corde et labiis benedixit. Cui cum vir venerabilis illud etiam suggessisset, quod de domno Girardo Longueville mittendo, in

somno imperatum sibi cœlitus agnovisset, ille respondit: "Quoniam divinæ placuit pietati ut intercessione martyris gloriosæ tam repente dignata sit te perfectæ restituere sospitati, tu ipse, assumpto fratre præfato, ad locum perge ubi fuerit opportunum quatinus candelam offeras, juxta quod tibi præceptum est, super altare virginis sacrosanctum, laudumque gratiarum omnipotenti Deo, secundum quod ab ipso tibi inspiratum fuerit, immoles holocaustum." Qui mox pietati paternæ gratias multas retulit, nec multo post, cum denominato fratre Longueville pervenit. Post orationem vero, domno Rogerio, priori, omnia quæ pertulerat et quæ circa illum Deus omnipotens fecerat, secreto reseravit; a quo tamen, multa cum supplicatione exegit, ne, quandiu in hac vita subsisteret, alicui genus infirmitatis a qua per virginem sanctissimam liberatus fuerat indicaret. Denique, accepta licentia, in coquinam porrexit, atque candelam sibi congruam præpari (*sic*) præcepit, qua cum gratiarum actione ac debita veneratione oblata, rogatus a priore missæ majoris celebravit mysteria cum omni gaudio spirituali et devotione præcipua. Die autem ipsa, manens nobiscum in omni Salvatore Deo et adjutrice sua Fide magnificata magnifice exultavit. Sequenti vero luce, accepta benedictione, cum collega gaudens ad monasterium remeavit.

The Paris MS from which the foregoing is taken is D'Achery's own copy of the original in the Vatican library. In D'Achery's edition of the *Chronicle* of Le Bec Abbey (reprinted in Migne, *PL*, CL, col. 653) there is a brief mention of the miracle of Thorold's healing, inserted between the years 1146 and 1149; but this paragraph, wanting in the edition of the *Chronicle* by the Abbé Porée (1883), appears to be of D'Achery's own composition: it is his own summary of the foregoing narrative. For other interpolations by D'Achery in the *Chronicle* of Le Bec, see L. Delisle, BEC, XXXVII (1876), p. 519 ff. It is not known whether or not D'Achery had any good reason for placing the miracle between the years 1146 and 1149: possibly he relied upon the mention, in the foregoing Miracle, of a Prior Roger whom he took to be Prior Roger of Le Bec, who became seventh Abbot of Le Bec in 1149 (Porée, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 209). But the Prior Roger mentioned in the Miracle would seem to be a Prior not of Le Bec but of Longueville-en-Caux, the Cluniac Priory there

being a dependency of the Abbey of Bourgueil.[1] Thus not only does the year of Thorold's healing remain unknown, but the statement of Le Prévost (Orderic Vital, IV, p. 18, note) that Turoldus was still living in 1146, a statement which is almost certainly based upon D'Achery's interpolation, is without foundation. This leaves us at liberty to attach full weight to the exact words of Orderic Vital: "monachili regulæ se submisit, ibique [at Le Bec Abbey] plurimo tempore usque *ad finem vitæ* regulariter Deo militavit," words which plainly imply that Thorold was not living when this passage was written, namely, in 1135. But the exact year of the death of Turoldus remains to be discovered: the chroniclers would have been more careful had he retained his bishopric, and had not the self-effacement of monastic life enshrouded his end. The *Obituarium* of the Abbey of Jumièges (Dom Bouquet, *Recueil*, XXIII, p. 422) records the death of a "Turoldus episcopus" on a November 24; but of what year?

To summarize: we have in Thorold of Envermeu a cultivated Norman noble, well versed in Latin letters; described by Pope Pascal II as "vir in terra sua potens et nobilis"; royal chaplain and companion of two Kings of England; appointed by one of these and supported by the other as long as he dared, Thorold was to be the rich and influential lord-bishop of an important city; immediately involved in the great quarrel as to investitures, having sought to impose himself upon the clergy of Bayeux by force (*violenter*, says the Pope's letter), he is tried and finally ejected from office. Known to St. Anselm, he dies a monk in a powerful Abbey which was in the mid-stream of public events and acted as host to the Kings of England and of France, an Abbey which actively supported the Crusades in Spain and in the Orient.

But what connection can be proved between the monk of Le Bec Abbey and the Turoldus of v. 4002? Much has been collected about the ex-Bishop of Bayeux, and much has been inferred from the poem as to its author: the matters are like two

[1] The Necrology (fourteenth century) of Longueville Priory printed by Dom Bouquet (*Recueil*, XXIII, p. 438) mentions two Priors named Roger.

approaching clouds heavily charged with the electric fluid — but no spark has as yet passed between them. Nevertheless, besides the absolute identity of name and the entire suitability of date, more definite indications are not altogether wanting:

1. Turoldus of Le Bec suffered cruelly over a long period from a hernia; at one attack he was not expected to survive. Turoldus of the poem will write no more, because he is "in a decline" (see note to *declinet*, v. 4002).

2. Turoldus of Le Bec, in his suffering, had recourse to the healing powers of Saint Foy. The filiation, Saint Foy of Conques (Aveyron), the Church of Roncesvaux, Saint Foy of Conches (Eure) has been established by Bédier; we may add the chapel of St. Foy at Longueville (founded before 1102) and, later, the cells of Runzival in London and in Oxford: here was a channel for the circulation of the legend of Roncesvaux.

3. In the hilt of Roland's sword are sacred relics, among them one tooth of Saint Peter, and some of Saint Mary's raiment. The index of relics at the Abbey of Le Bec, in 1134, includes: "De s. Petro apostolo unus dens," and just above, "De vestimento sanctæ Mariæ." Cf. vv. 2346: *Un dent saint Piedre . . .* and 2348: *Del vestement . . . Sainte Marie.*[1]

4. The intimate relations between the Abbey of Le Bec and the monastery of Mont-St.-Michel — "monasterium sancti Michælis de Periculo Maris," in the Abbey *Chronicle* of Le Bec, p. 14 — are well known. Thus, Robert of Torigny, who was at Le Bec in 1128, was elected Abbot of Mont-St.-Michel in 1154. The poem shows a marked predilection for Mont-St.-Michel; see notes to vv. 37, 152, 1428, 2394.

5. The sparse entries in the *Chronicle* of Le Bec in these early days have to do, most of them, with matters pertaining to the First Crusade: cf. the years 1095, 1096, 1099. Turoldus' poem, as a whole, shows the same preoccupation.

[1] See Porée, *Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec*, 1901, p. 651. The Oxford MS has "*La* dent seint Pere," but V^4 and other MSS (including the Norse) call for "*a* tooth." See note to v. 2346.

We have, not perhaps in any one of these separate facts, but in their combination, the basis for an identification which, if correct, would increase enormously the interest and the importance of the *Song of Roland*, because it would supply the *milieu* and, above all, make clear the inner motive of that poem. We should have an eminent and influential churchman, his mind formed in the school of Lanfranc's intelligence, his heart nourished in the atmosphere of Anselm's piety, his imagination quickened by the spectacle of great, almost miraculous events, writing the epic of the Crusades in Spain and the Orient in much the same sense as Camoens wrote the epic of the Portuguese navigators, as Milton wrote that of the English Puritans, and even as Vergil wrote that of Augustan Rome. In reviving venerated legends of Charlemagne in the later years of the First Crusade, he was laboring to render the spirit of that great and dramatic public uprising, with the hope and for the purpose of conserving its higher aims.

See W. Tavernier, ZFSL, XLI[1] (1913), p. 100. J. Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques*, III (1912), pp. 410–53: "*Turoldus vindicatus*." M. Wilmotte, *Le Français a la Tête épique* (1917), pp. 72–77, and *passim*.

But, we may ask, is all of the Oxford *Roland* the work of him who signed himself "Turoldus"? There is at least a general agreement that he is the author of the part, or episode, known as "Baligant": vv. 2609–2844 and vv. 2974–3681, together with the vision, vv. 2525–2554, which announces the great final battle; see notes to vv. 2525, 2609, 2974. This episode is wanting in the Old Norse translation and in the *Carmen;* it has all the appearance of, and has been universally regarded as, an interpolation or later addition, or even as originally a separate poem on Charlemagne. The addition has been skillfully made, for the places of juncture are not easy to detect, and critics vary considerably as to the exact limits. As to its *raison d'être*, its author evidently was not content with Marsile's defeat, overwhelming as this was (vv. 2460 ff.), and wished to stage an even more important Christian victory; this time the overlord of the pagan King of Spain shall be defeated.

Practically all of the Moslem world shall be arrayed against the Christian people headed by Charles, and the Lord will then decide which of the two "has right." Tavernier was the first to suggest that this whole situation bears a resemblance to that of the Crusaders after their capture of Jerusalem.

At Nicæa (1097), at Antioch (1098), and at Arca (1099) the Crusaders, and no doubt the Turks also, were in communication with the Fatimite Caliph of Egypt, who finally rejected the idea of an alliance with the Christians against the Turks and sent several armies against the Latins in Palestine and Syria; the first was defeated at Ascalon, in 1099; the last, six years later (1105). Similarly, in *Roland*, it is in the first year of the war of seven years (v. 2613) that Marsile sends for help to Egypt:

En Babiloine [= Cairo] Baligant at mandét.

And it is seven years before the expected help arrives. The Emir El-Afdhal likewise, after long delays, came by sea, fought several great battles upon the plains, saw his standard overthrown by Robert of Normandy, and, perceiving at last that the God of the Christians was the stronger, was routed, and fled. The general resemblance is undeniable. In particular, if one compare the narrative of the Anonymus (AGF, XXXIX, 13 and 18) with the passage vv. 3545 ff., the conviction is almost irresistible that this feat of arms, which made a sensation in Europe, is the same in the two works. At the same time, the portrait of Amirail Baligant need not be a personal portrait of the Emir El-Afdhal, for Thorold is writing an epic of events in the time of Charlemagne, three centuries before the "Iter Jerusalem."[1]

[1] This fact has been sometimes forgotten by critics. Thus L. Gautier (in L. Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française*, I, pp. 90–91: "L'auteur (du *Roland*) ne parle jamais de Jérusalem comme d'une ville appartenant aux chrétiens: il la suppose toujours aux mains des mécréants. Donc le poème a dû, suivant nous, être composé avant cette année 1099 qu'a illustrée pour toujours la prise de la ville sainte par Godefroy de Bouillon."

But why should a poet who was composing a poem on Charlemagne and his nephew, personages of the eighth century, speak of Jerusalem as it was after

If Thorold, the last redactor, was the author of "Baligant," as Morf, Tavernier, Suchier, Baist, and Bédier all believed, was he at the same time the author of the rest of the poem? Did Thorold write the "Marsile" as well as the "Baligant"?

Tavernier's *Vorgeschichte* (1903) is an elaborate attempt to discern the work of Thorold ("R") from that which is not his ("RC"). Bédier believes, on the other hand, that it is time to admit that "the poem has been rewritten from one end to the other by one and the same 'last redactor,' " because no inconsistencies of style, vocabulary or vocalism are to be detected. Suchier had maintained that "Baligant" shows a pronounced dialectal trait not found in "Marsile" (the rest of the poem), a trait well known in Norman and other western writers of the twelfth century : words of the type of *gent*, *vent*, *prent* do not assonance or rhyme with words of the type *grant*, *chant*, *guant*. This opinion of Suchier's appears to be well-founded ; [1] if accepted, the effect may be to con-

its capture at the end of the eleventh century? To any hearer of the day, such an anachronism would have been ludicrous.

[1] Bédier (III, p. 399, note) disagreed with Suchier, but, in reëxamining the assonances in question, it appears that he does not go quite to the bottom of the matter.

To the questions, — In "Baligant" are the two types of assonance-words (*grant* and *vent*) put in different groups? Are they so grouped as to warrant the conclusion that the author pronounced them differently? — Bédier answers merely that he finds in the *-an* laisses of "Baligant" 23 words of the *vent*-type, in 97 verses, but exactly the same proportion of words of the *vent*-type in the *-an* laisses of the rest of the poem: 88 in a total of 389 verses.

This count assumes that the limits of "Baligant" are exactly known and defined, which is far from being the case; moreover, a closer examination shows that Bédier's 23 certain cases of intrusive *en*-words must be notably reduced, reduced in fact to nearly the vanishing point.

Thus, the laisse at 3096 ff., instead of being one laisse seems in fact to be two, the first being in *-en*, the second in *-an*. At vv. 3374, 3382, 3510 the offending words is *tens*, but it is well known that the pronunciation *tans* occurs early in western writers; the word is to be classed as exceptional, with *langue* and *essample*. Ambroise, a western writer, has the same rhyme; see G. Paris, Introduction to *L'Estoire de la Guerre sainte*, p. xxv, note, also Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. frz. Gram.* (1913), p. 72. At vv. 3117, 3190, 3199 occur adverbs in *-ment;* for

fine the work of Thorold to "Baligant" and a few other passages, in other words, to about one-fourth of the Oxford version. It has been noticed that there are practically no *laisses similaires* in "Baligant" (cf. v. 24, note); G. Paris believed that "the author of 'Baligant' is, in general, more learned than the author of the rest of the poem"; Suchier thought that "Baligant" shows a marked partiality to the Normans (cf. v. 3049). Thus, while the independence of "Baligant" is generally admitted, there is no agreement as to the extent to which its author is responsible for the substance or the present form of the rest of the poem. A poet may, of course, enlarge or interpolate his own work; on the other hand, "France," at that time (c. 1100) conceived of as distinct from Normandy, and Anjou (particularly in the rôles of Jeffrey and Thierry of Anjou) are too prominent in "Marsile" to permit us to look upon the non-Baligant portions as due to a person or persons of exclusively Norman sympathies. G. Paris, relying upon Einhard's statement that Roland was Warden of the March of Brittany, felt bound to maintain that the nucleus of the poem was originally composed in that region; then later,

one of these (v. 3190) the reading is suspicious (see note). If, then, from the original 23 we deduct these doubtful cases, together with 8 more from the laisse at v. 2827 ff., which may be a connecting-passage (a *laisse de soudure*) there remain only the two adverbs in *-ment* at vv. 3117, 3199. Thus, out of the total of 10 masculine laisses in "Baligant," 6 are certainly unmixed, 3 are probably so (this was also the conclusion of Rambeau) and the 10th (v. 2827 ff.) may be a *laisse de soudure*. On the whole, therefore, Suchier's cautious statement (see his *Voyelles toniques*, p. 129) may still be admitted as valid. On the other hand, in "Marsile," out of 24 masculine laisses 8 are certainly unmixed, 2 are probably so; while 14 are certainly mixed. But it is evident that, once granted the unity of "Baligant," the occurrence of unmixed laisses elsewhere does not affect the question as to whether or not the author of "Baligant" pronounced *vent* and *grant* differently. And, practically, we remember that Thorold was of Envermeu and Bayeux and Le Bec, a region where *-ent* was certainly pronounced with nasal (ẽ) in the twelfth century, where, in fact, the *Atlas linguistique* still shows a trace of the ancient usage (charte no. 551; *fente*). See also Suchier's map IX, in Gröber's *Grundriss;* Morf, *Abhandlungen d. Preuss. Akad.*, 1911, p. 7; G. Wacker, *Dialekt u. Schriftsprache im Altfrz.*, 1916, p. 50 (examples of *-mant*, even in Picard poets of the 13th century).

he believed, it had been reworked in Anjou by a "Français de France." Rajna and Bédier, while approving the latter conclusion, saw no necessity for adopting the first. Twice at least we have mention of "French" in the narrow sense (vv. 3794, 3962); generally, "Francs" and "Franceis" mean the people subject to Charlemagne (see note to v. 49). In the opening years of the twelfth century, "France" in the narrow sense would mean those regions where Philip I and Louis VI were predominant, the regions of Paris, Sens, Chartres, Tours, Blois, and Angers. Somewhere here, it would seem, the non-Baligant portions belong; finally they were rewritten and notably enlarged by the Norman Turoldus, who was, almost certainly, Thorold of Envermeu.

See G. Paris, *Manuel*[3] (1905), p. 64; Rajna, *Origini*, p. 384; Tavernier, *Vorgeschichte*, pp. 197–205; Bédier, III, p. 451.

There was, as all must agree, a "last redactor" of the Oxford version; what models and materials lay at hand before him as he worked?

VIII. Models and Materials

Many believe in the existence of an "older song" about Roland; G. Paris was convinced that "nos poèmes remontent aux chants épiques des compatriotes, des compagnons de Roland, aux chants de la marche de Bretagne," and his *Extraits* were evidently intended to present what he considered the oldest, the most authentic parts of the poem. Gröber spoke of "a Roland-poem of about the middle of the ninth century."

And what did Taillefer sing at Hastings? There would be scant time, one would think, for any sort of performance while the front of battle lowered: perhaps, like the Emperor Conrad in the romance of *Guillaume de Dole* (vv. 1333 ff.), Duke William permitted his jongleur to sing but one or two strophes. As noticed by Rajna (*Origini*, p. 365), the Book of the Miracles of Saint Benedict (Book VIII, c. 36) records a similar incident: in some local disturbance near Châtillon-sur-Loire, in the last decade of

the eleventh century, the band of combatants was preceded by a jongleur (*scurra*, later called a *cantor*) who sang, with instrumental accompaniment, "of high-handed deeds and the wars of ancestors . . . that he might incite his hearers more keenly to the accomplishment of their evil designs." It is known that Duke Hoel of Brittany (1066–84) had at his court in Quimper a singer (*citharista*) named Cadiou, and when at Nantes a jongleur (*joculator*) named Pontellus. The former sang in Breton, the latter in French, thinks Zimmer. But, if we look for mention of singers of poems on Charlemagne and Roland, we find none before the twelfth century, before William of Malmesbury. A generation later, the author of the *Roman de Thèbes*, after speaking of the formation of a rear-guard, adds —

> Es quatre eschieles de Rollant,
> Dont cil jogleor vont chantant,
> Ne fu tant bele ne tant riche . . . (vv. 8826 ff.)

That Roland's command was divided into four battalions is a trait not found in the Oxford version; were there, then, other versions of the battle of Roncesvaux current in southwest France early in the twelfth century? Two generations later, Friar Angier (likewise from the southwest) complains that —

> Plus est escoutez li jugliere
> Que ne seit saint Pol ne saint Piere,

when this jongleur sings —

> Les fables d'Artur de Bretaigne
> E les chansons de Charlemaigne.[1]

But, if a poem on Roland at Roncesvaux existed in the repertory of the professional jongleurs of the eleventh century, it seems to be lost beyond recovery.

[1] See Cloran's valuable excerpts from Angier's *Dialoge Gregoire la Pape*, p. 12. One may also cite Thomas' mention of Breri (*Tristan*, I, p. 377) and Wace's reference to the jongleurs whom he heard in his childhood (*Roman de Rou*, I, p. 87).

See Bédier, III, pp. 446–51; G. Gröber, ANSL, LXXXIV (1890), p. 321; Wilmotte, *Revue hist.* CXX (1915) p. 273; Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen-Age*, pp. 57–59; G. Paris, *Manuel*[3] (1905), p. 57; E. de Certain, *Liber Miraculorum S. Benedicti*, p. 337. Recent advocates of the existence of *Vorepen* are Voretzsch, ANSL, CXXXIV (1916), pp. 294–308, and Warren, *Mod. Phil.* XIV (1916), pp. 129–44.

G. Paris thought to arrive at an earlier stage of the *Roland* by comparing the Oxford version with the *Chronicle of Turpin*, and with the *Carmen de Proditione Guenonis*. Tavernier, dismissing *Turpin* as later than *Roland*, argued at first that we can infer from the *Carmen* an older poem of about 1000 lines, which began with the mission of Ganelon to Marsile, recounted the destruction of the rear-guard, and ended with Charles' return to Roncesvaux and Ganelon's punishment then and there: this poem Turoldus expanded into the present *Roland*. Later, however, Tavernier came to see in the *Carmen*, or in some MS of it now lost, the main and direct source of Turoldus.

But the weight of opinion has turned decidedly against this view. In 1890, Gröber had maintained that the *Carmen* had been written upon a French original (*Vorlage*); this opinion was acceptable to Stengel and to Baist. While the discussion after this was lively and prolonged (see the summary in Brückner's Dissertation, 1905), no conclusion was reached. Recently, Gröber's hypothesis was seconded by W. Foerster and by M. Wilmotte. It would seem most probable that the *Carmen* is merely a scholastic exercise, very rhetorical and artificial, based upon a French original; for beneath the anonymous author's *regionem* we may detect the OF *royon*, beneath his *probus* the OF *proz*, etc. If the First Embassy and the Baligant episode do not appear in the *Carmen*, it is either because the author was abridging his original, or because these portions had not been added in the copy which lay before him. Foerster ascribed the *Carmen* to Walter the Englishman (1194), author of a well-known *Esopus*, but the evidence is weak and the work may be much later than even this.

Nor has the idea that the *Turpin* represents an original and in-

dependent poem on Roland and Roncesvaux found permanent favor; it was the conclusion of Baist that the work, which dates towards 1150, is based upon what is known as the β-redaction (the rhymed *Roman de Roncesvaux*), but in an older form than we have it.

See G. Paris, *Rom.* XI (1882), pp. 489–513, and *Extraits* [14] (1919), pp. viii–xxi; Tavernier, *Zur Vorgeschichte des altfrz. Rolandsliedes*, 1903, and ZFSL,[1] XXXVII (1911), p. 89. ANSL, LXXXIV (1890), p. 297 ff. (Gröber); *ibid.* CXXXV (1916), pp. 121–38 (Foerster); M. Wilmotte, *Mélanges G. Lanson*, 1922, pp. 78 ff.; Baist, *Variationen über Roland*, p. 219; J. Saroïhandy, in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*, II, 1925, pp. 259–84; J. Bédier, *Commentaires*, 1927, pp. 12 ff.

Opinion is thus inclined to dismiss both works as being neither models, nor sources, perhaps not even evidences of an older stage of the *Roland;* the tendency now is to seek in the history of France and Spain, at the opening of the twelfth century, for the models and the materials utilized by Thorold or his predecessors. Thus, there is nothing improbable in Tavernier's idea that the Oxford *Roland* was sung in public at the marriage of Bohemond, prince of Antioch, at Chartres, in April or May, 1106.

This wedding, at which the ablest leader of the First Crusade was united to Constance, daughter of Philip I of France, brought together a distinguished company from Church and State, including Bruno of Asti, a Papal legate. The public matter uppermost in all minds at the time was the troubled situation in Syria and Palestine, and in Spain. An appeal in the vernacular would reach the secular part of this audience — it was the secular arm that needed strengthening — and Thorold's poem may well have been composed for just this end, and even, as Tavernier surmised, for this very occasion. Unfortunately, concrete evidence, one way or the other, is absolutely lacking. What is certain is that most educated clerics of the day held vernacular literature in comparative disesteem: the poets most admired were they who wrote in Latin hexameters and elegiac couplets. To explain why Thorold renounced the literary distinction of Latin poets like his eminent contemporary Baudry, archbishop of Dol, and adopted the hum-

bler vernacular and the meter of the *Vie saint-Alexis*, we need a strong motive: this motive may have been the urgent political crisis which existed as he was writing. Like Calvin, who turned from Latin to French under the pressure of politico-religious controversy, the author of *Roland* was too much in earnest to allow so small a matter to interfere with his appeal to public opinion.

See W. Tavernier, ZFSL[1], XLI, p. 50. W. Meyer, cited by P. S. Allen, MP, VI, p. 405. For Baudry's Latin poetry, see L. Delisle, *Rom.* I, p. 23 ff.

But if Thorold renounced Latin in favor of French, his epic models may at the same time have been Vergil and Lucan, together with those poets who, after the death of Charlemagne, had composed poems in Latin on the lives and exploits of the Emperor and his successors. Late in the tenth century, there was a flourishing of Latin letters in the abbeys of France, Anjou, and Normandy. Besides Einhard's prose *Vita Karoli*, probably the fountain-head of the whole Roland legend, the abbey libraries contained the Latin poems of Angilbert on the exploits of Charlemagne, and that of Ermoldus Nigellus on the life of Charles' son Louis. The Latin poem *Waltharius*, which Flach would connect with the Abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire, was much enjoyed in erudite circles of the early eleventh century; "these are poems," says Wilmotte, "in which we find all the characteristic traits of our *chansons de geste*." There are, indeed, many resemblances in matter and style between the *Waltharius* and the *Roland* — phrases, ideas, literary processes — and the whole matter deserves much closer study than it has hitherto received.

See Flach, *Revue des Etudes historiques*. LXXXII (1916), p. 301 ff.; L. Jordan, RF, XVI, p. 639; M. Wilmotte, *Le Français a la Tête épique*, 1917; *Mélanges offerts à M. G. Lanson* (1922), pp. 77–84; W. Tavernier, ZFSL, XLII[1] (1914), p. 59 ff.

But there were also Latin poems, almost epics, upon subjects nearer home and by poets who were neighbors of Thorold: Guy

of Ponthieu (1074) had composed a *De Hastingæ prælio*, William of Poitiers a *Gesta Guillelmi Conquestoris* (before 1077); the First Crusade inspired an unknown Fulk (about 1100) whose hexameters were continued by Gilo of Paris; Raoul Tortaire, who taught poetry at Fleury-sur-Loire (about 1108) composed a Latin poem of which the subject was certain exploits of Bohemond. The last is unpublished, but we have the five books of William of Apulia (about 1099) on the exploits of the Normans in Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria down to the death of Robert Guiscard (1085). There was a manuscript of William's poem at Le Bec Abbey, and another at Mont-Saint-Michel; the former is now lost, but the latter is still preserved at Avranches.

Evidence is abundant that the "Iter Jerusalem," as well as the previous exploits of the Normans, stirred the imagination of western Europe profoundly; not alone to Henry of Huntingdon did it seem a "miraculum Domini magnum." The French particularly, they who were carrying forward the vast project under the leadership of a French Pope, they whose choicest knights were leaving their bones to bleach in the deserts of Asia Minor and "Sulie," the French nation was deeply moved by the sense of great and tragic events. It is not surprising that the "Via sancti Sepulchri" appears almost immediately as an epic subject, not only in the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *Chanson de Jerusalem*, which were delayed about a generation after the event, but in the Latin poems mentioned above and in the Latin prose of Baudry of Dol (to whom his theme is a "nobilis materia") and that of Robert of Reims. Robert's seventh Book, in which he recounts the marvelous deliverance of the Christians from Kerbogha's host at Antioch, has all the movement and fire of an epic poem recounting the fate of nations. We can imagine that Thorold, not insensible to these dramatic and soul-stirring events, may also have been moved to bring aid to the cause then uppermost in the public mind: he would compose (or rewrite) a vernacular song of the earliest "Gesta Dei per Francos," of Charlemagne's famous campaign in Spain against the infidels.

Baudry's *Historia* was rendered into *chanson de geste* form in the next century; see *Rom.* VI, p. 489. For Latin epics on the First Crusade by Italian poets, see Ronca, *Cultura medievale e Poesia Latina in Italia nei secoli XI e XII*, 1891, p. 255.

The situation of the Latin Christians in the Orient, all through the first decade of the twelfth century, was extremely precarious. Even before Jerusalem was taken, calls for help, addressed to the French especially, were continuous and urgent. We speak of the First, Second, and Third Crusades, but in fact, as has often been pointed out, the Crusades were a continuous process: hardly a year passed without new expeditions leaving for Palestine. As early as January 1098, the Patriarch of Jerusalem wrote from Antioch, saying, "We are few in comparison with the pagans . . . in the house where there are two men, let one of them come quickly to war." Pope Pascal II addressed a letter, late in the year 1099, to the bishops and abbots of France, urging them to greater exertions in behalf of the Crusaders who had remained in the Holy Land, and the synod held at Anse (near Lyons) the following year, used the weapon of excommunication upon those who had not yet accomplished their vow to rescue the Holy Sepulchre: "those who have not yet accomplished their vow, will be excommunicated until they do." The cause of these drastic measures was that so many "milites Christi" returned home after the taking of Jerusalem. In the spring of 1100, only about 200 knights and 1000 foot were left on duty there; at Easter (1100) a truce was arranged with the Saracens, and a veritable exodus homewards took place. The general attitude was no doubt the same as that recorded of Robert of Flanders, in the *Chanson d'Antioche*. Robert promises his wife Clémence:

> Si tost com au Sepulchre iert m'ofrande coucie,
> Dedens les quinze jors, vos afi sans boisdie,
> Me metrai el retour, se Dex me donne vie. (I, p. 65).

In 1101, only 300 knights were left in all Palestine (Hagenmeyer, *Chron.*, no. 527). The year before, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Dagobert, had written to the German Catholics an epistle which

closed with the ominous words "in destructionis periculo." By November of the same year (1100), the synod held at Poitiers had organized what we may call the Second Expedition, that in which William IX, Duke of Aquitaine, and Welf IV, Duke of Bavaria, took part, and which met with such lamentable disaster. News had reached France that the ablest leader on the Christian side, Bohemond, had been captured (in August, 1100) by the Turcoman Emir Danisman: his rescue seems to have been one of the main objects of this Second Expedition, in which Stephen of Blois and William of Nevers were also prominent. Bohemond, whom the pagans called "the little god of the Christians," was not released until May, 1103. Meantime, as Orderic Vital tells us (IV, p. 144), "the whole Church was praying God in his behalf." Early in the summer of 1104, Bohemond and Tancred were defeated in the bloody battle of Harran, near Edessa, and in the autumn Bohemond decided to go himself to France to raise a new army. Raoul of Caen tells us (*c.* cli) that Bohemond went "to stir up the people of the Gauls: their intrepidity (*audacia*) will set us free or nothing will." By September 1105, he had won over Pascal II to the idea of a "new crusade" — the Third Expedition; he had approached Henry I of England (Thorold's patron) and about Easter, 1106, was married to Constance, daughter of the King of France. Caecilia, sister of Constance, was to marry Tancred, and it was evidently the intention of Bohemond to ally France and the new principality of Antioch in the closest possible way. At the sumptuous wedding at Chartres, under the patronage of the widowed Adela of Blois, there was present among the throng of notables, the Papal legate, Bruno of Asti, whose chief errand in France, as Abbot Suger informs us (§ IX) was "to keep warm the way of Jerusalem" — *precipue de Ierosolimitano itinere ne tepescat.* This, too, was the chief business dealt with at the Council of Poitou, in June 1106. The army raised by Bohemond at this time is placed by Fulcher of Chartres at 5000 chevaliers and 60,000 foot; after failing before Durazzo (1108), part of the army went back to Calabria with Bohemond, the

10° Longitude West 0° Longitude East 10° from Greenwich 20° 30° 40°
50°
40°
30°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Danube R.
Tagus R.
Ardennes
Argonne
FLANDERS
SORABI
Meissen
BRETAGNE
LE MAINE
Chartres
LORRAINE
Vezelay
ANJOU
Poitiers
Nevers
POITOU
AQUITAINE
GASCOGNE
Ratisbon
BAVARIA
Passau
Wieselburg
Salzburg
GALLICIA
Geneva
Lyons
Milan
Turin
Genoa
ROMAGNA
Florence
Belgrade
Santiago
Saragossa
Colmbra
Toledo
Zalaca
Sevilla
Cordoba
Elbira
Granada
CORSICA
Rome
Durazzo
Bari
Brindisi
SARDINIA
Palermo
SICILY
Kairouan
Avlona
Salonica
BLAKIA
Adrianople
Constantinople
Nicomedia
Civitot
Ecaea
Brusa
Doryiaeum
Iconium
Eregli
Sinope
Amasia
Atjangres
Andyre
Heraclea (Butentrot)
Maresia
Edessa
Harran
Aleppo (Haleb)
CAPPADOCIA
Tarsus
Ermenek
Antioch
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
Orontes (Ferne)
Jericho
Jerusalem
Joppa
Cairo (New Babylon)
FIRST CRUSADE
1st Expedition 1096-99
2d " 1101
3d " 1106-9
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500

major portion continuing on to Palestine. Not long after his defeat by Alexis, the heroic Bohemond died (March, 1111) and was buried at Canossa. His nephew Tancred survived him but one year, and thus the great early heroic period of the "First Crusade" — which is also that of the *Song of Roland* — comes to a close.

See H. Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*, Innsbruck, 1901. The same, "Chronologie de la première Croisade," in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VI–VIII, IX–XII. W. Tavernier, "Boemund in Frankreich," in ZFSL, XXXIX [1] (1912), pp. 151–59.

The figure of Bohemond, whom Haskins terms "the most vigorous and resourceful leader of the First Crusade," loomed large in the Anjou and Normandy of the early twelfth century. Although many knew that he had less at heart the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre than the fortunes of his princedom of Antioch and the defeat of his enemy, the Emperor Alexis I, yet his military reputation, dating from the siege of Antioch, was immense, and his journey through Italy and France in 1105–06 was a triumphal progress. Nobles brought their infant sons to be baptized by the hero, and the crowds were such that the author of the *Historia belli sacri* (*Rec.* III, p. 228) remarks that you would have thought that Christ himself was on view. Suger's characterization of Bohemond — "vir inter orientales egregius et famosus" — is grudging, for it was by no means to the Orientals only that the Prince of Antioch was a great and striking figure. In depicting his hero, Roland, did Thorold have in mind the heroic Bohemond? Tavernier suggested an affirmative answer, and the question is worth some further examination.

It must have occurred to more than one writer of the day to compare Bohemond to Roland. Orderic Vital attributes to the dying Robert Guiscard a speech in which the father compares his oldest son — Bohemond — first to Thessalian Achilles and then to the "Frenchman Rolland" (IV, p. 186). Raoul of Caen, in praising the Crusaders, likens them to Roland and Oliver come to life again

(*Rec.* III, p. 627). Valor is Roland's distinctive trait, and it is the valor of Bohemond that Benoît of St. More emphasizes in his eulogy:

> Puis regna Buiamunz sis fiz,
> Li beaus, li proz e li hardiz, . . .
> Nus huem fut au jor plus preisiez . . .
> De lui fu mendres toz li munz . . .
> Retrait sera jusqu'a la fin
> E en Romanz e en Latin,
> La merveille de sa valor. (III, pp. 158–59)

Equally eulogistic as to this and other heroic qualities of Bohemond are most of the historians of the earlier expeditions. But if valorous, Bohemond was also headstrong and restless (*irrequietus*, says Baudry of Dol); his violence, his haughtiness, and his readiness to quarrel caused great concern to the other leaders, his colleagues, especially at Antioch. He was covetous of wealth, if we may believe the incident related of him by Anna Comnena (cf. Krey, *The First Crusade*, 1921, pp. 95–96, and *Rol.* v. 3758, note), and his imprudence was sufficiently revealed when he allowed himself to be taken prisoner by the Turks (see Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, no. 495). Did these traits suggest to Thorold the famous *desmesure* of Roland?

And if so, was there also a motive for introducing Oliver's reproof?

It seems possible that the author of *Roland*, in dwelling upon the several ways in which his hero "overdid," may have been timidly warning this valiant and indispensable son of the Church, whose signal talents were at that moment a priceless asset to the Christian cause, that —

> Vasselages par sens nen est folie!

Did the cooler heads desire a leader less brilliant, perhaps, but of more solid and dependable qualities? Did those upon whom the responsibility sat heaviest prefer Oliver to Roland, and, like good churchmen, believe it their duty to admonish those whose

weaknesses of character might jeopardize the holy cause? But if there is a possibility that the heroic Roland may have been modeled upon the heroic Bohemond, we should probably seek in vain for any detailed resemblances between the two figures.[1] Thus, Bohemond's "vexillum" was red, while Roland's banner was white (v. 1157); for, as has been said, Thorold was writing (or rewriting) a poem of the time of Charlemagne.

Two other important questions arise: Whence came the numerous details, the scenario, of Charles' campaign in Spain as presented in *Roland?* Was the Spanish situation of greater immediate concern to the author of *Roland* than the oriental Crusades, and, if so, did this consideration determine his choice of the Spanish subject?

It is certain that Spain figured in Urban's address at the Council of Clermont: Guibert of Nogent (II, 1) says that the Pope had heard of the attacks upon the Spanish Christians, and Count Riant (see his edition of the *Epistola spuria*, p. xxiv) even argued that the Council was influenced principally by the Spanish danger. As Warren points out (MP, XIV, p. 139), the appearance of the able Moslem general Almanzor, in 980, had changed for the worse the situation of the Spanish Christians: Barcelona was taken, Compostela pillaged, and the "pagans" even came across the Pyrenees. In the next century, the French armed expeditions for the relief of the kingdoms of Navarre and Castile begin, the most considerable being that headed by Ebles II, Count of Roucy and Reims, about 1073. A powerful French influence comes into Spain with Constance, daughter of Robert of Burgundy, wife of Alphonso VI of Castile (1065–1109); northern Spain was dotted with Cluniac monasteries and priories, the Roman ritual was introduced, and this region, like Saxon England after Hastings, enters the European community for the first time. The military

[1] It is known that Bohemond's chief lieutenant (his "magister militum"), Ilgyre, was brought up at Le Bec Abbey: he was certainly one of those who brought home stories of the fighting in the East. See Abbé Porée, *Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec*, p. 262, and Eadmer, *Historia Novorum* (Migne, *PL*, CLIX, 461).

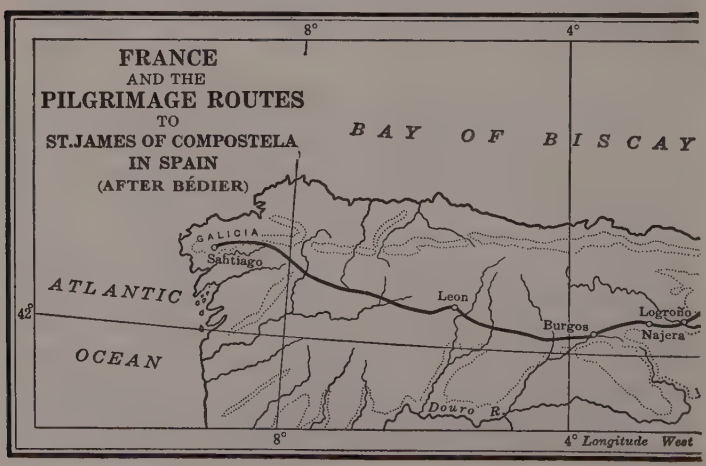
energy and success of Alphonso alarms the newly-founded Moorish power of the Almoravides, and, in 1086, Yûsuf of Marrakech inflicts a terrible defeat upon the Christians at Zalaca (see notes to vv. 1187 and 3995). This is also the period made illustrious by the exploits of the heroic Cid, whose *Cantar* exhibits so many traces of French contacts. More important for our purpose is the fact that Pascal II, who had been a legate in Spain, in the year 1101 forbade Spaniards to go as pilgrims, armed or otherwise, to Jerusalem: let them stay at home to defend their homes from the "Moabites" and Moors. Pilgrims and warriors were in fact seized in Rome and sent back to Spain: "*there* do your penitence, *there* earn forgiveness and the favor of Peter and Paul," says the letter of the Pope. This epistle (March 1101) is addressed to the clergy and laity of the kingdom of Alphonso VI of Castile; it shows plainly that while the oriental expeditions may have been more popular, it was the policy of Cluny not to allow the war against the Spanish Moslems to languish. The Spanish Crusade, in fact, goes forward actively under Alphonso I of Aragon, "the Battler" (1104–34), who took Saragossa in 1118 and maintained an active campaign, with French aid (particularly in 1133), until the end of his reign.

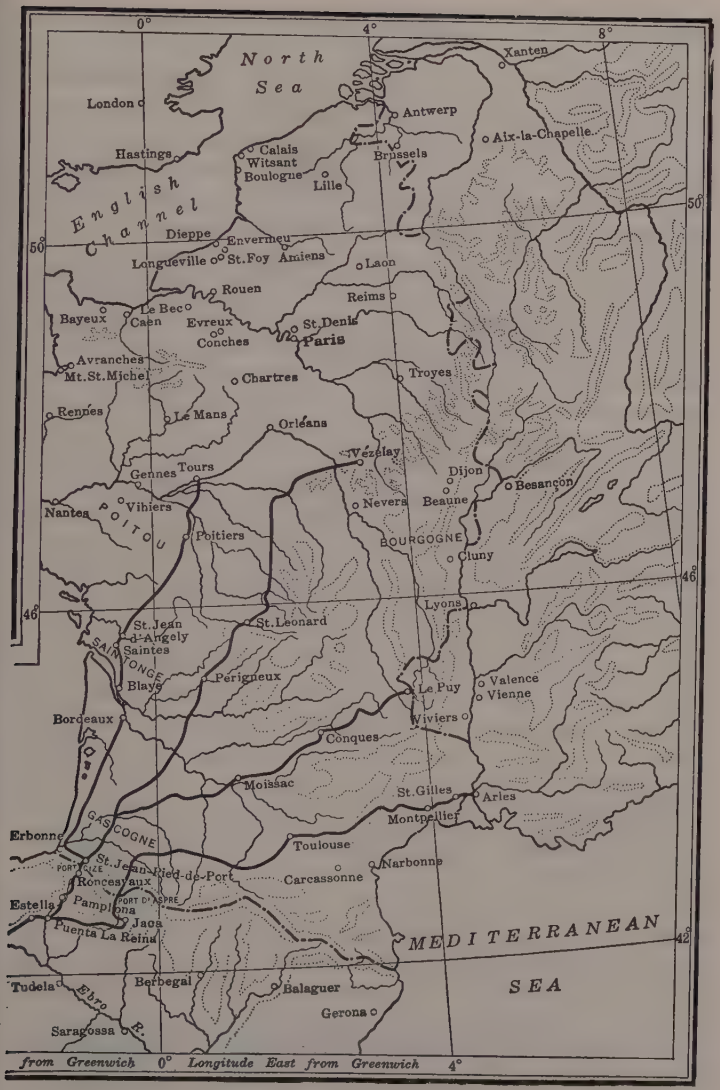
See P. Boissonnade, *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, 1923, pp. 3–68; E. Petit, "Croisades bourguignonnes contre les Sarrasins d'Espagne au XIe siècle," in *Revue historique*, XXX (1886), pp. 259–72; Bédier, III, pp. 369–72. For Pascal's letter, see Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie," nos. 505, 545 (*Revue de l'Orient latin*, VIII, p. 364; IX, p. 411); Migne, *PL*, CLXIII, 45, 63, and 65.

It is highly probable, therefore, that the Spanish situation was at least prominent in the minds of well-informed church-statesmen in France, in the first decade of the twelfth century. The stream of returning pilgrims from Saint James of Compostela would bring home not only news, but more detailed accounts of the great battles like that of Zalaca (see note to v. 1187) which had caused such consternation in the Christian councils. To "keep warm" the Spanish resistance, to incite to new effort and to appeal to the

love of foreign adventure, what better than the glorious tale of Charlemagne's descent upon Saragossa? Not Einhard, perhaps, but later historians (*Anon. Vita Ludovici, c.* 2) had stated that Charles had gone to Spain in order to free the Church, which was "laboring under the most bitter yoke of the Saracens." Einhard's *Life of Charles*, which was in every library, had carefully covered up the unpleasant facts that the great Emperor had really been in alliance with the Saracens, and that his expedition of 778 was empty of results: it was not until 795 that his generals subdued the Spanish March and made it a part of the Frankish kingdom. It mattered little that the pious Charles had in fact failed to take Saragossa: the poet's stuff was the all-conquering Charlemagne and his chastisement of the accursed infidel, and we may notice that to a Frenchman of the year 1100, Charles' story, authentic and legendary, recalled a "France" which at that time was hardly more remote than Du Bellay's France is to a modern Frenchman.

See J. Bédier, IV, pp. 437–69; Garrod and Mowat, *Einhard's Life of Charlemagne*, 1915, pp. xxiv, 52; L. Halphen, *Eginhard: Vie de Charlemagne éditée et traduite*, 1923, p. ix.

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Envermeu
Longueville
St. Foy
Amiens
Laon
Rouen
Reims
Bayeux
Le Bec
Caen
Evreux
Conches
St. Denis
Paris
Avranches
Mt. St. Michel
Chartres
Troyes
Rennes
Le Mans
Orléans
Vézelay
Gennes
Tours
Dijon
Besançon
Nantes
Vihiers
POITOU
Poitiers
Nevers
Beaune
BOURGOGNE
Cluny
Lyons
St. Jean d'Angely
Saintes
St. Leonard
SAINTONGE
Blaye
Périgueux
Le Puy
Valence
Vienne
Bordeaux
Viviers
Conques
Moissac
St. Gilles
Arles
Montpellier
Erbonne
GASCOGNE
Toulouse
Narbonne
PORT VIZE
St. Jean-Pied-de-Port
Roncesvaux
Carcassonne
Estella
Pamplona
PORT D'ASPRE
Jaca
Puenta La Reina
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tudela
Ebro R.
Berbegal
Balaguer
Gerona
Saragossa
0°
4°
8°
50°
46°
42°
from Greenwich 0° Longitude East from Greenwich 4°

The nucleus of the whole Roland legend is, most probably, the ninth chapter of Einhard's *Vita Karoli:* a baggage-train, guarded by soldiers presumably under the command of Roland, prefect of the Breton March, was attacked by Gascons in the passes of the Pyrenees, and Charles' men — including Roland and other notables — were slain to the last man:

Whilst the war with the Saxons (writes Einhard) was being prosecuted constantly and almost continuously (cf. v. 2922, and note) he — Charles — attacked Spain with the largest military expedition that he could collect. He crossed the Pyrenees, received the surrender of all the towns and fortresses that he attacked, and returned with his army safe and sound, except for a reverse which he experienced thru the treason of the Gascons on his return thru the passes of the Pyrenees. For while his army was marching in a long line . . . the Gascons . . . rushing down into the valley beneath, threw into disorder the last part of the baggage-train and also the rear-guard which acted as a protection to those in advance. In the battle which followed the Gascons slew their opponents to the last man . . . Eggihard,[1] the royal seneschal; Anselm, count of the palace; and Roland (*Hruodlandus*), prefect of the Breton frontier, were killed along with very many others.

Medieval readers of this passage found it natural that the seneschal and the count of the palace should have been in charge of Charles' baggage-train; the prefect Roland, it was also quite natural to infer, must have been in command of the unfortunate rear-guard.

This setting of facts was soon filled in, by later writers, with imaginary events. The Moissac copy of the *Lorsch Annals*, for example, added to Einhard's battle, that it was fought on a Sunday, and that in it many thousands of Saracens fell; also that although it was 3 P.M. the sun was made as if it were between 7 and 8 A.M. (cf. v. 2459, and note). Thus the Gascons have now become Saracens, and the sun stood still in the sky to the advantage

[1] For an epitaph of Eggihard, see *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XVI (1873), p. 279. From this is known the date, August 15, 778, of the "battle" of Roncesvaux. See Notes to vv. 1002, 2772.

of the Christians. By such steps as these the legend grew of a great battle: details reasonable in themselves were added, accretions of various sorts appeared. In the charters of the Abbey of Saint Foy at Conques (Aveyron) the name *Rotlandus* appears as early as 959, again in 1013, and often in the eleventh century. This Abbey, on one of the two great routes to Saint James of Compostela (see Bédier's map), received into its possession, between 1094 and 1104, the almshouse at Roncesvaux; long before this, early in the eleventh century, the Abbey of Conches (or Castillon) in Normandy (Eure) had been founded, with bits of relics of Saint Foy. Through these channels the legend may have grown and spread. The Counts of Champagne and Blois were interested in Conques; Adela, countess of Blois, made a visit to the Abbey in 1101. The Giffords, seigniors of Longueville-en-Caux, also traveled thither, and it was to Longueville Priory, founded in 1093, that Thorold journeyed, as we have seen, to burn a candle in gratitude upon the altar of Saint Foy. At Fleury-sur-Loire, possibly before 1100, Raoul Tortaire knows of a famous sword, once wielded with deadly effect upon the pagan people by "Rutlandus," and this Rutlandus was a nephew of Charlemagne; Charles, in fact, had given him the sword (cf. v. 2321). A contemporary of Raoul's, Hugues of Fleury, in narrating the battle of 778, adds a statement that Roland's body was carried to Blaye and there buried (cf. vv. 3689–93).

See F. M. Warren, MP, XIV (1916) p 141 (where *nova* is a misprint for *nona*); Desjardins, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Conques en Rouergue*, pp. xv, cxv; A. Bouillet, *Liber miraculorum sanctæ Fidis*, 1897, p. 129, note; K. Hofmann, *Amis et Amiles*, 1882, p. xxvii; Bédier, IV, pp. 405–12.

We have seen above that several incidents of the First Expedition seem to have been utilized as materials for the Oxford *Roland* (cf. pp. xliv ff.), also that Roland's character may owe some features to that of Prince Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, the Norman. The probabilities do not end here: Thorold may have modeled his battle of Roncesvaux upon one or more of the

outstanding battles of his own day. If one familiar with the *Rol.* read for the first time the details of the battle of Dorylæum (1097), he will be surprised by several striking resemblances in events and circumstances:

ROLAND	ANONYMI GESTA FRANCORUM, *c.* IX.
"Fair was the day" (v. 1002).	End of June — July 1.
Roland and the Twelve Peers command the rear-guard (vv. (778, 827).	Bohemond, with Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois, command the minor army.[1] The "prudent Tancred," nephew of Bohemond, also present. § 2.
On the approach of the pagan host, Roland refuses to notify the main army under Charlemagne (v. 1053).	Bohemond, learning of the approach of the Turks, is slow in notifying the main army under Godfrey and others.[2] § 6.
"The Saracens of Spain cover the valleys and the mountains, and the foothills and the plains: great are the hosts of that foreign folk" (vv. 1084–86).	"A great multitude of Turks, Arabs and Saracens . . . almost all the mountains and hills and valleys and all the level places . . . were covered with that excommunicate race." § 7.
Roland shouts to the French (v. 1112) and again addresses them (v. 1164 ff.).	"Bohemond spoke again to all the knights: 'Seigniors and bravest knights of Christ, behold the battle is now close about us on all sides. Therefore, let all the knights advance manfully against the enemy.'" § 4.

[1] The *minor exercitus*, according to Anselm of Ribemont; see Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe* (1901), p. 145.

[2] This is the fact. The AGF, always eulogistic of Bohemond, state that he sent word "at once," but Fulcher of Chartres is nearer the truth when he says "after delay" (*tarde*). See Hagenmeyer's note 26, AGF, p. 200.

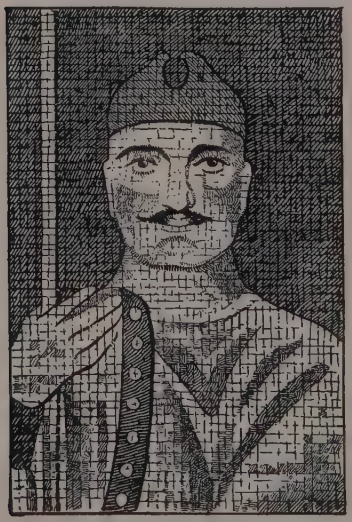
Roland finally consents to recall Charlemagne (v. 1753).	When Bohemond found he could not alone withstand the Turks, "he sent word . . . to Duke Godfrey . . . to hurry and come to the battle as quickly as possible." § 6.
"Today," says Roland, "we shall have fine spoils in abundance" (v. 1167).	Bohemond's knights promise each other: "this day . . . you will all have been made rich." § 7.
Roland's call for help disbelieved at first; Ganelon ridicules the idea (vv. 1760, 1770).	"They utterly refused at first, laughing at the messengers, and saying, 'surely all this is false.'" § 6.
Charles and his army arrive, attack and pursue the pagans until nightfall, taking immense spoils (vv. 2443 ff., 2478).	Godfrey and the "other army" arrive, the pagans are attacked and pursued a whole day ("until night," says Fulcher), losing immense spoils. § 9.

Surely, these resemblances are at least arresting, and no less so are similarities between the disposition of Marsile's forces at Roncesvaux and that of Yûsuf's troops at the battle of Zalaca (1086).

The conflict in *Roland* is imagined as falling into three main encounters: Aëlroth is the first paynim commander to be defeated, then King Marsile comes up with his vast army (v. 1448) and is only repulsed with the greatest difficulty; finally, the Algalife, with 50,000 negroes, finishes the slaughter of the Christians (v. 1913 ff.). At Zalaca, as described by Dozy (*Spanish Islam*, 1913, pp. 696–98), an advance-guard of Andalusian Arabs is first dispersed by King Alphonso, the main body under Yûsuf being held in reserve, concealed by mountains (cf. *Rol.*, v. 1449); when these are engaged, a long and desperate fight ensues with varying fortunes. Finally, the Christians are utterly routed by the onset of a body of savage negro guards, hitherto held in reserve. The brave King of Seville is wounded in the hand, as is King Mar-

sile in *Roland* (v. 1903). It would seem probable that the poet of *Roland* had listened to accounts of this crushing defeat of Alphonso VI of Castile, a defeat which made Moslem Spain little else than a province of the empire of Morocco and filled Christian France with alarm.

The personage of Charlemagne, as presented in the *Roland*, has traits some of which are historically true; others are purely legendary (see above, p. xxiv). "He used to love the pilgrims" — "amabat peregrinos," records Einhard, and Charles was himself at times a pilgrim. He had built roads for them, had ransomed captives, had made it a legal obligation to withhold neither roof, hearth, nor fire from the seekers of distant shrines. When, therefore, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the pilgrimages were seriously interfered with by the oncoming Turks, men's thoughts turned naturally to Charles, protector of the pilgrim, as though he were one of the injured parties. During the Second Expedition (1101) a rumor spread among the Crusaders that the great Charles had come back to life to lead his people again in a time of crisis and danger.



CHARLEMAGNE

Portrait in mosaic, made during the lifetime of Charles, Lateran Museum, Rome.

Legend came to reënforce history: Charles lived to an age three times the Scriptural three score and ten (vv. 524, 539); he is provided with a white beard (the mosaic of the triclinium of St. John Lateran at Rome shows him with a moustache only); he

has a sword "Joyeuse" and a banner named "Romaine" (vv. 2501, 3094); his war-cry (his *ensign*) is the pilgrim's shout "monjoie!"; he has acquired the functions of a priest-king, for he absolves and blesses (vv. 340, 3066); he is attended closely by the Angel Gabriel, who warns him at critical moments and announces his future movements (vv. 2526, 2847, 3610, 3993); he is surrounded by a faithful *comitatus*, the Twelve Peers, an institution in which the idea of twelve warriors, found already in Merovingian times (cf. *Rom.* XI, p. 408), happens to coincide with that of the twelve apostles of Christ. The legend of a great single combat between Charles and Witikind probably suggested the idea of the final duel of Charles and Baligant (vv. 3567 ff.).

See G. Paris, HPC, especially pp. 447–58, and 219–425; Bédier, IV (1913), pp. 437–64; W. Tavernier, *Vorgeschichte* (1903), *passim;* Boissonnade, *Du Nouveau, etc.*, pp. 307–15.

As to Roland historically, some would have it (so Fry, EHR, XX, p. 27) that Einhard's mention is the only evidence we have that any such person ever existed. Even in Einhard's *Vita*, a whole family of MSS omit the clause in which "Hruodlandus" is named; but the oldest MS of all (A), written before 850, contains the clause.

Einhard makes Roland "Warden of the Breton March," he was a "comes marchiæ," Eng. Margrave; the poem entitles him both *conte* (nom. *quens*) v. 2024, and *marchis* vv. 630, 2031. Says Bédier (II, p. 109): "precisely because Charles sent him as prefect into this region (the March of Brittany) we may infer that Roland was not native there." Early in the eleventh century, Adhemar of Chabannes speaks of "that Normandy which used to be called the March of France and Brittany" (III, *c.* 27), a passage which may be taken as indicating that the term, by that time, was no longer in current use. Beyond these slight evidences, the historical Roland is but a name.

Lavisse (*Histoire de France* II, 1, p. 294) admits as authentic a coin with Roland's name; see also Crescini-Moschetti, *I principali Episodi della Canzone d'Orlando* (1896), pp. xv and cxii.

Where, when, and by whom was this legend of Roland developed and elaborated? The earliest indication now known seems to be the signature "Count Rotlan" side by side with that of Charles in the Testament of Fulrad of St. Denis, a false charter alleged to be of the year 777, but really of the early tenth century; see ZFSL, XXXI[2], p. 17 (Stengel). The name Roland was popular; it occurs, for example, as early as 959 in the cartulary of Conques (ed. Desjardins, p. 101), while Dudo of St. Quentin (77 A) mentions a "francisci agminis signifer Rotlandus" of the time of Rollo (early tenth century). These last two, of course, may have nothing to do with the Roland of Roncesvaux, but other entries may be found which will prove that the legend was known before the close of the eleventh century; such, for example, are the charters, one dating ostensibly between 1090 and 1100, of the Abbey of St. Aubin at Angers, in which a woman mentions her two sons "Oliverius et Rotlandus" (II, p. 350), and another from Dax, dated 1096, which names two brothers, "Oliver" and "Rodlan" (Boissonnade, p. 336).

An important step was taken in the elaboration of the story when Roland was made a nephew[1] of Charlemagne; and another when Roland was closely associated with Oliver, and with Oliver's sister, Alde. Nothing is known as to when and how these two developments took place. As to the former, all that can be affirmed is that the relationship is common in the OF epic and romance; cf. MP, IX, pp. 312–15 (Nitze), and W. O. Farnsworth, *Uncle and Nephew in the OF Chansons de Geste*, 1913. In the *Roland*, Charles is the main figure, and Roland is his right arm (v. 597); the relation is made a very human one, and Charles' grief at Roland's death is real and intense (vv. 2859 ff.). We have seen (above, p. lxxiv) that there is some reason to believe that important traits of Roland's character may have been suggested by those of the crusader-hero Bohemond, who was almost a Norman by birth.

[1] Tavernier notes that *neveu* in OF may also mean 'grandson' (or 'cousin'); see ZFSL, XXXIX[1], p. 150, n. But the relation in *Rol.* is perfectly clear; see note to v. 312.

For the meaning of the name "Ruodland," see ANSL, LII (1874), pp. 459–62 (Sachse). For other possible prototypes of Roland and Oliver, cf. Boissonnade, *Du Nouveau, etc.*, pp. 321, 340.

As to Oliver, Roland's companion-in-arms, history seems to be silent; even the origin of the name is doubtful. In *Rol.*, the only detail vouchsafed us is that he was "son of duke Reinier, he who held the march of the valley of ——," and here the Oxford MS fails us; see note to v. 2209. For the *runers* of O, some would read Riviers; Tavernier (see ZFSL, XXXVIII,[1] p. 126 ff.) proposed Viviers. In the later epic *Girart de Viane*, Renier the father of Oliver and Aude is of Gennes. If we could take this to be Gennes, the ancient Roman town on the Loire, on the border of Anjou and Blois in the eleventh century, we might note that not far distant is Vihiers (Vigerium). This word not only fits the assonance v. 2209, but it is a fact that the château of Vihiers, built in 1010–1016 by Foulques Nerra, was in the march of Poitou ("la male marche," Joinville calls it, § 48) and in the valley of the Lys. "This castle," says Célestin Port, "was exposed like a sentinel, and felt the shock of every war." The region had been captured from Poitou by the Counts of Anjou, towards the end of the tenth century, and it may be that the legend of Reinier and his son Oliver belongs hereabouts; certain it is that the word *val* is fem. in the line from *Girart de Viane* discussed by Tavernier (ed. Tarbé, p. 103). There are towns La Val and Lavau near Vihiers, while the *Rol.*, as well as the *Roman de Thèbes* (v. 5194), admits the fem. gender (cf. vv. 1370, 3256, 3313). It is certain also that the name Renier is especially frequent in this neighborhood; "Reinerius" and "Olivarius" ("Oliverius") figure often, for example, in the cartulary of St. Aubin of Angers. Add to this a possibility that Vienne is not excluded from the region we are considering: of the fourteen towns of this name in France, one is a suburb of Blois. At no great distance, moreover, is Mont-Glonne, where Foulques Nerra, in 1034, had built a fortress, the castle being given over to the monks of St. Florent, in 1061. It was a Garin de Monglane (and *Monglane* appears to be to *Montglonne* as the

southwest dialectal *dame* is to *dome*, Lat. DOMINA [1]) that Bertrand de Bar gave as grandfather to Oliver. Thus, it would seem probable that it is towards the region of Angers and Blois that future researches into the *patrie* of Oliver [2] should be directed.

For suggested "originals" of Alde, see notes to vv. 1720, 3705. For Gennes, see C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* VI (1920), p. 440, n.; Halphen, *Le Comté d'Anjou au XIe Siècle* (1906). For Vihiers and Mont-Glonne, see C. Port, *Dictionnaire historique, géographique et biographique de Maine-et-Loire* (1874–78), II, p. 154, III, p. 718; Longnon, *Atlas historique*, I, p. 149; A. De Salies, *Histoire de Foulques-Nerra, Comte d'Anjou* (1874), pp. 221, 271.

For the rôle of Ganelon in the poem, see above, p. xxix. Historically, this important figure in the tale of Roncesvaux appears to be without basis. Suchier, it is true, accepted the legend of a Duke Lupus, who was said to have led the assault upon the rearguard and later to have been hanged for his treason: this tradition rests upon an alleged charter of Charles the Bald, supposed to be dated 845 but which is certainly not authentic; see G. Paris, *Mélanges de Littérature*, p. 29. But for so disastrous a defeat of the flower of Charles's army, some treachery, some underhand plotting to bring about overwhelming odds against the Franks was, so to speak, required: a traitor must have been at work, and how should this traitor be named? Thorold (or his predecessors) seems to have selected the name of a certain Wanilo (or Wenilo), whose history had some connection with that of the bishopric

[1] The name is given as *Glomna* "locus pulcherrimus," in the elegy on the destruction of the monastery printed by Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au 12e siècle*, 1843, p. 255.

[2] For other opinions, see H. Wendt, *Die Oliviersage im altfrz. Epos*, Kiel Diss., 1911, and Boissonnade, p. 337.

The *Chronicle of Turpin* speaks of Oliver as "Oliverius comes Gebennensis"; this, Paris and others rightly interpreted as meaning "of Geneva"; see W. Deonna, *Bulletin de l'Institut national genevois*, XLII (1917), p. 411, and *Rom.* XVII, p. 335. But it is evident that confusion with "Genabensis" (= Orleans) on the one hand, and with "Geinensis" (= Gennes, as in Gregory of Tours) and "Genuensis" (= Genoa) would be easy. At v. 2209, the MS V^4 reads: *de ceneura sor la mer.*

of Bayeux: it is known that while archbishop of Sens (837–865) Wanilo had secured for an undeserving relative, named Tortoldus, the see of Bayeux. Charles the Bald complained bitterly of this and other treasonable acts of the archbishop, who appears to have been one of the most considerable personages of his time. According to the *Chronicle* of St. Pierre-le-Vif of Sens, Wanilo was of noble family and astute of mind: and these are among the traits ascribed to Ganelon in the *Roland*. Had Bishop Turoldus of Bayeux seen the records of this ancient quarrel, and remembered the name as that of a noble vassal who had been a monster of ingratitude to his lawful king? It seems quite possible.

See Bédier, IV, p. 360; more fully in Génin, *Chanson de Roland*, pp. xxv–xxvii. For the origin of the name, see *Rom.* XXXI, p. 392 (J. Loth); *Rom.* XXXV, p. 100 (F. Lot); Kalbow, *Germanische Personennamen*, p. 49. I have followed G. Paris in preferring the nom. case *Guenle* (see *Rom.* XI, p. 486, note) but with the flexional *-s* (see *Rom.* XXXI, pp. 212–36).

In the search for historical prototypes for Ganelon, attention has also been drawn to a well known Crusader, William, viscount of Melun, surnamed "the Carpenter." At Antioch, in January 1098, at the lowest ebb of the Christian fortunes, this person attempted to desert. Captured and brought back to camp, he was loaded with insults and reproaches by Bohemond; but, as almost all the French interceded for him, he was pardoned, only to desert again soon after in company with Stephen of Blois. Bohemond, in upbraiding the fugitive, uses the words: "Cur tam turpiter fugisti? Forsitan ob hoc, quod voluisti tradere hos milites et hostem Christi, sicut tradidisti alios in Hispania?" Hagenmeyer would refer this incident to the Spanish expedition of 1087–88 (so also Boissonnade, p. 330) but it may be noted that the incident seems to be otherwise unknown, also that "Hispania," "Ispania" in the texts of the historians of the First Crusade means at times Ispahan and not Spain (cf. Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 381). For the original narrative, see AGF, *c.* XV.

The figures of the Archbishop Turpin (see above, p. xxx, and Bédier, IV, p. 383), of Ogier the Dane (see Bédier, II², p. 297 ff., and B. Cerf, in RR, I, p. 1 ff.) and of Geffrey of Anjou (see note to v. 104 ff.) all have a slight justification in history. There is, of course, no historical warrant for their having been at Roncesvaux, but the poet needed them to fill his stage. To Turpin especially is assigned an important rôle. The warlike prelate Bishop Jerome who asks for "the first blows" in the *Cantar de Mio Cid* (vv. 1708 ff.); Bishop Odo of Bayeux, who furnished forty ships to William's expedition of 1066 and who in 1085 assembled an army to make himself Pope — these show how entirely in keeping for the times is Turpin of Reims, he who is the last to perish, except Roland, on the bloody field. At the same time, Turpin has many traits which recall the attractive figure of Bishop Adhemar of the Puy, who accompanied the First Expedition and who died at Antioch, in 1098.

The pleasing figure of Thierry of Anjou, who in the β-versions is made into an esquire for Roland:

Escuiers fut de Rolant le marchis

Tavernier thought to be a portrait of the youthful Foulques V. of Anjou, son of Bertrada, who died King of Jerusalem (see note to v. 3818); but, even if this conjecture be true, the poet has denied us the means either to prove or to disprove it.

The net result of this survey of the models and materials utilized to produce the Oxford *Roland* is, therefore, to support and to confirm as true the propositions of J. Bédier (IV, p. 462): "Dans la mesure où les croisades sont explicables, la *Chanson de Roland* l'est aussi. . . . On peut comprendre Turold dans la mesure où on peut comprendre Pierre l'Hermite."

Conversely, the poem which opens and closes with the name of Charles the Great does not give us a true picture of Charlemagne, nor of his times: it is a poem on the great Charles as the contemporaries of William Rufus and St. Anselm imagined him to have been. Roland, the poet's hero, was depicted in order to please,

by his valor, the chevaliers who admired Bohemond, or Tancred, or Baldwin I of Jerusalem; by his piety, bishops and abbots like Baudry of Dol or St. Hugh of Cluny; by his single-minded loyalty to feudal duty, those more public-spirited barons who could rise to the conception of a French nation; by his manliness, the fair Aldas of the day — ladies like Adela of Blois, who was believed to have sent her husband back to his duty as a Crusader and to his death. The *Roland* is plainly a work written (or rewritten) in behalf of a "cause": its inner purpose is propaganda, and it becomes thereby an integral part of the political history of France.

Thus, in seeking to define the spirit and motive that animate the Oxford *Roland*, we have been led gradually to the strong impression, almost a conviction, that, in its present form, the poem was written and sung after the capture of Jerusalem, as an incitement — an "excitatorium" — to French and Norman knights, urging them to greater and renewed exertions against the Turks, Arabs, and Moors, the Moslem enemies of the Christian church; that it has some connection with the Abbey of Le Bec, which was then in close alliance with Reims, Lyons, Cluny, and Rome; that its last redactor was the ex-Bishop Thorold, whose name is inscribed, in characters of the eleventh century, as "Turoldus," literally as in v. 4002 of the poem, upon the vault of the choir of the cathedral church of Bayeux.[1] At Le Bec, and probably previously, Thorold was in touch with the shrines of Saint Foy, at Longueville, and at Conches in Normandy; Conques in the South was apparently the fountain-head of the literary legend of Roland at Roncesvaux; Thorold took this up, developed the figures of Charles, Roland, Oliver, Turpin, and the rest, and, upon the basis of prominent contemporary events and persons, he wrote, or, more probably, rewrote, his moving poem.

[1] See Béziers, *Mémoires . . . du Diocèse de Bayeux*, Paris and Rouen, 1896, I, p. 295; Marignan, *La Tapisserie de Bayeux*, 1902, p. 184.

IX. Extension

The great popularity of the *Roland* is shown by the many allusions, imitations, and adaptations which exist, as well as by the good number of manuscripts. Very few of the later epic poems are free of *Roland* influence: even the early *Chanson de Guillaume*, which some at first supposed was older than the year 1100, seems to show traces of Thorold's work; see *Rom.* XLIV (1915), pp. 55–86 (Wilmotte). As to the romances — the "matters" of Rome and of Britain — they are full of allusions to the heroes of Roncesvaux. Does Crestien of Troyes wish to shape a fitting climax to his account of the prowess of Ivain, he has recourse to the Roland story:

> Et veez comant il le fait
> De l'espee, quant il la trait!
> Onques ne fist de Durandart
> Rolanz des Turs si grant essart
> An Roncevaus ne an Espaigne! (vv. 3233–37)

Before Crestien, the Norman poet Wace had used Roland to give point to his eulogy of the Conqueror at Hastings: when William is being disarmed after the conflict, an admiring crowd views the battered shield and the broken helmet,

> E diënt tuit: 'Tels ber ne fu
> Qui si poinsist ne si ferist,
> Ne qui d'armes tel fais soffrist.
> Pois Rollant ne pois Olivier
> N'out en terre tel chevalier!' (*Rou*, III, vv. 8958–62)

But, aside from the Song of Roland proper, the story of Charles and his nephew at Roncesvaux exists in other forms: there are reworkings of the tale in Latin, Provençal, Italian, and Spanish.

In Latin, but of unknown date, are the 241 distichs which go under the name of the *Carmen de Prodicione Guenonis*, preserved in a MS of the fifteenth century at the British Museum, and published by G. Paris in *Rom.* XI (1882), p. 466–80; for an English translation, see RR, II (1911), pp. 61–79 (Livingston).

In Latin also is the prose *Chronicle of the Pseudo-Turpin*, written towards the middle of the twelfth century. It contains, in chapters XIX to XXVII, the story of Roland at Roncesvaux, but in a form differing both from *Rol.* and from the *Carmen*. Instead of perishing just before Roland on the field of battle, the Archbishop is represented as surviving to write, in his old age, an account of what befell at Roncesvaux. For the extraordinary vogue of this fiction, already recognized as such by Claude Fauchet (*Œuvres*, 1610, II, p. 229 b), see Bédier, III, pp. 41–114; and for the *chansons de geste* which are based upon it, *ibid.*, pp. 115–52. It has been proven beyond a doubt that the *Chronicle of Turpin* is the fourth part, circulated separately, of a *Book of St. James of Compostela*, a work written to promote that celebrated pilgrimage. Some fifty MSS of the Chronicle are in existence, with seven translations; the stained-glass windows of St. Denis and of Chartres were based upon it, while scores of quotations from and allusions to it are to be found in medieval writers.

See Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii ævi*, II [2], p. 1075; for the text, F. Castets, *Turpini Historia Karoli magni et Rotholandi: texte revu et complété d'après sept MSS*. Paris Montpellier, 1880. The Charlemagne window at Chartres is described by A. Vétault, *Charlemagne*, 1888 [3], pp. 570–71, and by Henry Adams, *Mont St. Michel and Chartres*, 1904, p. 144.

In the Provençal language, it has been known for a long time that there were indications that there existed, towards the end of the twelfth century, epics of the Charlemagne group which included the story of Roland (cf. G. Paris, HPC, p. 88). In 1921, a MS was discovered in the municipal library of Apt (near Avignon) which contains a poem (about 3200 vv., in assonanced decasyllables) in Provençal language and dealing with Roland. The poem falls into two parts: the first narrates a love affair of Roland with Queen Berimonde at Saragossa; the second is an account of Roland at Roncesvaux, and follows more or less closely the known versions. See an account of this MS in *Rom.* XLVIII (1922), p. 311 (M. Roques).

A fragment of a Roland-poem in Spanish, of the early twelfth century, was discovered recently at Pamplona; see the text (of just 100 vv.) as published by R. Menéndez Pidal, *Revista de Filología española*, IV (1917), pp. 105 ff. In this poem, Don Roldane and Durandarte figure, but also Rinalte de Montalban, and the whole appears to have closer relations with the Pseudo-Turpin than with the Oxford version. The fragment preserved relates to the finding of the bodies of Oliver and Turpin on the battlefield; see note to v. 2953. Interesting also is the statement (v. 76) that Charles did *not* capture Saragossa; see note to v. 1.

As for Italy, for three full centuries after Thorold the Roland story continued to develop there and to inspire the poets. This was at first in a sort of mixed speech, neither pure French nor pure Italian, but which must have been comprehensible to large audiences. Typical of this earlier, the Franco-Italian period, would be the fourteenth century *Entrée d'Espagne;* "it is almost a second *Chanson de Roland*," says A. Thomas, its editor (1913). This long poem of over 15,000 verses recounts events and adventures which occur during the first five of the seven years of which the Oxford MS speaks (v. 2): it is in fact an immense prologue to the Oxford version. Noteworthy, perhaps, is the account of Roland's expedition against the city of Noble (vv. 9410 ff.) which appears to have been suggested by *Rol.*, v. 1775:

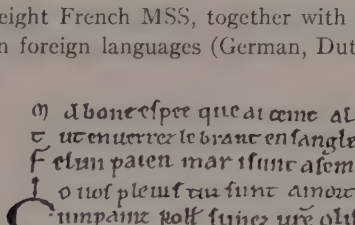
Ja prist il Noples seinz le vostre commant.

The authors of the *Entrée d'Espagne* also knew and utilized the *Chronicle of Turpin* (see above): the tone is that of pious edification and religious fervor, and far indeed from the spirit of the second phase of the Italian period, that which produced, in pure Italian language, the courtly, "chevaleresque" epics of Pulci (*Morgante*, 1483), Bojardo (*Orlando innamorato*, 1486), and Ariosto (*Orlando furioso*, 1516).

For a survey of the spread of the Roland epic and others of the cycle of Charles, see L. Gautier, *Les Epopées françaises*, II², pp. 272–397; for French influence in the *Poema de Mio Cid*, see R.

Menéndez Pidal's edition, 1913, pp. 38–48; for the tradition leading up to Ariosto's poem, see P. Rajna, *Le Fonti dell' Orlando furioso*,[2] 1900. For the legend of Roncesvaux in medieval Italian art, see E. Mâle, *Revue de Paris*, XXVI (1919), pp. 717 ff.: "L'Art du Moyen-Age et les Pèlerinages."

The text of the *Roland* proper has come down to us in a group of some eight French MSS, together with translations and adaptations in foreign languages (German, Dutch, Norse, Welsh, and English).



Specimen of the Oxford Manuscript
Digby 23, folio 20 a, verses 1066–81.

Of the French MSS, two present an assonanced redaction, the rest form the so-called rhymed redaction, or "Roman de Roncesvaux." The former group is designated α, the latter β, as follows:

Alpha group. "O" is the Bodleian manuscript. Cf. *Photographische Wiedergabe der HS. Digby 23 . . . veranstaltet von Dr. Edmund Stengel.* Heilbronn, 1878; also *Das altfranzösische Rolandslied. Genauer Abdruck der Oxforder HS. Digby 23, besorgt von Edmund Stengel.* Heilbronn, 1878.

"V^4" is Manuscript IV of the Library of St. Mark at Venice. Contains 6012 verses in assonance. Cf. *La Chanson de Roland. Genauer Abdruck der Venetianer Handschrift* IV, *besorgt von Eugen Kölbing*. Heilbronn, 1877.

Beta group. "C" is a MS preserved at Châteauroux (Indre); contains 450 laisses, in rhyme.

"V^7" is Manuscript VII of the Library of St. Mark at Venice; contains 447 laisses in rhyme. Cf., for these two, *Das altfranzösische Rolandslied. Text von Châteauroux und Venedig VII, hgg. von Wendelin Foerster*. Heilbronn, 1883.

"P", "T", and "L" are MSS preserved at Paris, Cambridge (Eng.), and Lyons respectively, "T" being named from Trinity College; cf. *Das altfrz. Rolandslied. Text von Paris, Cambridge, Lyon, und den sog. Lothringischen Fragmenten, mit R. Heiligbrodt's Concordanztabelle, hgg. von Wendelin Foerster*. Heilbronn, 1886.

"F" indicates the Lorraine Fragments.

Another fragment, of 108 verses, discovered in 1906, was printed in *Rom.* XXXV (1906), pp. 445–53.

The interrelation, and the consequent relative value of these MSS for the constitution of a text of the *Rol.*, is far from being settled. Two attempts at a "critical" text have been made, that of Léon Gautier, in 1872, and that of Edmund Stengel, in 1900 (Vol. I only was published). Gautier's system is explained in his edition of 1872, p. 8; Stengel's system, announced in 1877 (cf. ZfRP, I, p. 137, note) and defended and explained by his pupil, Adolf Rambeau (cf. *Ueber die als echt nachweisbaren Assonanzen des Oxforder Textes der Chanson de Roland*, Halle, 1878), is described briefly in his edition of 1900, p. IX. W. Foerster's affiliation, first put forth in 1878 (cf. ZfRP, II, p. 164), was adopted by Léon Gautier in his editions subsequent to 1880 (*éditions classiques*); reaffirmed by its author in his *Kristian von Troyes: Wörterbuch zu seinen sämtlichen Werken*, Halle, 1914, p. 228. For further discussion, see Frederick Bliss Luquiens, "The Recon-

struction of the Original Chanson de Roland," in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XV (1909), pp. 111–36 (a reply to criticisms in RR, IV, pp. 112–17); also J. Bédier, "De l'Autorité du ms. d'Oxford pour l'établissement du texte de la Chanson de Roland," in *Les Légendes épiques*, III (1912), pp. 460–77.

The Oxford MS, in the opinion of all, is seriously defective in places; to correct these defects, has the other assonanced MS, Venice IV, a unique and special value, or is it to be included with CV⁷PLTF of the rhymed redaction (β-group)? Stengel maintained the former hypothesis, although he finally admitted that V^4 had had as source, along with a MS of the same family as O, a MS which was closely related to T; an admission which would weaken the value of V^4. Luquiens and Bédier would adopt the latter alternative, and see in the MS tradition merely two witnesses, O on the one hand and the β-group on the other; both witnesses, however, being unreliable at times.

There has been agreement that the text of O may be safely corrected at times from V^4, whatever may be the exact relation between the two. Thus, at v. 580, the scribe of O has forgotten the whole second part of the line; *co dis li roi Marsilie* of V^4 498 supplies the missing words correctly. At v. 735, in O the first verse-member is incomplete, a so-called "lyric cæsura" being inadmissible in *Rol.;* V^4 668 supplies us with the right reading: (*Mais*) *il ne sevent.* . . . The notes contain numerous other instances in which V^4 comes to the aid of O, and a few cases in which readings, plainly defective in O, have been remedied from other MSS of the β-group. The present edition aims to present the readings of the Oxford Version as they are in the Bodleian manuscript, changes being made only when unavoidable; and these, with very few exceptions, being indicated in the Introduction or Notes. I have adopted and, I believe, followed conscientiously the two formulas approved by Luquiens (the first adopted by him from T. Müller): Never alter the Oxford manuscript to accord with the other redactions except for imperative reasons; exclude from

the Oxford manuscript whatever may be proved due to copyists. In the present state of our knowledge this, indeed, has seemed the only practicable plan.

A text of the *Roman de Roncesvaux* was published in readable form by Francisque Michel in 1869 (following C and P); see his *Chanson de Roland*, pp. 125–359. The various versions can be compared in Foerster's reprints; also, for vv. 1851–2396 and 3265–3395, in Foerster's Appendix to Foerster-Koschwitz, *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*. Heilbronn, 1886. For a valuable study of the process of dilution (*délayage*) undergone by the original *Rol.*, see ANSL, CXXXV (1916–17), p. 127 (Foerster). The German, Dutch, Norse, Welsh, and English versions are collated in Stengel's edition, 1900; see his *Introd.*, p. iv.

The Oxford MS was reprinted, in inexpensive form, by G. Gröber for the *Bibliotheca romanica*, Nos. 53–54 (Strasbourg, 1909). See also Eugen Lerch, *Das Rolandslied. Abdruck der Oxforder Handschrift in lesbarer Gestalt*, Munich, 1923.

X. Language and Versification

§ 1. Vocabulary

The glossary to this edition is intended to be complete both as to words and as to unusual flexional forms; the etymologies have been given in accordance with the most recent knowledge available. A recent count[1] gives the vocabulary of *Roland* as consisting, aside from proper names, of 1744 separate words; of these 1532 are Latin (including both the popular and the learned elements), 116 are Germanic (including Norse), 18 are Celtic, 13 oriental, and 14 of unknown or doubtful origin. About 23% of these will not be found in a modern French dictionary. The same survey divides the Latin element as follows: words found in classic Latin 816; of Vulgar Latin origin 601; learned words (*mots savants*) 103.

[1] Paul Blunk, *Studien zum Wortschatz des altfrz. Rolandsliedes*, Kiel Diss., 1905. None of these totals, it is to be feared, are strictly correct: I give them as merely approximate. F. Brunot counted 1775 words in Gautier's glossary; of these, he states, 408 have not survived into modern French (*Histoire de la langue française*, II (1905), p. 349, note).

From the Greek, Vulgar Latin had early borrowed an important group of words, many of which became entirely "popular": *blasme, bois, bosoing* (?), *chiere, colp, crote, espede, grifon, parole, pasmer, piedre, somier, talent, tresor;* others show more or less clearly their Church associations: *abêt, apostle, baptizier, chanónie, crystal, evesque, herite* 'heretic', *martir, matice* 'amethyst', *mirre* 'myrrh', *mónie, mostier, paredis, patriarche, prophete, proveidre, sarcou, sceptre, sinagoge, timome, topaze, ýdele* 'idol.' To these, contact in later centuries added: *chadable* 'catapult', *drodmond*, and *galee* (also *galie*).

The Arabic element in *Rol.* is considerable: *algalife, almaçor, amirail, amirafle, ciclaton, jaserenc, muserat, racater* (?), *saffrer*, and possibly *tabor* 'drum.' From the Persian are: *azur, eschecs* 'chess', and *matir*. Contact with the Danes and Norse in Normandy explains the presence of *eschipre, mast, sigler, targe, wigre;* the neighborhood of the *litus saxonicum* may account for *regreter* 'to call aloud a person's name', and for *a fort* 'aye forth.'

§ 2. Vowels

Assonance, the homophony of the last stressed vowel of the verse, serves to unify the strophe (*laisse*, or *vers*) of the *Rol.* and other OF epics. This agreement in vowel-quality (*timbre*) is exact; it is not "rough," or "approximate," as is sometimes stated. It forms the main basis for the study of the tonic (=stressed) vowels, which are:

1. *u*

Of this tonic vowel there are 15 laisses, 12 with masc. ending (as *escut, plus*), 3 with fem. ending (as *nude, comune*). It is pronounced as in Mod. Fr. *dur, mur;* perhaps even more "close." With it assonate in *Rol.* the diphthong *ui* (as in *nuit, lui, conduist*) and the nasal *un, comun, brun;* if the latter be nasalized at all, its quality is not thereby changed.

2. ǫ ("close *o*")

Of this tonic vowel there are 45 laisses, 29 masc. and 16 fem. It is pronounced a little closer than in Mod. Fr. *baume*, *rôle*, approaching the quality of Eng. *u* in *full*. In the Oxford MS, it is usually written *u* (as *flur*, *pluret*) but not infrequently with *o* (*flor*, *vos*, *baron*). In the V^4 manuscript, it is usually written *o*, but here and there *u* is used.

With this vowel assonates the diphthong *ou* in *dous*, Lat. DUOS and its compounds, probably also *lou* 'wolf' (written *lu* in O, v. 1751); possibly also the diphthong *ǫi*, as in *voiz* 'voice' (v. 3767) and in *oi*, Lat. ŬBI (v. 3004).

Seven of the masc. laisses have nasal assonances only (*hom*, *raison*, *mont*, etc.), two have oral assonances only: 9 are therefore unmixed. Against these are 20 laisses in which the two classes are mixed; it would seem that close *o* was beginning to be nasalized, but as yet the nasalization had not perceptibly changed the quality of the vowel.

3. ǫ ("open *o*")

This tonic vowel is used in 10 laisses, of which 9 have the masc. ending. It is pronounced as in Mod. Fr. *porte*, *cor*. Before nasals, the quality is the same: *chanônie*, *Saint Antônie* (v. 1581, where, however, the right reading is probably *Santônie* SANTŎNĬCU) and in *Grandônie*.

With the simple ǫ may assonate two diphthongs, *ǫi* and *ǫu*, as in *poi* PAUCUM, *joie* GAUDIA, and in *out* HABUIT, *clou* CLAVUM, *Anjou*.

4. *a*

Of this tonic vowel there are 31 laisses, of which 8 are masc. in ending. It is pronounced as in Mod. Fr. *nappe*, *Paris*. In words like *bataille*, *ventaille*, the (*i*) is merely graphic, and no diphthong is present; in *vait* VADIT, *faire* FACĔRE, *raiet*, *repairet*, *aire*, *Ais* AQUIS, the diphthong *ai* assonates with single *a*, but a later development, *ai* reduced to "open *e*" (see § 5), also appears in *Rol*.

The tonic vowel of *reialme* appears to have been nasalized (vv.

2914, 3716); so also that of *blasme*, v. 1082, but the latter is oral at v. 1346; *pasment* is oral only (vv. 1988, 2273). The diphthong *au*, so frequent later, has not yet appeared in *Rol.*: *l* + cons. is still *l* (not *u*) in *halt, altre, jalne, espalle*, etc.

5. ę ("open *e*")

Of this tonic vowel there are 21 laisses, of which 5 have the masc. ending. It is pronounced as in Mod. Fr. *perte, chapelle*. As sources, besides Lat. *ĕ* checked (*bel, enfer, herbe*) and G. *ë* (*isnel, helme, osberc*), the diphthong *ai*, of either Latin (*faire, jamais*) or G. origin (*Saisnes* SAXONES, *escalguaite* SCHARWAHTA) is at times reduced to open ę; see § 4. An archaic stratum of language is shown when this *ai* assonates with *ai* alone (laisse XLVI), or with single *a*; see § 4. In *helme* 2120, the glide-vowel has not yet appeared, but the copyist writes also *healme* 683, 712.

6. ę̆ ("short close *e*")

This tonic vowel appears in but one laisse (CXXI). Soon after the *Rol.* it becomes opener in quality, and is then like open *e*; see the preceding section. In *Rol.*, its sources include Lat. *ĭ* checked (*messe, evesque, metre*) and AS *ē* in *regrette* from **grētan; Tulete* TOLETUM is a loan-word from the Spanish. For *chevel* CAPĬLLUM 2347, 2931, and its doublet *chevol* 976, see Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, p. 154 (O: *chevoel*).

7. ę̄ ("long close *e*")

Of this tonic vowel there are 32 laisses, of which 24 are masc. in ending. It is supposed to differ from the foregoing (*e*) only in length (quantity). Besides Lat. words with free *ā* or *ă* before oral conss., not preceded by pal. cons. (§ 10), it appears in the loan-words *Omer* HOMĒRUM, and *Sebre*, the Ebro river, CL IBĒRUM. In *bacheler, bocler*, and possibly in *chevaler*, the suffix -AREM is not yet replaced by *-ier*, Lat. -ARIUM.

The diphthong *ęu* assonates with single *ę̄*; the only words involved are *Deu* and compounds (the pl. *deus* occurs v. 2618) and *Maheu* v. 66, which appears to be MATTHÆUM.

8. *i*

This tonic vowel occurs in 41 laisses, of which 19 are masc. in ending. It is pronounced as in Mod. Fr.

Besides its usual sources (Lat. *ī* free or checked, before orals or nasals, and Lat. *ē* after pal. cons.) *Rol.* also shows a few cases of *i* in assonance from Lat. *ĕ* + pal. cons., as in *sire* VL SĔJOR (CL SĔNIOR), *Galice* GALLÆCIA, *engignent* INGĔNIANT, *desconfite* DISCONFĔCTA, and probably in *lire* LĔGĔRE (v. 485; see note to line). The same reluctance to use this class of words in rhyme is observed in the poet Wace; cf. Suchier, *Voyelles toniques du vieux français*, 1906, p. 6, note. The diphthong *iu* (as in *liu*, *giu*, *Chaneliu* § 14) does not occur in assonance; in *aït* (v. 3358), *iu* is reduced to *i*.

9. *ue*, *oe*

This diphthong occurs in but two laisses, both masculine. It is pronounced much as in Spanish *bueno*. The oral group (*coer*, *voelt*) assonates with the nasal (*hoem*). For the word *fieus* 'fief' in this assonance, see v. 315, n.

10. *ie*

This diphthong furnishes the assonance for 27 laisses, of which all but two are masculine. It is pronounced, even before nasals (*vient*, *tient*), as Mod. Fr. *ie* in *pied*, *moitié*.

Of common words which vary in OF between (*ê*) and (*iê*), *Rol.* shows: *agiêt* 2545 (from *soi ageter*), *amistiêt*, *maisniede*, *mendistiêt* 527 (but also the doublet *mendistêt* 542), *pitiêt;* also *aidier*, *geter*, and *iriêt*. The G. diphthong (*eo*) appears as (*iê*) in *espiêt* SPEOT, and in *fiêt* FEOD, but the latter occurs in (*oe*) assonance at v. 315; see note there.

The writer of the Oxford MS very often replaces (*ie*) with (*e*) as is customary with Anglo-Norman scribes: it is evident that he made no distinction between the two sounds. Thus, *melz* for *mielz*, *ben* for *bien*, *cel* for *ciel;* *mester* for *mestier*, *chen* for *chien*, *juger* for *jugier*, *Baivere* for *Baiviere*, etc. It is therefore a matter

of indifference to him whether he writes (v. 484) *al paien l'at livrêt*, or *l'at livrêt al paien*, and whether he makes the assonance (*é*) or (*ié*). Similar transpositions have spoiled the assonance at vv. 135, 433, 474, 2163, 2775. Almost 98% of the assonances in (*ie*) and (*e*) are entirely normal: this creates a strong presumption that the 14 cases of violation are due to faulty transmission, or the copyist's inability to make the Continental distinction.

11. *ei*

Of this diphthong, which is distinct from the nasal *ẽin* (§ 13), there are 13 laisses, all but one of which are masculine. It is pronounced like the diphthong in Eng. *grey, they*.

Noteworthy are *merveit* 571 *MIRABILIET, *vermeiz* 999, *soleiz* 1002, in *ei* assonance, a development which disassociates *Rol.* from Central French (see Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, p. 156). Perhaps also *pareiz* (O: *parenz*) 3556.

Francês FRANK + ĪSCUM has the checked vowel of § 6; *demaneis* was made from *demanês* DE MANE IPSO on the model of pairs like *freis — frês*, G. FRISK 'fresh'.

12. *ãn* and *ãin*

Of the nasalized *an*, which does not assonate with oral *a* (§ 4), there are some 45 laisses, 34 masculine and 11 feminine. While there are 15 masc. laisses which mingle words of the type *gent, vent* with those of the type *grant, tant*, the 11 fem. laisses do not mingle the two types, and there are two masc. laisses (CXLIII and CCXXV *a*) which have *-ent* words exclusively. If these were pronounced as *-ãn*, they increase the number of *-an* laisses to 47. The sound was pronounced as in Mod. Fr., but it is not known whether or not the nasal consonant was still heard.

Main MANUM 1158, 3965 is the only word in which *-ain* masc. assonates with *-an; main* assonating with open *ę* (§ 5) at v. 2264 is plainly erroneous (see note to line).

Among the fem. assonances, it is surprising to find the nasal in *blasme* 1082 and in *reialme* 2914, (3716). With words like *France, blanche*, assonate regularly those in *-aine, -aime, -aigne* as: *fraindre*

FRANGĔRE, *Espaigne* HISPANIA, *aimet* AMAT: the diphthong is evidently not pronounced as in Eng. *Spain* but more like Mod. Fr. *Espagne*. *Vaignet* VĔNIAT 1091 seems doubtful, but cf. also Wace, *Brut* 6072 (*vaigne: Bretaigne*).

Suchier was of the opinion that the author of the Baligant episode (cf. Introd., p. lxiii) separated carefully the sounds *-en* + cons. and *-an* + cons. — that he did not assonate *vent* with *grant* — while the two sounds are undoubtedly associated in other parts of the poem. The question of authorship is involved here (cf. Introd., p. lxiii), the contrary opinion being maintained by Bédier (III, p. 399, note).

13. *ēn* and *ēin*

Of this nasal vowel and diphthong, there are 7 laisses with fem. ending, and 2 probably (see preceding section) with masc. ending. It does not assonate with oral *ei* (§ 11) nor with any of the three oral *e*'s (§§ 5, 6, 7).

Forms with *-ence* -ENTIA seem required by the assonance in *contenence* 3006, *fidence* FIDENTIA (3786), and in *socorence* 1405 (see notes to these lines). In *chalenges* CALŬMNIAS, the vowel derives from the inf. *chalengier;* cf. Herzog's addition to Darmesteter's law; also *Maience* MOGŬNTIA.

In the fem. laisses, *peine* and *ceinte* will assonate with *trente* and *pendre:* cf. *blanche* with *fraindre*, § 12. *Prendre* 3710 is out of place in an *-an* + cons. assonance, but there is no means of controlling the reading.

14. Triphthongs

With the exception of *fieut* FEODUM 315, the OF triphthongs do not occur in assonance. Within the line, they are all reduced to diphthongs: *ou* from *uou* in *sarcous* SARCO(F)AGUS, *cous* VL COCUS 'cook', *iu* from *ieu* in *liu* LOCUM, *giu* JOCUM, *Chaneliu* CANANÆUM; *oi* from *uei* (*oei*) in *loins* LŎNGE + S, *pois* POSTEA, *oi* HŎDIE, *aproismet* ADPRŎXIMAT; but *ui* in *quir* CŎRIUM, *cuisse* CŌXA, and *oe* in *moer* (O: *moerc*) VL MŌRIO.

Under the head of Pretonic vowels may be noted the forms *leupart* LEOPARDUM 728, but *lepart*, AN reduction of *liepart* 733.

The learned retention of post-tonic vowels may be seen in *oriente* 3594 (elsewhere *orient*), *omnipotente* 3599. As to *Mahome* 3641, for the usual *Mahom* or *Mahomet*, another explanation is possible; see note to line.

§ 3. Consonants

Only a few special cases or problems can be treated here.

The sound (*k*) is written in O not only with (*c*) and (*qu*) but also at times with (*ch*): cf. *Blanchandrin* 413, and *chorage* = corage in Fergus, *Chenth* = Kent, in Domesday Book. It seems clear that (*ch*) has this value in *rachatent* 1833 (cf. *racatet* 3194), the verb being drawn apparently from Arab. *rahat*. In *marchis* also, (*ch*) may have the value (*k*), as in Mod. Fr.

The double forms *elme* and *helme*, *osberc* and *halsberc* (with and without the aspirate G. *h*) have been generally supposed to be Provençal and North French respectively; so G. Paris, *Mél. linguistiques*, pp. 502–06. There is a possibility, however, that the *h*-less forms may be Picardisms, due to Flemish influences: writers like Adam de la Hale (*onni*, *anter*), Baudouin de Condé (*ante*), the Artesian text *Aucassin et Nicolete* (*iaume*), *Aiol* 1032 (*aubers*) may be cited among others; cf. MP, X, p. 446. Difficulties would be removed if we were permitted to read *anste* at v. 720, and *onte* at v. 1701.

With regard to final *-t* in groups like *comencet a penser*, an important question arises: the elision or non-elision of fem. *e* in these phrases has long been a matter of discussion. Out of about 50 cases, Löschhorn (1873) admitted elision in 18, Rydberg (*Französisches ə*, 1907, p. 148) in only 16 cases, G. Paris (*Extraits*, p. 16) in "many" cases; E. Boehmer, on the other hand, removed all cases of elision. If the 16 cases of elision admitted by Rydberg are examined closely, it must be apparent that nearly all of them are easily emended and invariably improved: the only exception

is v. 1834, *Li emperedre chevalche iriedement*, a line which has extremely poor support.

In favor of consistent non-elision may be offered the following considerations: The *Cérémonial d'une Epreuve judiciaire*, written at Fécamp about 1100, and published by L. Delisle (BEC, XVIII, p. 253), not only shows forms like *fedelz*, *odir*, *chidet*, but also *entret el camp;* Suchier believed there were no cases of elision in *Eneas*, while the *Proverbia Salamonis* (c. 1140) show 30% of non-elided cases; there are a few cases of non-elision even a generation later, in the verse of Guernes and Marie de France (see Walberg's ed. of Guernes, p. cxliv). On the whole, therefore, the presumption would be justified that a poem composed (or rewritten) 1100–1110 might be entirely free from these elisions. The *Alexis*, as is well known, never elides this final *-et*.

For the present edition, the intervocalic dental has been restored: the last copyist leaves it untouched in a large number of cases (*fedeilz*, *lodet*, *vode*, *aiude*, *poedent*, *odum*, *sedeir*, *ad une ewe*, *cruisiedes*, *edet*), while in *tuele* 200 (for OF *Tudele*) he dropped it wrongly. In *ve.eir* 2853, the *-d-* was expunctuated and then erased; so also *pre.* (for *pret* PRATUM) 2871. As the space of three generations may separate the language of the copyist from that of the poet, it is a safe conclusion that the intervocalic dental should be regularly restored. — The (*s*) of *resnes* RETINAS (also *reisnes* in O, 1381) seems as little justified as the (*g*) of other texts: *regnes* Fergus 133:36; the *Rou* MSS (*e.g.*, I, p. 156) have *rednes*, the form used here.

§ 4. Definite Article and Pronouns

Definite Article

	Masc.	Fem.
Sg. nom.	li	la
obl.	lo (*later* le)	la
Pl. nom.	li	les
obl.	les	les

Drawn from the Lat. demonstrative pronoun ILLE, the OF article shows frequent traces of its origin; see below, Syntax. For elision and enclisis of these forms, see below, Versification.

Personal Pronouns

	First Person	Second Person	Third Person
Sg. nom.	jo	tu	—
obl.	mei, me	tei, te	sei, se
Pl. nom.	nos	vos	—
obl.	nos	vos	sei, se

In the Third Person, aside from the reflexive use:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg. nom.	il	ele	il
dat.	lui, li	li	—
acc.	lui, lo (le)	li, la	lo (le)
Pl. nom.	il	eles	—
dat.	lor	lor	—
acc.	els, les	eles, les	—

Of the double forms *mei* and *me*, *lui* and *li*, etc., the former represent developments under greater stress, the latter where there was little stress; but their use in OF differs in some important respects from the use of *moi* and *me* in Mod. Fr.

For enclisis of *lo*, *les*, see below, Versification.

Demonstrative Pronouns

These are *icist*, *icil*, with the neuters *icel* and *içe;* or, with the loss of the initial syllable, *cist*, *cil*, and *cel*, *ço*.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg. nom.	cist	ceste	ço
obl.	cest, (cestui)	ceste, (cesti)	ço
Pl. nom.	cist	cez	—
obl.	cez	cez	—
Sg. nom.	cil	cele	cel, ço
obl.	cel, celui	cele, (celi)	cel, ço
Pl. nom.	cil	celes	—
obl.	cels	celes	—

Relative Pronouns

There is no distinction for number:

	Masc. and Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	qui (*also* ki, chi *in O*), que	queḍ, que
Obl.	cui, que	queḍ, que

The Nom. *qui* is frequent in the sense of 'celui qui'; cf. vv. 119, 226, 596, 838, etc. The Nom. *que* is found especially before *en* and *i* (vv. 2575, 2833, 3412, 3703) where it is elided to *qu'*; so also *qu'estre* 3519.

In the Obl., *cui* and *qui* seem to be interchangeable spellings. This form has dative (v. 1279) and genitive (v. 417) functions, as well as accusative (v. 429). Once only (v. 1480) is the antecedent not a person.

In the Neut. Obl., occurs also a tonic form *queiḍ*, *quei* (vv. 832, (3759), 3981). The atonic form appears with the meaning 'ce que' (v. 460); cf. also the idiomatic *faire que proz* (*fols*, *traïtre*).

The relative *dont* (DE UNDE) occurs 17 times, and *o* (UBI) 11 times.

Interrogative Pronouns

The Masc. and Fem. is *qui*, Neut. *que* and *quei*. Here belong also *quant* and *quel*, the latter being declined as an adj. of Decl. II.

§ 5. Nouns

For nouns, three masculine declensions are distinguished, as follows:

Masculine I

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	murs	mur
Obl.	mur	murs

Thus are declined, in general, Latin masc. nouns which have *-s* in the nom. sg., *ami*, *cheval*, *Deu*, *fou* FŎCUM, *heir*, *rei*, *toneirre;* or neuters become masc., as *ciel*, *cuer* VL CŎREM, *mal*.

If the contact of the noun-stem and the *-s* of flexion produces the sound *ts*, the letter (*z*) is used to represent *ts*. *Z* was chosen to represent *ts* because in Greek and Latin orthography it had the value *dz* (so still in OF *doze* and *quinze*); in final position, it was devoiced to *ts*. *Z* will appear as the sign of masc. flexion whenever the noun-stem ends in:

the dentals *d*, *t*, as *piẽṭ*, pl. *piez; brant, dreit, escuṭ, mot, talent, tort*, etc.; obl. pl. *branz, dreiz*, etc.

nn or *mn*, as *an*, pl. *anz;* n. sg. *danz* DŎMNUS. *Damnesdeus* (also *damnedeus*) is a Church ("learned") form = DOMINUS DEUS.

pal. *l* ("*l* mouillée"), as in *filz* FĪLIUS, *genoilz, orgoilz, perilz*. The normal obl. sg. *fil* does not occur in O, the voc. *filz* having replaced it. *Chameilz* 129 = CAMĒLOS is surprising.

pal. *n* (Spanish *ñ*), as *bainz* BALNEOS, *poinz* PUGNOS.

rn, as *jorz* DIŬRNOS, obl. sg. *jorn* (also *jor* in O), *corz* CORNU + S, (O has the n. sg. *corn* 1789, but cf. Ox. Ps. *corz*, Meister, p. 90).

st as in *mast*, obl. pl. *maz, fust* obl. pl. *fuz*.

Masculine proper names are often similarly declined; nom. sg. *Berengiers, Gerins, Pinabels, Turpins*, etc. For the nom. sg., *Roḍlanz*, O has regularly *Roll'*, as also *Carl'* for *Carles*, but the rhyming poets leave no doubt as to the flexion; cf. *Thèbes* 1676 *Rollanz : granz*, Crestien, *G. d'Ang.* 1067 *Rollanz : crollanz*. Nom. *Charles* has the obl. *Charle* (masc. I), but also *Charlon* (masc. III); so also *Marsilies*, obl. *Marsilie* and *Marsilion*.

Necessarily indeclinable are nouns of all declensions whose stem ends in *s* or *z: tens* TEMPUS, *bois, mes* MĬSSUM, *pareḍis, ors* 'bear', *dos, os, vis, païs, marchis, cors* CORPUS and CURSUM, *pas* PĂSSUM, *respons, socors; braz, laz, piz* PĔCTUS, *larriz, esforz* (from *esforcier*).

The conss. *p*, *f*, and *k* (*c*) regularly fall before the *-s* of flexion: *champ*, nom. sg. and obl. pl. *chans, colp*, pl. *cols; cerf, nerf, serf*.

chief, if, tref; arc, duc (nom. sg. *dux*, pronounced *dus*), *borc, clerc, osberc, porc, sanc.* The Oxford MS usually writes *sancs, osbercs*, etc., but these are merely blended spellings: the rhymes of the poets show that the conss. in question were not pronounced.

Interesting survivals of the Lat. neuter pls. in *-a* are *deiḍe* DĬGĬTA 444 (but also pl. *deiz* 509), *charre* CARRA 'carts' 131, 186 (pl. *chars* in *Pel. Charlem.* 427), *mílie, milliere* MILLIARIA 1417. To these the regular sg. is *deit, char, mil* and *millier*. Other Lat. neuter pls. appear as fem. sgs., as *brace* VL BRACHIA, *geste, preḍe*, etc., for which see Fem. I. The number in *male voḍe* MALA VOTA 918 is uncertain.

When infinitives are used substantively, they are given the *-s* of flexion in the nom.: *li corners* 1742, obl. *corner* 2108.

Masculine II

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	freḍre	freḍre
Obl.	freḍre	freḍres

To this declension belong also *arbre, fillastre, maistre, marbre, paḍrastre, peḍre, ventre;* but *vespre* (in O at least) appears to belong to Masc. I; cf. *li vespres* 157, 1807. *Livre* occurs only in the obl. sg. 610; in Old French it commonly belongs to Masc. I. In the XIIIth century, this declension, originally distinct owing to the absence of *-s* in the nom. sg. in Latin, is absorbed into the First Declension.

Masculine III

(*a*) The accent is not shifted in the oblique cases:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	hom (*also* hoem)	home
Obl.	home	homes
Nom.	quens	conte
Obl.	conte	contes

(*b*) The accent is shifted in the oblique cases:

ábes	abéṭ	abéṭ	abez
ancestre	anceissor	anceissor	anceissors
ber	baron	baron	barons
Borgoing	Borguignon	Borguignon	Borguignons
bric	bricon	bricon	bricons
compaing	compaignon	compaignon	compaignons
emperedre	emperedor	emperedor	emperedors
énfes	enfant	enfant	enfanz
fel	felon	felon	felons
glot	gloton	gloton	glotons
garz	garçon	garçon	garçons
jugiedre	jugedor	jugedor	jugedors
niés	nevoṭ	nevoṭ	nevoz
poigniedre	poignedor	poignedor	poignedors
prestre	proveidre	proveidre	proveidres
sire	seignor	seignor	seignors
traḍitre	traḍitor	traḍitor	traḍitors

The vocative sg. and pl. is ordinarily the same as the nom. sg. and pl., but the voc. pl. of *seignor* is regularly *seignors; baron* occurs in O as voc. pl. 6 times, *barons* 18 times. O has the nom. sg. forms *bers, Borgoinz, compainz, fels, gloz,* but not uniformly; it is probable that these forms derive their *-s* of flexion from Masc. I declension, by analogy. *Bers,* however, may form an exception here and be also of Masc. I; see Westerblad, *Baro et ses Dérivés en roman,* Upsala Diss., 1910.

A VL hybrid declension (nom. *Mirus,* acc. *Mironem*), which is found in the Latin of Gregory of Tours, appears in OF: nom. *Charles,* obl. *Charlon, Guenles* or *Guenes — Guenelon, Marsílies — Marsilion, Naimes — Naimon, Otes — Oton.* The nom. cases to *Sanson, Lazaron* (*Sanses, Lazdres*) do not occur in the text. *Ivon* has the nom. *Ive* (not *Ives*) 2406; the obl. to *Piedres* (PĔTRUS) is *Piedre;* cf. also the obl. cases *Charle, Marsílie,* according to Masc. I.

A nom. sg. *Marsilions* (Masc. I) seems to occur at v. 222 (pos-

sibly the right reading may be *li mes Marsilion*); *empereḍor* 1444 is better taken as obl. sg. (cf. MP, XVI, p. 571 ff.).

Three feminine declensions are distinguished, as follows:

Feminine I

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	dame	dames
Obl.	dame	dames

Thus are declined, in general, all Latin or Germanic nouns ending in *-a: albe, barbe,* G. *broigne, chiere,* G. *guerre, lune, porte, vergoigne,* etc. Add to these Lat. neuter pls., as *brace, cervele, geste, joie, preḍe, pome, enseigne, merveille,* and "learned" loanwords such as *áneme, imâgene, ídele. Prophete* 2255 may be fem. Some accessions to this declension are from the third Lat. dec., as *aronde, costume, poldre;* also *jovente, tempeste, poḍeste* from VL JUVENTA for JUVENTAS, etc.; cf. the doublet *poḍestét̨* POTESTATEM, which belongs to Fem. II.

Feminine II

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	flor	flors
Obl.	flor	flors

Thus are declined all fem. nouns whose stems end in a consonant, as *cort, main, mer, mort, moillier, nuit, neif* 'snow', *pareiṭ, part, tor* 'tower', etc.; all nouns with the suffixes *-tét̨* -TATEM, *-on* -IONEM (*avison, maison, raison*), *-or* -ŌREM (*amor, color, iror, poor* 'fear'). In the pl., the addition of *-s* conforms with the rules laid down for the masc. nouns (see above): *amistiez, citez, corz;* the pl. of *ost* 'army' is *oz; charn* keeps the final *-n* in *Rol.*, the pl. would be *charz. Dent* 'tooth', which is sometimes fem., is masc. for the author; cf. v. 2346, note.

Exceptions are *fins* Lat. FINIS, which in two cases (3395, 3872) keeps its Lat. *-s* in the nom. sg., and *leis* LEX 3338. As is well known, this is the regular flexion in Crestien de Troyes and other

writers of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, and herein lies the main justification for the separation of this Declension from Fem. I.[1]

Feminine III

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	suer	sorors
Obl.	soror	sorors

Here, the Lat. nom. (and voc.) SŎROR has survived into OF because of its frequent vocative use in direct address, while the Lat. nom. in words like LEO — LEONEM, NOX — NOCTEM, AESTAS — AESTATEM was lost. The wide divergence of form in the sg. provoked a levelling process, and already in *Rol.* we have *suer* in the obl. sg. (v. 312), while elsewhere *la seror* appears as nom. sg. (Ambroise, *Guerre sainte*, p. XL).

If the stem contains or develops a final *-s*, the word is of course indeclinable: *voiz*, *croiz*, *feiz* VĬCEM, *pais* PAX, *peiz* PĬCEM.

A variety of fem. declension which belongs partly here and partly under Fem. I is —

nonne nonnain nonnains nonnains

For the origin of this form of flexion, see Nyrop II, p. 183. It appears in *Rol.* only at v. 3730.

§ 6. Adjectives

The *Adjective* declensions are merely combinations of the Noun declensions, with the addition of a neuter form:

Adjective Declension I *a*

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg.	clers	clere	cler
	cler	clere	cler
Pl.	cler	cleres	—
	clers	cleres	—

[1] The Oxford MS has also *amors* nom. sg. 3107; but *dulors* 1437 is to be replaced by *doels* (Masc. I).

Adjective Declension I *b*

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg.	tendre	tendre	tendre
	tendre	tendre	tendre
Pl.	tendre	tendres	—
	tendres	tendres	—

Declension I *a* is thus the combination of Masc. I and Fem. I; I *b* is the combination of Masc. II with Fem. I. The same phonetic adjustments are to be made for adjectives as for nouns: *-z* will appear under the same conditions, *p*, *f*, and *k* fall before the *-s* of flexion, the number of indeclinables in the masc. is large (*bas*, *corteis*, *doloros*, *espês*, *fals*, *gros*, *tierz*, etc.).

Declension I *b* (as *altre*, *destre*, *tendre*, *senestre* in *Rol.;* also *nostre* and *vostre* in the sg.) is later absorbed by I *a*: already in *Rol.* we have the nom. sg. *neirs*, Lat. NĬGER.

The vocatives *bels sire*, *bels filz* are frequent in O; the form *bel sire* is also found, which may reproduce Lat. BELLE SENIOR (cf. also *chier sire* 2441, 2688). See ZFSL, XLVI, p. 321 (Meyer-Lübke).

The adjective *tot* requires special mention:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg.	toz	tote	tot
	tot	tote	tot
Pl.	tuit	totes	—
	toz	totes	—

We may also notice the expression *tote jorn* 'all day long,' formed apparently upon the model of *tote di* and *tote nuit;* cf. MLN, XVIII, p. 38 (Johnston).

The neuter forms are frequently used: nom. sg. *bel* 1004; obl. sg. *estreit* 1001, *sol* 1034, *tot* 400, 1038, *veir* 1436; *blanc* 1299, 1934, etc. In the expressions (*il*) *nen est dreiz* 228, 2349, *nen est fins* 2978, and possibly in *veirs* 381, we are dealing with masc. nouns rather than neuter adjectives; cf. Tobler, *Beiträge*, II, p. 178.

Adjective Declension II

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg.	forz	fort	fort
	fort	fort	fort
Pl.	fort	forz	—
	forz	forz	—

Thus will be declined all Latin adjs. which do not have a fem. in *-a*, as GRANDIS (masc. and fem.), GRANDE (neuter), FORTIS, VL GRĔVIS, FIDĒLIS, GENTĪLIS, MORTĀLIS, QUĀLIS, TALIS, VILIS, etc.; also Lat. pres. ptcps. become adjs., as *vaillant, luisant, puissant.*

Adjective Declension II is therefore a combination of Masc. I and Fem. II of Nouns. As in the case of Nouns, an occasional *-s* is found in the MS in the nom. sg. fem.: *forz* 1713, *granz* 1005.

Already in VL, several of these adjs. had acquired a fem. in *-a*, and therefore appear in OF in Declension I *a*: *comun — comune* (remade upon UNUS), *dolent — dolente, dolz — dolce, fol — fole, vert — verte* (as if from VL VIRIDUS, VIRIDA, VIRIDUM). As for *grant*, the regular fem. *grant* (cf. Mod. Fr. *grand-mère, grand-rue*, etc.) appears in *Rol.*, but also in a few cases the new analogical fem. *grande* (vv. 281, 3656).

Adverbs in *-ment* (Lat. MENTE *f.*) have the fem. adj.: I *a belement, durement, fierement, haltement, veirement;* I *b altrement;* II *conquerrantment, forment* (older *fortment*), *vassalment.*

Feible FLĒBĬLEM and *noble* NŎBILEM cannot be classified (either I *a* or II).

Adjective Declension III

Latin comparatives, with shifted accent, appear in *Rol.* as follows:

	Masculine		
[graindre]	graignor	graignor	graignors
[maire]	maior	maior	maiors
mieldre	meillor	meillor	meillors
[mendre]	menor	menor	menors
[pire]	peior	peior	peiors

The fem. would differ from the foregoing only in having *-s* in the nom. pl. The only neut. that occurs is *mielz* MĔLIUS (used substantively, vv. 1822, 2143). *Halçor* ALTIŌREM was an absolute comparative, already in Latin. *Pesme* PESSIMUM is no longer a formal superlative.

§ 7. VERBS

Class I

I *a*: Infinitive in *-er*

Infin. soner. *Pres. Ptcp. and Gerund* sonant
Past Ptcp. sonét, soneḍe

	Indic. Pres.	*Subj. Pres.*	*Imper.*
Sg. 1	son	son	—
2	sones	sons	sone
3	soneṭ	sont	—
Pl. 1	sonom, -ons	sonom, -ons	sonom, -ons
2	sonez	sonez	sonez
3	sonent	sonent	—

	Indic. Impf.	*Perfect*	*Impf. Subj.*
Sg. 1	sonoe	sonai	sonasse
2	sonoes	sonas	sonasses
3	sonot, -out	sonaṭ	sonast
Pl. 1	soniiens	sonames	sonissons
2	soniiez	sonastes	sonissiez
3	sonoent	sonerent	sonassent

	Future	*Conditional*
Sg. 1	sonerai	sonereie
2	soneras	sonereies
3	soneraṭ	sonereit
Pl. 1	sonerons, -om	soneriëns, -ions
2	sonerez, -eiz	soneriëz
3	soneront	sonereient

Thus are conjugated *acorder*, *aconter*, *adober*, *aḍorer*, *afiler*, *ajoster*, *alumer*, *apeler*, *aporter*, *aprester*, *avaler*, *boter*, *cesser*, *chanter*, *criḍer*, *comander*, *decliner*, *demander*, *dementer*, *desfiḍer*, *doner* (the Ps. Subj. and Fut. are irregular), *durer*, *doter*, *encliner*, *enterrer*,

escolter, *estoner*, *falser*, *flotter*, *finer*, *gaber*, *guarder*, *guaster*, *haster*, *jurer*, *lasser*, *mesurer*, *monter*, *muḍer*, *noveler*, *orer*, *oser*, *passer*, *plorer*, *porter*, *quasser*, *reveler*, *tirer*, *trosser*, *obliḍer*, *user*, *vanter*, *venteler*, *verser*, *voler*, and a few others.

If the stem of the verb end in a voiced consonant, this consonant is devoiced when it becomes final: *adober — adop*, *criḍer — criṭ*, *gaber — gap*, *mander — mant*, etc.

If the stem of the verb develop the supporting-vowel *-e* (the so-called "feminine *e*"), the Indic. Pres. and Subj. Pres. will be exactly alike: as *entre*, *entres*, *entreṭ; entrons*, *entrez*, *entrent.* Similarly *livrer*, *remembrer*, *sembler*, *torbler*, *repaiḍrier;* cf. also *jugeṭ* 3789, *targe* 659.

Before the *-s* and *-t* of flexion in the Subj. Pres. Sg., final consonants of the stem undergo the same changes as do nouns and adjectives in like position. Thus, the Subj. Pres. 3 of *torner* is *tort*, of *enseignier*, *enseint;* note also *chevalzt* from *chevalchier*, *blast* from *blasmer*.

Verbs whose stem ends in (*r*) will drop the medial syllable in forming the Fut. and Cond.: *jurrai* and *jurreie* from *jurer*, *plorrai* from *plorer; doner* contracts its Fut. and Cond. to *donrai* and *donreie*. *Enterrai* is the Fut. of *entrer*, *liverrai* of *livrer*, etc.

For the irregular forms of *aler*, *ester*, and *doner*, see Glossary.

I *b*: Infinitive in *-ier*.

In a large group of verbs of Class I, the Infinitive is in *-ier*, instead of *-er*. As this difference is the result of phonetic factors (Bartsch's Law), it will appear not only in the Infinitive but also wherever the free, stressed vowel of the endings -ATIS, -ATUM, -ATAM is preceded by a palatal consonant (*k*, *g*, *y*) or by a group containing a palatal (*cc*, *ct*, *ky*, *ty*, etc.). The forms involved are:

I *a*		I *b*
soner	*infin.*	lacier
sonez	*2d pl.*	laciez
sonéṭ	*past ptcp. m.*	laciéṭ
soneḍe	*past ptcp. f.*	lacieḍe
sonerent	*pf. 3d pl.*	lacierent

The Fut. and Cond. show no difference: *sonerai*, *lacerai*. A few verbs hesitate between the two groups: *geter* and *getier*, *aider* and *aidier*, *cuider* and *cuidier;* see Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, p. 86.

Thus are conjugated *afaitier*, *afichier*, *afidancier*, *agregier*, *angoissier*, *anoncier*, *aprochier*, *aproismier*, *aqoisier*, *asegier*, *atachier*, *atargier*, *baillier*, *baisier*, *baissier*, *blecier*, *brisier*, *chalcier*, *chevalchier*, *croisier*, *colchier*, *comencier*, *conseillier*, and many others.

Vocalic Alternation

The *vocalic alternation* seen in Mod. Fr. *je tiens — nous tenons*, *je meurs — nous mourons*, etc., is found in fuller force in OF, in verbs of all classes: the stressed (= tonic) vowel, if free, shows development, the unstressed vowel changes little or not at all. In the following table, as the principle is the same, examples will be given for all Classes of verbs (except II *a*, the Inchoative *-ir* verbs, in which, the stem-vowel being never stressed, there is no vocalic alternation):

Atonic / Tonic	*Indic. Pres. 3 sg.*	*Indic. Pres. 1 pl.*	*Infinitive*
a — e:	pert	parons	pareir
	set	savons	saveir
	leveț	lavons	laver
a — ie:	chielt (*also* chalt)	—	chaleir
a — ai:	aimeț	amons	amer
	claimeț	clamons	clamer
	maint	manons	maneir
e — ie:	lieveț	levons	lever
	depieceț	depeçons	depecier
	gieteț	getons	geter
	fiert	ferons	ferir
	quiert	querons	querir
	tient	tenons	tenir
	siet	seḍons	seḍeir

Atonic — Tonic	*Indic. Pres. 3 sg.*	*Indic. Pres. 1 pl.*	*Infinitive*
e — ei:	adeiseṭ	adesons	adeser
	ameineṭ	amenons	amener
	ceileṭ	celons	celer
	deseivreṭ	desevrons	desevrer
	peileṭ	pelons	peler
	peiseṭ	pesons	peser
	receit	recevons	receveir
	deit	devons	deveir
	veit	veḍons	veḍeir
ei — i:	priëṭ	preions	preier[1]
	priseṭ	preisons	preisier
	baliëṭ	baleions	baleier
	liëṭ	leions	leier
	flambiëṭ	flambeions	flambeier
	otriëṭ	otreions	otreier
	ist	eissons	eissir
o — oe:	troeveṭ	trovons	trover
	roeveṭ	rovons	rover
	estoet	—	estoveir
	acoelt	acoillons	acoillir
	moert	morons	morir
	soefreṭ	sofrons	sofrir
	poet	poḍons	poḍeir
	soelt	—	soleir
	voelt	volons	voleir

Much more prominent is the vocalic alternation in the following four verbs, all of Class I:

aiuḍeṭ, aïḍeṭ	aidons	aidier
araisoneṭ	araisnons	araisnier
manjuëṭ	mangons	mangier
paroleṭ	parlons	parler

[1] A tendency to level out this divergence of form is already perceptible in *Rol.*: Infins. *priër, liier, otriier*, etc.

Class II

Infinitive in *-ir*

II *a*: Inchoative Verbs

Infin. guarnir *Pres. Ptcp. and Gerund* guarnissant
Past Ptcp. guarniṭ, guarniḍe

	Indic. Pres.	*Subj. Pres.*	*Imper.*
Sg. 1	guarnis	guarnisse	—
2	guarnis	guarnisses	guarnis
3	guarnist	guarnisseṭ	—
Pl. 1	guarnissons	guarnissons	guarnissons
2	guarnissez	guarnissez	guarnissez
3	guarnissent	guarnissent	—

	Impf.	*Perfect*	*Impf. Subj.*
Sg. 1	guarnisseie	guarni	guarnisse
2	guarnisseies	guarnis	guarnisses
3	guarnisseit	guarniṭ	guarnist
Pl. 1	guarnissiens	guarnimes	guarnissons
2	guarnissiez	guarnistes	guarnissiez
3	guarnisseient	guarnirent	guarnissent

Future	*Conditional*
guarnirai	guarnireie
etc.	etc.

Thus are conjugated *aḍemplir*, *baillir*, *banir*, *beneḍir*, *blesmir*, *brandir*, *brunir*, *bondir*, *convertir*, *envaḍir*, *esbalḍir*, *esclargir*, *escremir*, *establir*, *fenir*, *glatir*, *guarantir*, *guarir*, *guerpir*, *henir*, *honir*, *matir*, *noḍrir*, *partir*, *plevir*, *saisir*, *traḍir*, and a few others.

II *b*: Non-Inchoative Verbs

Infin. servir *Pres. Ptcp. and Gerund* servant
Past Ptcp. serviṭ, serviḍe

	Indic. Pres.	*Subj. Pres.*	*Imper.*
Sg. 1	serf	serve	—
2	sers	serves	serf
3	sert	serveṭ	—

		Indic. Pres.	*Subj. Pres.*	*Imper.*
Pl.	*1*	servons	servons	servons
	2	servez	servez	servez
	3	servent	servent	—
		Impf.	*Perfect*	*Impf. Subj.*
Sg.	*1*	serveie	servi	servisse
		etc.	etc.	etc.
		Future	*Conditional*	
Sg.	*1*	servirai	servireie	
		etc.	etc.	

Thus are conjugated *acoillir*, *asaillir*, *boillir*, *croissir*, *consentir*, *departir*, *desmentir*, *dormir*, *foïr*, *faillir*, *mentir*, *oḍir*, *resortir*, *sentir*, and a few others. The following have the Past Ptcp. in *-uṭ*, *-uḍe: eissir*, *ferir*, *vestir;* in *-ert*, *-erte: covrir*, *offrir*, *ovrir;* the Past Ptcp. of *morir* is *mort*.

For vocalic alternation in these verbs, see above, Class I.

Class III

Infinitive in *-re*

Infin. batre *Pres. Ptcp. and Gerund* batant
Past Ptcp. batuṭ, batuḍe

		Indic. Pres.	*Subj. Pres.*	*Imper.*
Sg.	*1*	bat	bate	—
	2	baz	bates	bat
	3	bat	bateṭ	—
Pl.	*1*	batons	batons	batons
		etc.	etc.	etc.
		Impf.	*Perfect*	*Impf. Subj.*
Sg.	*1*	bateie	bati	batisse
		etc.	etc.	etc.
		Future	*Conditional*	
Sg.	*1*	batrai	batreie	
		etc.	etc.	

Thus are conjugated in *Rol.*, *confondre*, *defendre*, *descendre*, *espandre*, *fendre*, *perdre*, *rendre*, *rompre* (Past Ptcp. *romput*, also

rot RUPTUM), *respondre, tendre, toldre* (Past Ptcp. *toluṭ*, also *toleit*), *vaincre, vendre, vivre* (Perfect *vesqui*).

Four of these verbs (*abatre, perdre, respondre* and *vivre*), sometimes, alongside the usual weak perfect in *-iṭ*, show another weak perfect in *-iêṭ: abatiêṭ, perdiêṭ*, etc. For the origin of these endings, see Nyrop II, § 172.

Other *-re* verbs may be classified according to their Perfects:

Strong Perfect in *-ui:*

Pf. 1 *crui, creüs, crut; creümes, creüstes, crurent.* Sbj. *creüsse.* Past Ptcp. *creüṭ, creüḍe.* Infin. *creiḍre.* Also a weak Pf. *creḍi.*

Similarly, *beivre, conoistre, aparceivre, receivre;* but *corre* has *corui, corus, corut*, Subj. Impf. *corusse.*

Strong Perfect in *-s*, Lat. -SI:

Pf. 1 *pris, presis, prist; presimes, presistes, pristrent.* Subj. Impf. *presisse.* Past Ptcp. *pris.* Infin. *prendre.*

Similarly, *asoldre, ceindre, conduire, crembre, descloḍre, dire, faire, feindre, fraindre, joindre, metre* (and compounds), *mordre, ociḍre, querre* (and compounds), *plaindre, rire*, and *traire.* But *faire*, aside from *fesist*, has also a secondary form *feïst, feïstes* (on the analogy of *veïst, veïstes*) and a 3d pl. *firent* (instead of *fistrent*).

For the forms of *estre*, see Glossary.

Class IV

Infinitive in *-eir*

In this group, verbs may be classified according to their Perfect:

Weak Perfect in *-i, -is, -iṭ: chaḍeir*, also *chaḍir.* Perf. 3 *chaḍiṭ*, Subj. Impf. 3 *chaḍist.* Past Ptcp. *chaḍuṭ*, also *chaḍeit.*

Weak Perfect in *-ui, -us, -uṭ: valeir, apareir, pareir.*

Strong Perfect in *-ui, -eüs* (O has *-oüs*), *-uṭ: deveir, moveir.* Perf. 3 *dut, mut.* Impf. Subj. 3 *deüst* (*doüst*); *meüst* (*moüst*). Past Ptcp. *deüṭ, meüṭ.*

Strong Perfect in *-oi, -eüs* (or *-oüs*) *-ot: aveir, poḍeir, saveir.* Perf. 3 *ot, pot, sot* (*out, pout* and *sout* in O). Subj. Impf. 3 *oüst, poḍust, soüst.*

Strong Perfect in *-s* (Lat. -SI): *ardeir* Pf. 3 *arst; asedeir* and *sedeir* Pf. 3 *sist; voleir* Pf. 3 *volst*, Subj. Impf. 3 *volsist.*
Strong Perfect in *-i: vedeir* Pf. 3 *vit*, Subj. Impf. 3 *vedist.* Past Ptcp. *veduț.*

For the forms of *aveir*, see the Glossary.

§ 8. SYNTAX

1. The Articles

The *Definite Article* is often not found in OF where the modern language would require it:

a. In the collective sense, the article is usually used: *li pui, li val, li mont, les esteilles;* but not infrequently it is missing: *dames li sont amies* 957, *piez e poinz* 1969, *osberc e helme* 1809, *orgoillos* 2211 (probably obl. pl.). Cf. also *cez hanstes, cil chevalier*, etc.

b. We often miss it in *Rol.* with names of peoples, as (nom. pl.) *Franc, Franceis, paien, chrestiën, Hongre, Bolgre;* but we also find the article: *li Franc, li Franceis, li Saisne, li Sarrazin.* The poet may also use *cil de France, cil d'Espaigne, cil de Borgoigne*, etc.

c. It is lacking with names of countries, *France, Espaigne, Engletere;* provinces, as *Anjou, Bretaigne, Provence* (*le Maine* 2323 is not a real exception); rivers, as *Sebre* 2728, *Gironde* 3688; also with the controverted expression *Tere maior.*

d. It may not appear with titles, as *dus Naimes, arcevesques Turpins, reis Marsilies, reis Corsablis, reïne Bramimonde;* but usually the article is found: *lo duc Alphaien, li reis Marsilies, li quens Rodlanz, lo conte Guenelon*, etc.

e. With things of which only one exists or may be in question, the article may be missing: *soleilz n'i luist* 980, 2317 (but *li soleilz* 1002 and *la lune* 3659), *soz ciel* (but *li ciels* 1432), *eissir de mer* 2640 (but *tres qu'en la mer* 3), *en riereguarde* 613 (but *en la riereguarde* 761); so also *paredis* and *enfer.*

f. Usage varies as to the article with abstract nouns: *hontage, honte, vergoigne* appear without, but *li doels, la pitiẽṭ, l'oïe, la veüe,* and others.

g. The definite article is missing in OF in many phrases where modern usage requires it: such are *faire guerre, oḍir messe, estre en cort* 351 (but *en la cort* 231), *aveir en maison* 3978, *a feste saint Michiel* 37; see the Glossary for other instances.

h. Being derived from the Latin demons. pron. ILLE, the definite article retains in *Rol.* much of its demonstrative force: *la nuit* 'that night' 162, *lo jorn* 'that day' 1406; purely pronominal are *la Charlon* 3145 'that (= sword) of Charles', *al Jhesu* 339 'in that (= the name) of Jesus', *les lor* 'their men', and probably also *li nostre empereḍor* 1444 'they (= the men) of our Emperor'; cf. MP, XVI, p. 573.

From these uses, it is evidently but a short step to *Oliviers li proz e li gentilz,* and from *les lor* to *le mien, la meie, les noz* (adjectives and pronouns).

i. The definite article may not appear with *tot,* as *trestoz reis, tote nuit, tote jorn, tote gent,* etc.; it may appear with both the comparative and the superlative of adjectives, so that it is often impossible to distinguish the two: cf. 649 *cele lei* ('religion') *que vos tenez plus salve.*

Noteworthy is the use of the article with numerals: *li dis* 1308, *as quatre estorz* 1686.

The *Indefinite Article* was far more restricted in use in OF: *un* and *une* were then much nearer to Lat. ŪNUS, ŪNA, with numerical force. Thus we miss *un* in 744 *N'avez baron de si grant vasselage;* 755 *N'i perdraṭ Charles . . palefreiṭ ne destrier.* Cf. also *Hom qui ço set que . . .* 1886, *Altre bataille lor liverrez* 592, *Malvaise essample nen seraṭ ja de mei* 1016; but also *un sol mot* 22, *une estrange marche* 839, etc. More unusual uses are: *d'un olifant* 609; *par uns* ('twos') *eḍ uns* 2190 (here, of course, pronominal).

Of the so-called *Partitive Article* only traces appear in *Rol.* The older language managed to convey the idea either by the pl.: *faire gesir en saintes flors* 1856, *Qui armes porteṭ* 1878, or by numer-

ous adverbs of quantity, such as *tant, plus, bien* (v. 108), *asez, grant masse* (182), followed by the prep. *de*. From these constructions, it was easy to pass to the modern form by omitting the adverb: *perdre* [adverb] *del cuir e del peil* 1012, *perdre* [adverb] *del sanc e de la charn* 1119; cf. Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe de l'Ancien Français*, (1923), p. 65. Notice that in *Rol. tant* and *asez* may dispense with *de: tanz morz* 1852, *asez lanternes* 2633; also *tant chevalier* 349 with the effect of a plural.

Tobler called attention (*Mélanges*, p. 280) to the peculiar use of the def. article with *de* in 997 *espeḍes de l'acier vianeis;* 2276 *Del sanc luḍaṭ son cors;* here *de* appears to be in double function.

2. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstratives *cist* and *cil* (also *icist, icil*) are both adjectives and pronouns: in *Rol.*, only *celui* and *içe, ço* are not used adjectively:

aḍ icel mot	2457	nen i aṭ cel	3418
par cele lei	649	en cele sont	3028
iceste espeḍe	2282	apres iceste	725
icist reis	3343	icist feront	1023

Noteworthy is the frequent use of *cez* in the collective sense, in place of the def. article: *cez escuz boclers* 1968, *cez hanstes* 2537, *cez veies longes* 2852. The paraphrase *cil de France, cil d'Espaigne,* remains in use well into the XVIIth century.

In a comparative phrase like *come cil qui*, the demons. pron. has the value 'a person who': *Come icil qui bien faire lo set* 427. While O reads here *Cume celui ki*, the nom. *icil* is to be preferred; cf. vv. 20, 3234 of O, and Joinville's *Li cuens . . . come cil qui . . .*

3. Possessive Pronouns

The tonic forms *mien, soen, nostre, vostre* and *lor* are used after the articles and after the demonstrative pronoun *cest:* the present distinction of adj. from pron. has not yet appeared. Even the use of the definite article is optional at times:

de meie part	2674	meie colpe	2369
nostre est li premiers cols	1211	vostre est li plaiz	3841

but, usually:

la meie mort	2198	la toe amors	3107
la soe grant ire	3989	le vostre comant	1775

or, with *cest:*

cist miens fillastre	743	cist nostre deu	2715
ceste meie barbe	1719	cez lor espeḍes	3581

or, with *un, une:*

un mien filz	149	uns soens compaing	941

As for the atonic forms, the fem. *ma, ta* and *sa* of course elide before vowel: *m'espeḍe* 620, *t'anme* 2898, *s'enseigne* 3147. A peculiar use of the nom. pl. masc. *mi* is seen in the vocative *Mi damnedeu* 3492, and in Charles' phrase *Vos estes mi felon* 3814. The possessive pron. may be replaced by *de* with a pers. pron.: *l'anme de mei* 2387, *l'anme de lui* 1268.

4. Personal Pronouns

a. The Personal Pronouns as subjects are ordinarily not expressed:

Aprés li dist: Tornez estes a perdre 1296

When they are expressed, there is some need for clarity, or for emphasis:

Quant tu es morz, dolor est que jo vif 2030

The subject may be double: *E jo e vos irom* 881, *ne vos ne il n'i porterez les piez* 260; or, there may be ellipsis of the verb: *Fier de la lance e jo de Durendal* 1120, *Ne vos a ceste feiz* 567, *Vos, par hostages* (147).

The poet often uses a pleonastic subject pronoun: *Mais sávies hom il deit faire message* 294; so also vv. 860, 885, 3580, and cf. 882: *Ceste bataille veirement la ferom.*

b. As to the weak (atonic) and strong (tonic) forms *me* and

mei, *te* and *tei*, *lo* and *lui*, etc., the former developed historically in positions devoid of stress, but their use is complicated in OF by inversion and by other factors. A general principle for *Rol.* is that the weak forms never begin the sentence or separate phrase. Hence, if the pronominal subject is unexpressed, the strong form will be used:

Mei ai perduṭ	2834	but Jo·l ai laissiéṭ	839
		Jo te comant	2815

or else the object pronoun will be placed after the verb:

Met li l'espeḍe	3605	Diseient li	2560
Conquerraṭ li	401	Chiét li as piez	2825
Serveie le	3770	Prent la as mains	3726

and, with inversion of subject:

Falt li li cuers	2019	Ot l'Oliviers	1224

The strong forms are also found in post-position:

Liverrai lui 658

but there is no distinction of weak and strong for *lor*, *nos*, *vos*:

Socorraṭ nos	1061	Troveront nos	1747
Leveront nos	1748	Livrent lor prez	2492

The sentence or separate phrase may also begin with *Ne*, *Se* 'if', *Si*, *Que*, or some other sonorous word, the weak form being then used enclitically:

Ne·m fesis mal	2029	Se·m creḍissiez	1728
Si·l[1] oḍraṭ Charles	1060	Tant . . que·l rendent	1829
Quant l'ot Rodlanz	1196	Vengier te poez	2456
L'estreu li tint	348	Ki tuit li diënt	350
Ċhascuns lo fiert	1824	Bien lo batirent	1825

[1] This form of writing the weak pronoun before vowel is constant in the Oxford MS, with very few exceptions: *ki mociet* 2723, *si lorrat* 1071, and the ambiguous *silorrat* 1060. I have aimed to retain the usage of the MS throughout.

The conjunction *Et*, and at times the pronoun *Qui* are not strong enough to carry an enclitic:

E lui aidiez	364	Qui lui vedist	1341, 1970
		Qui tei aṭ mort	2935

but, in the latter cases, and in *Se lui laissiez* 279, *Se lui servez* 922, some degree of emphasis may be intended. For further details, see below, Versification (Enclisis).

As the pronominal adverbs *i* (ĬBĪ) and *en* (ĬNDE) originated in weak position, it is highly probable that *Nen i aṭ cel* 2545 and *Cel nen i aṭ* 822, 1669, etc., represent an older usage, while the *N'i ad icel* of vv. 1845, 3540 of the MS is due to rejuvenation of the language by a copyist. For the same reason, the *N'en descendrai* 810 and *N'en mangeront* 1751 of O are probably also rejuvenations; see MP, XVIII, p. 143 ff. (Sheldon). Note, for example, the position of *i* in the two vv. 794–95.

c. In general, the weak forms of the pronouns are not found in OF before the Infinitive, or before the Participles: cf. Mod. Fr. *soi-disant;* moreover, the strong form is also the rule with Impersonal verbs:

por lui afiḍancier	41	por els esbaneier	111
se tei plaist	3108	mei est vis	659
mei l'avient	456	els estovraṭ morir	1242

but the weak forms also occur as enclitics:

aler m'estoet	310	al cuer me regretteṭ	1609

d. The disjunctive form with preposition (*a mei*, *a lui*, etc.) is used in place of the dative pron. (*me*, *li*, etc.) not only with verbs of motion like *errer* 3340, *corre* 1598, but also with *joster* 3169, *tencier* 2581, *lancier* 2154, possibly with *repaiḍrier* 3610 (but here the reflexive *se* may be omitted); *A lui lais jo* 315 is probably emphatic, but *parlez a mei* 2742 is not necessarily so, in spite of Gautier's assertion; cf. MLN, XX, p. 99. We have a case of the weak form before a verb of motion in *puis si li est coruz* 2086; cf. *il li vient* ' he comes at him ' *Aiol*, v. 568.

e. Immediately before the weak datives *li* and *lor*, the weak accusatives *le*, *la*, and *les* are usually omitted in OF: thus, *le* is omitted *Li reis* [*le*] *li donet* 782, *la* at v. 1369; cf. also vv. 1996, 2126, 2668, 2678, 2748, 3604, etc. The reflexive *se* may fail to appear in the compound tenses: *afublez est* 462, *puis sont jostét* 3460, *est escridez* 900, etc. But *se* may be expressed: vv. 452, 468, etc.

The construction *de lui vengier* (= *de soi vengier*) v. 1966, is well-known in OF; cf. Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe*, §§ 140–41.

f. As to the use of *Tu* and *Vos*, it may be said that the more respectful *Vos* generally prevails throughout, in the intercourse of the chevaliers, but the more intimate *Tu* appears not only as used to inferiors (thus to the cook at v. 1819 and to the deputy at v. 3953) but at moments of more intense emotion: thus Ganelon to Roland 286 ff., Roland to Oliver 1026, the Saracens to Marsile 1670, Gabriel to Charles 2454, 3611, Charles in prayer to Deity 3100, etc. Both of these motives may be present in the regular use of *Tu* to fallen Saracen opponents 1608, 1632, 1958, (2292). In other passages there may be variation (see Notes); at vv. 308–09, the correct reading may be *Vez* (<*vedez*) *me ci*, instead of *Veiz*. For all the instances in *Rol.* collected, cf. ZfRP, IV, p. 109 (Mussafia); see also Suchier, *Chançun de Guillelme*, pp. xxiv–xxv.

5. Nouns and Adjectives

a. The nominative case has the function of subject and the function of direct address (vocative), but the voc. pl. of *seignor* is regularly *seignors; baron* occurs in O as voc. pl. 6 times, *barons* 18 times.

The nominative case appears also with the expressions *sei faire fiers* 897, *aveir nom* 1363, *tenir por* 364 (see note), *faire que fols* 1053, *sei contenir* 3797. A real subject is closely approached in *Entre Rembalt e Hamon de Galice* | *Els guideront* . . . 3073; see the studies of Ebeling, and that of Laubscher, *Syntactical Causes of Case Reduction in OF*, 1921, pp. 90–95.

b. The oblique case functions as the object of verbs and prepositions, also reproducing other uses of the Latin accusative such as of Exclamation: *as les vos ajostez* 1187 (but the nom. also with *as* 413), *Deus, meie colpe!* 2369, *Deus, quel baron!* 3164.

Space and Time: *granz trente liues* 1756, *set anz aṭ estéṭ en Espaigne* 2.

Aim of Motion: *aler l'estreḍe* 3326, *chevalchier veies e chemins* 405.

The OF oblique case also falls heir to uses of the Latin ablative, such as that of Price (*valeir un denier* 1505), the Abl. Absolute (*mien escïent* 524, *vostre veḍant* 326), etc.

More conspicuous in OF are the uses of the oblique in the functions of the Lat. Genitive and Dative.

As Genitive:

a feste saint Michiel	37	li rei gonfanoniers	106
la lei Mahom	611	lo cors Roḍlant	613
l'aveir Charlon	643	hom sui Roḍlant	801
la tere lor seignor	819	filz Capuël	1614
de part Deu	2847	por la Charlon	3145

but we find also:

la mort de Roḍlant	1437	lo plait de Guenelon	3704

and:

freḍre al rei	880	druṭ al rei	1479

We notice that the construction of the type *lo corn Roḍlant* is restricted to person-names, and to the singular number. With the exception perhaps of the semi-Latin phrases *la gent paienor, la geste Francor*, the plural is not found; cf. *la lei Mahom*, but *la lei de Chrestiens* 471. An exception to the first restriction is *en som* (IN SŬMMO) 708, 2632, also *par som* 714 which have the force of prepositions: *par som les puis*. It has been noted that *tant* and *asez* are used at times without *de;* add to these *poi: poi Franceis* 1940, but also *poi de noz Franceis* 1050, *poi d'icels* 3632,

As Dative:

mandez Charlon al fier	28	mon seignor dites	2746
son nevoț respont	216	tolir l'empereḍor	(1533)
Ne placeț Deu	1073	faire noz Franceis grant iror	1023

but also:

a Guenelon l'aț dit	628	si·n donraț a Roḍlant	2226

The adjective *tot*, when used with adverbial function with another adjective, or with a predicate, agrees in OF in both gender and number: not only do we have *la teste tote falve* (as in Mod. Fr.), but also *toz premerains parlaț* 122, *toz seit fiz* 3290, *toz les mielz preisiez* 1872, etc. Antoine de la Sale still speaks of *chevaulx tous blancs;* see Tobler, *Mélanges*, pp. 106–09.

6. Verbs

a. The Infinitive is used six times as real noun in *Rol.*, and is inflected (Masc. I): *li corners* 1742, *al corner* 2108, *l'aveir Charlon* 643.

The Negatived Infinitive is used as an Imperative, but only in the sg.: *Ne·l dire ja!* 1113. So in the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne* 674: *Charles, ne t'esmaier!*

b. The Latin Gerund has become a substantive in cases like *semblant, contenant;* also *a mon vivant* and *vostre veḍant.*

It retains its older function in phrases like *s'en torner chancelant* 2227 (*plorant* 2839), *nen alez mespensant* 1515, *venir poignant* 2841, *pareḍis vos est abandonant* 1522, *fuț morz conquerant* 2363; also with *en: en estant, en riḍant.*

As a predicate with *estre*, these gerunds in *-ant* are not inflected in *Rol.*, *estre guarant* 1521, *estre fuiant* 1516, *seḍant* 1523, *estendant* 3970, *rompant* 1764. The only certain case of inflection in O appears to be *n'ierent recreanz* 3048, where, however, *recreant* would be the correct reading as a predicate nominative plural.

c. Tenses. — There is much liberty in OF in the use of the

Indicative tenses in narration: the Present appears where the sense is future (cf. vv. 593, 3513), much oftener when the sense is past (for the Perfect and Present Perfect). In one case, this interchange was favored by the identity of the archaic *dist* (= DĪCIT) with *dist* (= DĪXIT); cf., for the Ps. 3 *dist*, Wace's *Rou*, III, v. 10,076 (: *prist*), Guillaume de St. Paier 1536 (: *refist*), *Eructavit* v. 871 (: *sist*), etc.

Noteworthy is the use of the Future Perfect for a simple Present Perfect: 446 *Tant vos avrai en cort a rei portede;* 2352 *Molt larges teres de vos avrai conquises*. For different opinions as to the exact force of the Fut. Pf. in this case, see v. 446, note, and *Rom.* XLVIII, pp. 424–31 (H. Yvon).

A free use of the Subjunctive Imperfect is made in the conditional sentence where Mod. Fr. would use an Indic. Impf. or Past Pf.: 1769 *Onc nel sonast se ne fust combatant* = Jamais il ne le sonnerait (or, ne l'aurait pas sonné), s'il n'était pas (or, s'il n'avait pas été) en bataille. This interchangeability, common in OF, is also well illustrated by the sentence 1804–05: *Se vedissom Rodlant . . . Ensembl'od lui donrioms . . .* Cf. Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe*, § 231.

d. An archaic use of the Subj. Ps. in conditional clauses is found in: 2682 *Se ne se colzt . . . E ne guerpisset;* so in Latin, *Si quis omnia habeat.*[1] Similarly, in the Subj. Impf.: 1728 *Se'm credissiez*, and without *se:* 899 *Fust chrestiëns . . .* and 1102 *Fust i li reis . . . .*

e. In OF generally, the agreement of the Past Ptcp. with its direct object is optional, whether this object precede or follow the verb. Thus, 754 *La riedreguarde avez sor mei jugiét*, or 3076 *La noefme eschiele ont faite*, and even 2240 *ses mains a joinz* (read *joint?*). On the other hand is (507) *m'at plevide sa feit*. On the whole, agreement is more common than the lack of it; see ZfRP, IV, pp. 104–08 (Mussafia).

[1] At v. 1122, the *Se jo i moerc* of O may have been mis-read from a former *Se jo i moere*, even if elsewhere (vv. 359, 448) this MS has *moerge* as Subj. Ps. 1.

§ 9. Word-Order

Owing to the presence of many inflected words, the word-order in OF is much freer than it is in Mod. Fr. Inversion is especially frequent:

a. Subject and Verb. — Morf calculated that in O the subject follows the verb in 43% of the cases involved, while two or three generations later, in Crestien's verse, this proportion has fallen to 33%. Thus, with an unmodified nominal subject:

Dist Oliviers	1170		Diënt paien	61
Respont Roḍlanz	292	but also:	Guenles respont	396
Plorent Franceis	3120		Charles respont	317
Luisent cil elme	1031		Paien escriḍent	46 *a*

In the last three cases of non-inversion, the meter may have caused the poet to avoid the inverted order. At v. 2006, it would be better to read *Respont Roḍlanz*, with CV⁷.

If the sentence or phrase be introduced by *Si*, by local adverbs such as *La*, *D'altre part*, or by temporal adverbs like *Or*, *Ja*, *Donc*, *Ainz*, or by modal adverbs like *Molt*, *Bien*, *Mielz*, etc., inversion is the rule:

La siét li reis	116	Or irez vos	328
Si est la citét soe	917	Si ai jo vostre soer	312
Ja retorneront Franc	1072	Donc perdreit Charles	597
Molt est pesmes Roḍlanz	392	Mielz en valt l'ors	516

Inversion may be induced merely because the object of the verb precedes it:

Ço dist li reis	319	Demie Espaigne vos donraṭ il	472
Messe e matines aṭ li reis escoltéṭ	670		
Leś dis mulez fait Charles establer	158		
Quant ço veit Guenles	303	but: Quant jo serai	1077

or because some modal, local, or temporal phrase begins the sentence:

Par grant saveir paroleț l'uns a·l altre 369
Vers dolce France chevalcheț l'empereḍre 706
Ermain seḍeit li reis Charles soz l'ombre 383

The conjunctions *Mais* and *Car* do not cause inversion, while *Et* varies:

E jo ferrai 1078 Eḍ apert la clere albe 737
E cil de France lo claiment 1161 E vint i Ates 795

Many cases of inversion are not evident because the subject-pronoun is not expressed:

Si lor aț (il) dit 1164 La sont (il) neiéț 690
Ainz i ferrai (jo) 1065 Bien l'avez (vos) entenduț 776

In these cases, there may in fact be some connection between the fact of inversion and the omission of the subject pronoun: cf. Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe*[2], p. 252.

Very rare in *Rol.* are the so-called "sentence questions" — questions other than those introduced by interrogative words like *quel*, *quant* (QUANDO), *o* (UBI), *que* and *quei*, *qui* (object); add to these *Si* 'and so', of which we have one case at v. 288 (see note). In a question of the first type, we have the expected inversion of the subject in —

2000 Faites le vos de greț?

but where the inverted pronoun-subject is not expressed, such sentences are hard to distinguish from affirmative statements:

764 Quidas li guanz me chaḍist en la place?
566 Puis m'en combatre a Charle?
2005 Feruț vos ai?

With a nominal subject, there is a single instance in *Rol.* of the modern construction:[1]

643 L'aveir Charlon, est il apareilliez?

[1] Stengel emended this line, but it has the support of V[4]. Possibly we may add here 2405 *Ates, o est?* but both reading and meter are wrong in the MS (*U est Otes*).

This form originated, no doubt, as the interrogative form of sentences like 860 *Li niês Marsilie il est venuz avant;* for its subsequent gradual development, see Schulze, *Der altfrz. direkte Fragesatz*, p. 190.

b. Object and Verb. — In a majority of cases, the nominal object of a verb is placed after it: 911 *at faite sa vantance*, 210 *Faites la guerre;* but not infrequently the nominal object is placed between the subject and the verb: 803 *Rodlanz Gualtier apelet*, 1397 *paien merveillos cols i rendent*, 1608 *Deus tot mal te trametet.*

For the pronominal direct object, see above, § 8, 4. In the Imperative, the object pronoun may be placed before the verb not only in negatives (920 *Ne vos esmaiez onches*), but also with *Si, Car, Bien* or other introductory word or phrase:

Si·m guarissez	21		Puis me jugiez	656
Car m'eslisiez	275		Tant li donez	570
Bien le me guarde	1819	but:	Guardez le bien	316
De voz paiens lor enveiez .c.mílie		588		
Laissom les fols, as sages nos tenons		229		

We may notice also 364 *saludez . . . E lui aidiez*, a word-order still familiar to Corneille, Molière, and Boileau.

A marked difference from Mod. Fr. is in the order of two personal pronouns before the verb:

e Deus la nos otreit	1008	ne·l me reproveront	768
se jo ne·l vos comant	273	la vos doins	622
ne jo ne·l te forsfis	2029	donc la me ceinst	2321

This word-order is still normal with Malherbe and Jean de Balzac, but then disappears. With both pronouns of the third person (*Jo·s lor dirai* 2919), and with the positive Imperative (*rendez le nos* 2560), there has been no change of order to record.

c. Adjective and Noun. — Compared with Mod. Fr., a far greater degree of freedom in the pre- or post-position of adjectives prevails in OF: thus —

le jorn cler	162	la clere albe	737
en l'estrange contreḍe	448	une marche estrange	839
grant proṭ i avrez	699	la bataille grant	1077
bel sire niés	784	jovente bele	2916
petite compaigne	1087	un buisson petit	3357
dolce France	109	France dolce	1064
sa barbe blanche	2930	dis blanches mules	89

Among the adjectives which occur in only one position are: *After* only — *bis, bloi, brun, jalne, sor, sorel; herbos, jazerenc, leṭ, menuṭ, muier, parfont, voltiz; alexandrin, espan, saragoceis, valentineis, vianeis. Before* only — *mal* (except, perhaps, v. 727), *malvais, merveillos, premier, saint, verai, gentil,* etc. Morf states that the attributive adjective is placed before its noun in *Rol.* 465 times, and after it 255 times. *Bon* is used before its noun 40 times; after it only twice:

elmes molt bons 996 E! Durendal bone 2304

d. Numeral and Noun. — The numeral ordinarily precedes its noun: *set cenz chameilz* 31, *lor dous espiez* 1384, *granz trente liues* 1756 (cf. 1218). At vv. 1451, 3035 (see notes to these lines) the meter demands the post-position of the numeral: *Eschieles treis*, ample precedent for which existed in later Latin and in inscriptions; cf. also Neue, *Formenlehre*, II, p. 277 ff. Post-position was particularly frequent when measurements or enumerations were in question.

For further important details as to word-order, see the study by H. Morf, "Die Wortstellung im altfrz. Rolandsliede," RF, III (1878), pp. 199–294, and the reviews of this work by Tobler and Schulze.

§ 10. Sentence Coördination

As G. Paris observed, the most characteristic trait of the syntax of the *Roland* is the frequent absence of a connecting word (usually *que*, or a relative pronoun) between the principal sentence and the subordinate clause or sentence: "the two finite verbs are brought

into close connection without a subordinating word to define their relation." Thus, at v. 359 *Mielz est sols moerge*, 2753 *Puis dites li, nen iraṭ*. We may follow the classification of Morris and Shepard, PMLA, XXI, pp. 519–74.

a. Parataxis with *tant* (*itant*), *tel* (*itel*), *si*. Cf. Eng. 'I ran so fast, I fell.'

Tant at erréṭ nen est dreiz que plus viveṭ 497.

So also vv. 285, 570, 1644, 1991, 2835, 2880, 3979.

Jo ai tel gent plus bele ne veḍreiz 564

So also vv. 304, 535, 1115, 1908, 1911, 3415, 3461.

Si grant doel aṭ sempres cuidaṭ morir 3506

So also vv. 834, 1524, 2198. But the later construction, with *que* expressed, also occurs, cf. vv. 403 (*tant*), 722 (*tel*), 1631 (*si*).

b. Parataxis by definition. Cf. Eng. 'I know he does'; 'I think it is true.' Frequent with the verbs *creiḍre*, *saveir*, *dire*, *noncier*, *plevir*, *guagier* (515), *receivre* 'assure' (1376); *estre fiz* 'be assured' (3290), *conoistre* (3409):

Sire, par veir creḍez, Ja ne veḍrez . . .692–3
Ço set hom bien, n'ai cure de manace 293
Veir dites, jo·l sai bien 760
Jo vos plevis, tuit sont a mort livréṭ 1069

Similarly, with "jussive" verbs, *mander*, *comander*, *preier*, *guarder*, *jugier* (838):

E si vos mandeṭ . . . nel devez pas blasmer 680–1
jo vos comant Seiez es lius Olivier e Roḍlant 3015–16
Por Deu vos pri, bien seiez porpenséṭ 1177
Guardez de nos ne tornez lo corage 650

But *que* is expressed with *guarder* at vv. 1013, 2061; with *preier* 1516, and with *jugier* 884, etc.

Also with a few impersonal expressions:

Li empereḍre en est l'uns, ço m'est vis 3501
Mielz est sols moerge 359 (with *que* 1518)

c. Parataxis is especially frequent, finally, with sentences of the type 'There is no one who does not,' the second verb being in the Subj. Ps. (rarely Subj. Impf.):

Nen i aṭ cel a·l altre ne parolt 1803 (so 1525, 1836, etc.)
Cele ne·l vit vers lui ne·s esclargisseṭ 958
Jamais n'iert anz altretel ne vos face 653 (cf. 2254, 2901)
nen aṭ remés paien Ne seit ocis 101–2 (cf. 2797)

Occasionally, the connecting *qui* is expressed:

Jamais n'iert hom ki ton cors contrevailleṭ 1984

Closely connected with the last group are cases like the following:

Ne·l oḍraṭ hom, ne t'en tiengeṭ por fol 2294
Mais toz seit fel, chier ne se vendeṭ primes 1924

and, with the idea of certain execution, the opposite of failure:

Ne lesseraṭ bataille ne lor dont 859 (with *que* 1206)
ne poet muḍer n'en plort 825 (with *que* 773, 1642)

As parataxis becomes rarer with the passage of time, we may expect the copyist of O to insert the connecting word: this he does, not seldom to the detriment of the meter:

Trestut seit fel ki ni fierget a espleit 3559 (cf. above, v. 1924)
Ico ne di que Karles n'i ait perdut 1959 (cf. v. 591)
Suz cel nad gent ki osast requerre en champ 1782
Ben le conuis que gueredun vos en dei 3409

Other cases of rejuvenation are not so easy to detect.

§ 11. Versification

a. Meter and Cesura. — The meter of the *Song of Roland* is the ten-syllable. The line is made up of two members, first one of four, then one of six syllables. After each member there may be one extra syllable: these, being entirely optional, are not reckoned

in when giving a name to the meter. Thus, with masculine cesura and masculine assonance:

Passeț la nuit | si apert li clers jorz 3675

With masculine cesura and feminine assonance:

Molt est vassals | Charles de France dolce 3579

With feminine cesura and masculine assonance:

Fiert Charlemagne | sor l'elme d'acier brun 3603

With feminine cesura and feminine assonance:

Altresi blanche | come flor en espine 3521

Words of the type *ángele, mílie, mônie, Denísie* may stand in midline, at the cesura, or in assonance; but as, within the line, the first post-tonic syllable in these words is never counted in the meter (*ángele* = two syllables), it is doubtful whether we may properly speak of a proparoxytone cesura or assonance in Old French, although such are frequent in Old Spanish and Old Italian:

Quant Charles ot | la sainte voiz de·l ángele 3612
Meinent paiens | entresqu'a·l baptestírie 3668
Eț une ymágine | Apolin le felon 3268
Froissent ymágenes | e trestotes les ýdeles 3664

There is always, therefore, a fixed tonic accent at the fourth syllable, and another at the tenth: aside from these, the arrangement of tonics is entirely free, the rhythm varying from line to line, at the will of the poet.

The cesura and the line-end are strongly marked: overflow at either place is practically unknown. If the cesura be extremely weak, suspicion may be aroused as to the correctness of the reading; thus:

Pinabels est forz, isnels et legiers 3885

where *Est Pinabels* or *Fuț Pinabels* may be the right reading (see note). Only later do we find such free handling of the cesura as —

Soavet l'a | baisie et acolée *Aliscans*, v. 1879
Viviens est | ocis, li aloséș " v. 2293

b. Syllable counting. — Determination of the number of syllables offers little difficulty. The feminine (*e*) was of course pronounced sonorously, when not elided before vowel; contiguous vowels are not common, except in words of 'learned' origin (*anciën, champion, chrestiën, esciënce, glorios, lion, Viviën*), in Biblical names (*Daniël, Gabriël, Samuël*), in Germanic names (*Anseïs, Droön, Geboïn*), or in Saracen names (*Aëlroth, Capuël, Clariën*). In other cases, a consonant (labial or palatal), intervocalic in Latin, has fallen out: *diënt, mie, niënt, païs, treüt, loër, deüst, eüssiez*, etc.). The Impf. Ind. and Condit. 1st and 2d pl. endings are regularly disyllabic (*saviiez* 1146, *donrioms* 1805), while those of the Subj. Ps. and Impf. are as regularly one syllable (*aiez, meslissiez*).

Noteworthy are the words, nearly all of learned origin, in which the first of two post-tonic vowels has not yet been fully absorbed by the preceding consonant, but yet is not given full syllabic value. Of these, there are two groups:

1. The post-tonic vowel appears as (*e*): *ángele, apóstele, Cízere, Milçenes, mûserat;* possibly also *áneme, Guéneles, pálede.*

2. The post-tonic vowel appears as (*i*): *Babilónie, brónie, chanónie, Dentsie, judísie, Marsílie, mílie, mónie, órie, pálie, sávie, victórie*, and a few others. In the text, in words of these two classes, the stressed syllable has been marked with the acute accent; cf. "astrimónies" in the MS, v. 3258.

c. Hiatus and Elision. — As in Old Provençal verse, hiatus is quite frequent, the cases in question falling into two general groups: the first of the two vowels concerned is a tonic vowel or diphthong (and here may be included the monosyllables, as *jo, ço, si, qui*, etc.); or the first vowel may be the atonic feminine (*e*).

In the latter case, hiatus is not common in OF. In *Rol.*, a final feminine (*e*) is nearly always elided before a following vowel, but hiatus is found after *sávie* (v. 20), after *mílie* (13, 682, 913, 1041, 2777, 2007, 3882), after *come* (2525, 2550, 3153, 3424), after *alge* 1485, *estre* 1870, *veintre* 2211, possibly after *receivre* 1178. In some of these cases, the reading is in question, but there is no good reason to doubt that the OF poets occasionally admitted hiatus

after these weighty consonant groups: already in the octosyllabic *Vie St.-Leger* (31 f.) we find —

Poble bien fist creidrë en Deu.

See also Tobler, *Vom französischen Versbau*, 6th ed., pp. 65–67, and the references there.

Hiatus is freely used after stressed vowels or diphthongs: *par mi un val* 1018, *sor mei avez* 307, *la lei i fuṭ* 611, *de Deu aiez* 1045, *ambedui ont* 1094, *siurai oḍ mil* 84, etc.; also after stressed adverbs like *ça, la, ja, ci, o* (UBI).

As to *ço* and *jo*, it is difficult to be certain as to the usage of the poet. *Ço* before vowel keeps its syllabic value some 13 times (of which 4 are before *est*), but in some 19 cases the group *Ço est* measures but one syllable; it seems probable that here apheresis (*Ço'st*) represents the poet's pronunciation, rather than elision (*C'est*); similarly with the group *Ja est* 2001.

The subject pronoun *jo* keeps its full value before vowel some 14 times; where it seems to be elided, *jo* may have been inserted by a copyist in the general process of modernizing the language (so, probably, vv. 2108, 2406, 2770, 2905); or we may have apheresis (as *jo·n* 498) or an enclitic use of *i* (254, 329; also 246). Rydberg, noticing that O occasionally writes *je* and *ce*, would admit these forms for the author and would elide them in cases where the stress is markedly weak; see his *Geschichte des frz.ə*, pp. 683 ff. Suchier, on the other hand, thought it highly improbable that *jo* and *ço* (except in *ço est*) ever lose their full value in *Rol.*, pointing out that *jo* is not yet elided in Wace's *Brut* (19 cases). Even Guillaume de St. Paier has: *Jo* (MS *Je*) *espeir bien, salve en est l'ame* 1506 (cf. 1581). — *C'iert* 277, in view of the foregoing, seems a doubtful reading; cf. *Ço ert* 1489, 3147.

After *si, qui, lui* we may have hiatus, but if *en* follows, the weaker word loses its vowel: *si·n* 63, 150, 313, etc., *qui·n* 3364 (O *kin*); as the disjunctive pronoun is the rule with impersonal verbs, we should probably read 825 *Pitéṭ lui·n prent*, with G. Paris (O *len*).

A notable distinction is made between the two forms of the negative *ne:* when it derives from Lat. NE (perhaps also from OF

nen=Lat. NON, before cons.) its elision is obligatory; when from Lat. NEC, the word keeps its vowel: *Ne mei ne altre* 221, *Ne vos ne il* 260, etc. Instead of *n'a dame* 1960 should we therefore read *ne dame*, and for *N'escuz* 3355, *Escuz* without *Ne?*

d. Enclisis. — Prominent in the older monuments of the French language is the suppression of a vowel in monosyllables which are preceded by a word ending in a vowel: *jo lo sai bien* was pronounced *jo·l sai bien*, and in verse counted as three syllables. We may divide the cases into two classes: the preceding vowel is that of a monosyllable, or the preceding word is of more than one syllable and ends in feminine (*e*).

To the first group belong the definite article in the masculine sg.: *lo* after *de, a* and *en* contracts to *del, al, el;* in the pl. of both genders *des, as*, and *es*. Similarly, the atonic personal pronouns:

Me is an enclitic after *se* 'if' : se·m poḍez acorder 74
si 'so' : si·m guarissez 21
ne : ne·m fesis mal 2029

Me is not an enclitic after *jo:* jo me crendreie 257 (*read* mei? cf. 2305)
ki: Ki me juraṭ 3710 (*read* mei?)
que; Que me saisis 2293, Que me loḍez 3948
si: Si me toliṭ 3753, si me jugaṭ 3772
lo: Bien lo me guarde 1819; 2005
another weak form: ne·l me reproveront 768; 833

Te is not found as an enclitic in *Rol.:* jo te comant 2815; 2029

Lo is an enclitic after *jo:* jo·l vos pardoins 2007
se: se·l pois trover 657
que: tant . . . que l rendent 1829
si: si·l saluḍerent 121
qui: S'est qui·l demandeṭ 119
ne: ne·l devez pas blasmer 681

Les is an enclitic after *jo:* Jo·s voeil aler querre 2180 (O: *Joes*)
Jo·s lor dirai 2919 (O: *Jes*)
que: Ki que·s rapelt 1912, 2261
si : Si·s aquoilliṭ tempeste 689
ne : ne·s ont mie dotez 1186

Se (sg. or pl.) is an enclitic after *que:* que s tienget contre lui 3183

si : si s vont ferir 3568
qui: cil qui·s deivent combatre 3854
ne : ne·s poet guarder 9

Se is not an enclitic after *qui:* Ki se combat 1847 (*read* sei?)

ne: que Charles ne se plaignet 915; 3140
si : si se metent sor piez 1139; so also 1220, 2596, 2843, 3633.
another weak form: ne·l se doüst penser 355

It is a difficult problem to determine how far these cases in which enclisis does not appear are due to faulty transmission (older use of the tonic forms *mei, sei,* etc.), or to the disintegration of the early groups; for the latter opinion, see Rydberg, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

Thus it is the forms *lo* and *les* which are most regularly shortened. For *lo,* this tendency is so marked that we find it losing its vowel even after a final feminine (*e*):

S'altre·l desist, ja semblast grant mençonge 1760
Vivre·l laissiez, car molt est gentilz hom 3811
Quant ele·l veit, ne poet muder ne ridet 959

probably also:

E lui aidiez, e por sire·l tenez 364

Another possible case is v. 81 (see note), but this interesting phenomenon is met with only in the older texts:

En tere·l metent par vive podestet *Alexis*, v. 588
Lo rei tint par la main, en sa chambre·l menat *Pel. Charlem.*, v. 421

See also Tobler, *Vom französischen Versbau* [6], p. 36, note.

e. The laisse. — The unity of the *laisse,* or *vers,* is made by the assonance, that is, the homophony of the last tonic vowel (or diphthong) of the line, without regard to the consonant(s) which may follow this vowel. For a list of the assonances found in *Rol.*, see above, X, § 2: *Vowels.* There may be a tendency towards rhyme, that is, the homophony of the consonant(s) which may

follow the last tonic vowel, in the *laisses* in *-en* and *-an* masculine: the number of words assonating in *-ent* and *-ant* is strikingly large, and later epics will develop this tendency.

The *laisses* average 14 lines in length. The shortest are of five lines (XXVI, LX), the longest of 34 (LIV) and 35 lines (CCXXVII). Nearly always, the *laisse* forms a well-defined unit: there is no overflow of *laisses* in the strict sense, but in three cases the poet continues a speech over two *laisses* without interruption (see XXII–XXIII, XLIV–XLV, LX–LXI). The end of the *laisse* is also strongly marked by the final line, which is usually independent in syntax, and summary, sententious, or climactic in content. The final line was probably further indicated by a *crescendo* or *forte* in the music; see note on the word *Aoi* (v. 9). Thus the poem, as G. Paris remarked, develops by "a series of successive explosions."

To adapt the *laisse*, which was probably lyric in origin and early use, to continuous narrative, was a task not without its difficulties: the poet has achieved a satisfactory sense of continuity by repetitions of phrases[1] such as *Qui i enveierons?* 244, 252, 275; *Dist Blancandrins* 377, 392; *Dist li paiens* 537, 550; *Atant i vint* 617, 627, 634; *D'altre part est* 931, et seq.; *Uns dus (reis) i est* 1213, et seq. The *laisses similaires* also work powerfully to counteract the disjunctive tendency of the separate laisses; for these, see note to v. 24.

See Luquiens, *Reconstruction*, pp. 121 ff.; Mildred K. Pope, *Modern Language Review*, VIII (1913), pp. 353 ff.; P. Rajna, *Origini*, p. 525 ff.; W. Mulertt, *Laissenverbindung u. Laissenwiederholung in den Chansons de Geste*, 1918.

[1] Repetition of phrases at close intervals is quite a different thing from repetition of whole lines at unrelated passages; of the latter, there are some five cases: 576 and 3755; 2943 and 4001; 2646 and 3345; 1412 and 3381; 828 and (with *at* for *ont*) 3613.

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E. Seelmann, *Bibliographie des altfrz. Rolandsliedes*, Heilbronn, 1888, pp. 113.

L. Gautier, *Bibliographie des Chansons de Geste*, Paris, 1897, pp. 170–98.

J. Geddes, Jr., *La Chanson de Roland. A Modern French Translation, with Introduction, Bibliography, Notes and Index, Map, Illustrations and Manuscript Readings*, New York, 1906. Pp. clx + 317.

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J. Bédier, *La Chanson de Roland publiée d'après le Manuscrit d'Oxford et traduite par ——.* Paris, 1922. Pp. xvii + 320. Cf. RR, XIV, pp. 88–96 (Todd).

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AGF: *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum. Mit Erläuterungen herausgegeben von* Heinrich Hagenmeyer, 1890.

ANSL: *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.*

Bédier: Joseph Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques: Recherches sur la Formation des Chansons de Geste*, 4 vols., 1908–13.

Boissonnade: *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, 1923.

EHR: The English Historical Review.

Gau.: Léon Gautier, *La Chanson de Roland*, 1872.

HPC: *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne, par* Gaston Paris, 1865; ², 1905.

MGH SS: *Monumenta Germanica historica: Scriptores*, ed. Pertz *et al.*

Migne, *PL*: *Patrologiæ Cursus completus . . . accurante* J.-P. Migne. *Series latina. PG = Series græca.*

ML: *Grammaire des Langues romanes, par* W. Meyer-Lübke, 4 vols., 1890–1906.

MLN: Modern Language Notes, publ. in Baltimore.

MP: Modern Philology, publ. quarterly in Chicago.

Mü.: Theodor Müller, *La Chanson de Roland* ², 1878.

NED: A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, ed. J. A. H. Murray.

Nyrop: *Grammaire historique de la Langue française, par* Kr. Nyrop, 4 vols., 1904–13.

PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, publ. quarterly at Menasha, Wisconsin.
Rec.: Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux, 5 vols., 1844 ff.
REW: *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, von* W. Meyer-Lübke, 1911.
RF: *Romanische Forschungen*, publ. at Erlangen.
Rom.: Romania, publ. quarterly in Paris.
RR: The Romanic Review, publ. quarterly in New York.
Ste.: *Das altfranzösische Rolandslied. Kritische Ausgabe besorgt von* E. Stengel. *Band* I, 1900.
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ZfDA: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.*
ZfRP: *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie.*
ZFSL: *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur.*

B. Miscellaneous

AN: Anglo-Norman.
AS: Anglo-Saxon.
c: *Carmen de Proditione Guenonis*, ed. G. Paris.
C: the Châteauroux MS of *Rol.*
CL: Classic Latin.
dK: the Low Dutch *Karlmeinet.*
dR: the Old German *Ruolandesliet.*
G.: Germanic.
L., Lat.: Latin.
LL: Low Latin.
MS, MSS: manuscript, manuscripts.
n: the Old Norse prose translation (*Karlamagnus Saga*)
n: footnote.
O: the Bodleian MS of the *Song of Roland*, at Oxford.
OE: Old English.
OF: Old French.
OPr: Old Provençal.

Rol.: the *Song of Roland*, Oxford Version.
v., vv.: verse, verses.
V^4: the MS " French IV " of the Library of St. Mark at Venice printed by Eugen Kölbing, 1877.
V^7: the MS " French VII " at Venice.
var.: variant.
VL: Vulgar Latin.

LA CHANSON DE ROLAND

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I

Preamble

Charles li reis, nostre emperedre magnes,
Set anz toz pleins at estét en Espaigne,
Tres qu'en la mer conquist la tere altaigne.
Chastel n'i at ki devant lui remaignet,
Murs ne citét n'i est remés a fraindre 5

1. At the time of the Spanish expedition of 778, Charles was *rex Francorum* but he was not yet *imperator*. It was in 801 that his chancellor first called him *Karolus magnus et pacificus imperator*. — This alleged conquest of all Spain was very early resented by the Spaniards; see R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poema de Mio Cid*, 1913, p. 45. Rodrigo of Toledo correctly described these claims as *fabulæ histrionum* (IV, c. ii).

2. In Vergil's *Æneid* (end of Book I), Æneas is introduced as in the seventh year of his wanderings; similarly in the OF *Roman d'Eneas*, the hero says to his company:

> Or avuns mult sufert ahans
> Par plusurs mers plus de set ans.
> (v. 332, cf. v. 185)

Later epics account for these seven years: the *Entrée d'Espaigne* narrates the first five, the *Prise de Pampelune* the last two. It became the fashion for Charles to devote seven years to a siege (cf. Bédier, IV, p. 468). Still later, Charles' stay in Spain became proverbial as one of long duration (Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des Proverbes français*, II, p. 32; the farce of Pierre Pathelin, vv. 26–27).

3. *la mer*, the Mediterranean. Neither Charles nor his successors accomplished this feat, but, in 1082, Alphonse VI of Castile had marched down the valley of the Guadalquivir to Tarifa, the southernmost point of Spain. Here he rode his horse into the sea, and claimed the whole land as his.

4. Similarly Einhard (c. IX) states: "He crossed the Pyrenees, received the surrender of all the towns and fortresses (*oppidi atque castelli*) that he attacked . . ." Einhard does not mention Saragossa because Charles had not seriously attempted its capture.

Fors Sarragoce qu'est en une montaigne;
Li reis Marsílies la tient, ki Deu nen aimeț,
Mahomet sert eț Apollin reclaimeț:
Ne's poet guarder que mals ne l'i ataigneț! Aoi.

6. Strictly speaking, Saragossa is not built upon a mountain, but it is situated in a hilly country. Monte Torrero, to the south, commands the city (height 235 meters).

8. The poet is doubly in error: Islam was never polytheistic, nor was Mohammed worshiped as a god. Later on (v. 853), we shall find a graven image of the Prophet, a thing strictly forbidden to Mohammedans. It is hard to say how much of this misrepresentation, frequent before and after the First Crusade, was intentional. Raoul of Caen, in his *Gesta Tancredi*, pretends that his hero found in the mosque of Omar at Jerusalem a silver statue of Mohammed, which Tancred addresses thus:

> Quid sibi vult haec effigies?.....
> Forsitan hoc Martis vel Apollinis est simulacrum.

The name *Apollin* = Apollo, may be due to the misunderstanding of the acc. *Apollinem* in Latin lives of saints; see, for example, the lives of St. George in which Apollo figures prominently, PMLA, XVII (Matzke). For the third Saracen god, *Tervagant*, see below, v. 611.

9. Even in this mountain-fortress, Marsile is not safe from harm, as events will show. The reading *l'i* (Stengel) is better than *li* (Müller, Gautier); cf. v. 2461; also *Erec* 2901, 4406.

The word *Aoi* (sometimes *AOI* and *aoi*) is placed opposite the last line of the strophe (*laisse*, or *vers*) 158 times; 118 laisses are not so provided. In 8 cases, *Aoi* is placed opposite the first line of a laisse, in 6 cases it is found somewhere about the middle.

Various explanations of the word *Aoi* have been proposed: many have thought it a "sort of refrain," others an "exclamation," (cf. Avoi! escrie, *Aliscans* 1663), or even a "wild war-cry" (Charles Kingsley). There is, however, a general agreement that there is some intention to indicate that the end of the laisse has arrived: the presence of the so-called "orphan line," or "short line" of six syllables with feminine ending, in the epics of the William of Orange cycle, and of a line of four syllables with feminine ending in the verse sections of *Aucassin and Nicolette*, shows that some such indication was useful to the executants, singers or musicians, and to the audience.

The size of the Oxford manuscript indicates that it was a jongleur's copy, a sort of pocket edition, and, as no other OF manuscript, so far as known, offers anything exactly similar to AOI, it is probable that we are dealing with some individual device whose purpose was to secure a proper or more effective rendering of the words or music. If another hypothesis may be hasarded, it may be based upon the tendency, certainly very old if not inherent in the nature of the strophe itself, to end the strophe with a line unusually striking in thought or expression. As in the sonnet, it is almost indispensable that the last

II

The council of king Marsile

Li reis Marsílies esteit en Sarragoce,
Alez en est en un vergier soz l'ombre,
Sore un peḍron de marbre bloi se colcheṭ,
Environ lui plus de vint mílië homes.
Il en apeleṭ e ses dus e ses contes:
'Oḍez, seignors, quels pecchiez nos encombreṭ!
Li empereḍre Charles de France dolce
En cest païs nos est venuz confondre;
Jo nen ai ost qui bataille li dongeṭ,

verse of a *laisse* should produce a real conclusion: it should be an especially happy or striking line, and, as such, would deserve special emphasis. We might, therefore, connect *Aoi* with the OF verb *aoire*, Lat. ADAUGĔRE, 'to swell,' 'to increase,' and understand the lines so marked as climactic; the copyist may thus have anticipated the *crescendo* or *forte* of modern music.

Against this explanation may be urged that the same laisse would hardly have two climaxes (cf. laisses XXI, LIX and CXXXVIII), one in the first and one in the last line; but, as laisses XXIII and CCLXI also have *Aoi* opposite the first line, I have not ventured here to make any change. At 1690–1691, however, it seems so improbable that laisse CXXVIII should have *Aoi* twice while the striking final line 1690 should be left without, that I have shifted the word. It is quite possible that the last copyist misplaced the word aṭ times, and omitted it at others.

11–12. The *vergier* is garden and orchard combined, a favorite spot for holding parlements. In the center there was often a pine-tree; cf. Charlemagne's surroundings, vv. 103, 114. The *perron* was a bench or block of stone, often marble; cf. also vv. 2556, 2704. We are in Spain and probably the month is June; cf. v. 1002, note.

13. The poet allows hiatus after the word *mílie*; cf. vv. 682, 1041, etc.

15. *Pecchiét*, 'calamity,' as in Ital. *quel peccato!* See Tobler's *Beiträge*, V, p. 395.

16. *France dolce*, as at 1985, but usually *dolce France*, vv. 109, 1054, 1695, 1927, 2379. The poet expands this to *dolce France la bele* 1695, while Ambroise has (v. 8897): *France la dulce terre*, and Wace (*Rou* I, p. 77) speaks of *France . . . le gentil regne*. Cf. also *France l'asolude*, 'the blest' v. 2311, and *Normendie la franche*, 'the noble and free,' v. 2324.

18. And yet, later on (vv. 563–67), Marsile assembles an army of 400,000! For years, this has figured among the alleged inconsistencies of the poem, and even among the proofs of composite authorship. Yet it is plain, as Luquiens points out (see his *Recon-*

Nen ai tel gent ki la soe derompeţ.
Conseiliez mei come mi sávië home,
Si·m guarissez e de mort e de honte.'
Paien n'i aţ ki un sol mot respondeţ
Fors Blancandrins de·l Castel de Val-fonde.

III

First speech of Blancandrin

Blancandrins fuţ des plus sávies paiens,
De vasselage fuţ asez chevaliers:
Prodome i out por son seignor aidier,
E dist a·l rei: 'Or ne vos esmaiez.
Mandez Charlon, a·l orgoillos, a·l fier,
Feḍeilz servísies e molt granz amistiez.

struction, 1909, p. 114) that Marsile is here measuring himself with Charlemagne, and not at all with the rearguard of 20,000 commanded by Roland. Soon after the battle of Zalaca (1086) a band of 300 Castilian Knights defeated 3000 Andalusian Arabs; see Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 700, and cf. v. 2121, n.

23. *Blancandrin.* The Norse and German versions, as well as V^4, support Stengel's preference for the form *Blancandin.* — *Val-Fonde* suggests Sp. *Vallehondo* 'Deep Valley,' (Boissonnade, p. 109).

24–61. The first of the so-called *laisses similaires:* the theme is repeated, for greater effect, in a second and often a third laisse, with change of assonance. For two laisses cf. 62–88, 563–595, 617–633, 1017–1038, 1702–1721, 1952–1977, 2881–2908, 3750–3779; for three laisses 1049–1081, 1753–1795, 2297–2354, 2355–2396, 2909–2944; there is possibly one case of four laisses, 1796–1850. These expansions occur only at critical points in the action, and are handled with great skill. There are practically no *laisses similaires* in the interpolated Baligant episode (cf. v. 2524, n.).

26. *Prodome i out.* Here *i* is for *en lui*; cf. En Tristan out molt buen archier, *Berol*, v. 1279; En Naymer ot molt boin chevalier, *Aliscans*, v. 4312. The *prozdome* at this time is brave, loyal to his lord, and faithful to his word. His merits also include religious devotion, even if, as here, he be an infidel.

29. *Servísies* 'feudal duties.' *Amistiez* also has a technical sense, as 'friendship' still has in the language of diplomacy. Cf. the use of *aimer* below, vv. 323, 494.

Vos li donrez ors e leons e chiens,
Set cenz chameilz e mil hostors muḍiers,
D'or e d'argent .iiii. c. muls chargiez,
Cinquante charre qu'en feraṭ chareier:
Bien en poḍraṭ loër ses soldeiers.
En ceste tere aṭ asez osteiéṭ,
En France aḍ Ais s'en deit bien repaiḍrier.
Vos lo siurez a feste saint Michiel

30–31. Hawks and dogs for hunting, but bears, lions and camels as exotic curiosities. Einhard (c. XVI) records that "Aaron the King of the Persians" (the Caliph of Bagdad, Harun-al-Raschid) sent Charlemagne an elephant, "the only one he had." The arrival, life, and death of this elephant are carefully recorded in the chronicles, and the event evidently caused a sensation in Europe.

33. *Charre*. Archaic plural, from Lat. CARRA, cf. v. 186. The sg. is *char*, the later pl. *chars* (as *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*, v. 427). The *carrum* would "carry" about half a ton, a *carrata* being what two oxen could pull. The *Rol.* also mentions the *charete* (Eng. 'cart') which was smaller and lighter (v. 2972).

34, 133. *soldeiers* 'men who fight for pay.' Charlemagne had no mercenary troops like those appearing under the early Plantagenet kings; his was a *host banie* (v. 211) of vassals, lay and clerical, each with his following. Oman (*The Art of War in the Middle Ages*, p. 366) speaks of "a large floating body of adventurers" (chevaliers) in the XIth century, such as the Norman conquerors of Apulia and the Varangian Guards of the Eastern emperors. William the Conqueror hired many of these *stipendiarii* or *solidarii milites:* the poet Wace says of him —

De partot manda soldeiers
Qui al gaaing vont volentiers (*Rou*, vv. 6201–02).

But it is no doubt an anachronism to ascribe even such free-lances serving for pay to the army of Charlemagne.

36. *France, Ais*. L. Gautier states that "France" occurs 170 times in the *Rol.* in the meaning of *regnum Francorum*, the Empire of Charlemagne. Cf. vv. 835, 938, 969, etc. This included, besides the Royal Domain or France proper, Bavaria, Alamannia, Normandy, Brittany, Poitou, Auvergne, Flanders, Frisia, Lorraine and Burgundy. Aix-la-Chapelle was therefore in "France," but Charles is not yet in France once he has crossed the Pyrenees, as L. Gautier states, for Gascony was tributary but not under his rule; cf. v. 819, note. For a careful study of the changing meaning of the name "France," see G. Kurth, *Etudes franques*, 1919, I, pp. 67–88.

37. The archangels Michael and Gabriel, the two chief captains of the angelic hosts according to later Jewish tradition, are both prominent in *Rol.* The first has become a saint, and owes his rôle here to the important monastery of Mont-saint-Michel, founded in the VIIIth century on an island off the coast, near Avranches. See note to v. 152. To William of

Si recevrez la lei de chrestïens,
Serez sis hom par honor e par bien.
S'en voelt ostages, e vos l'en enveiez
O dis o vint por lui afiḍancier:
Enveions i les filz de noz moilliers:
Par nom d'ociḍre renveierai lo mien.
Asez est mielz qu'il i perdent les chiés
Que nos perdons l'onor ne la deintiét,
Ne nos seions conduit a mendeier.' Aoi.
[Paien escriḍent: 'Bien fait a otreier.']

St.-Paier, Saint Michael is *le maistre prevost des ciels*, he is *le drut Damleḍeu* (vv. 649, 700, 2230). His fête falls nowadays Oct. 16, but it was formerly Sept. 29, and this was the usual date until the end of the XIth century (see Hagenmeyer, AGF, p. 119). — *a feste s. M.* The scribe modernized by inserting the article, but the older language did not always use it, cf. *A feste Tor Sainz*, Ambroise 3143; *a feste St. Jehan, Ch. des Saisnes*, ed. Stengel, V, 1774; *la veille de Pentecoste*, Villehardouin, 119; and, for an explanation, see Tobler's *Beiträge*, II, p. 108.

39. *sis hom; tis hom* 223. Here *homo* is in the technical sense of 'vassal,' and the formula remains invariable even when the pl. of respect (*vos, vostre*) is used in the same sentence. A parallel case is *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*, 796–7: jo sai que Deus vos aimet, Tis hoen voil devenir . . . So *La Mort Garin*, ed. Du Méril, p. 13. The legal nature of the relation (*hominium*) and of the word is well illustrated by the fact that if the vassal be a woman we may find in medieval documents *homo mea, homo nostra*.

40. The use here of the conjunction *e* is not altogether pleonastic, as is at times stated: there is some such meaning as when the main clause is temporal: 'à cet instant précis' (Foulet).

41. *O dis o vint.* They determine later to send twenty, as appears at v. 679, but the poet forgot to inform us as to their fate when Marsile's treachery became evident and open war was resumed.

43. *Par nom d'ociḍre.* 'Certain though death may be (for him).' Blancandrin seems to mean that the situation is desperate, and demands some illustrious victims. For the idiom, cf. Müller,[2] p. 521. — In O (= Oxford MS) it is sometimes impossible to distinguish (*i*) and (*r*), as in vv. 239, 428, 3427, 3584; and here one may read either *i'enveierai* or *renveierai; re-* would be in the common meaning of 'for my part,' 'in my turn.'

44–45. Hostages sacrificed in preference to loss of life and kingdom appear also in *Waltharius*, vv. 24–26, as noticed by Wilmotte, *Mélanges Lanson* (1922), pp. 82–83.

46*a*. Supplied from V^7C; V^4 has: *Pain responde ben el daotrier.*

IV

Second speech of Blancandrin

Dist Blancandrins: 'Par ceste meie destre,
E par la barbe ki a·l piz me ventelet,
L'ost des Franceis vedrez sempres desfaire,
Franc s'en iront en France la lor tere.
Quant chascuns iert a son meillor repaidre
Charles serat ad Ais a sa chapele,
A saint Michiel tendrat molt halte feste,
Vendrat li jorz si passerat li termes,
N'odrat de nos paroles ne noveles.
Li reis est fiers e sis corages pesmes
De noz ostages ferat trenchier les testes;
Asez est mielz qued il les testes perdent
Que nos perdons clere Espaigne la bele
Ne nos aions les mals ne les soffraites.'
Diënt paien: 'Issi poet il bien estre.'

47. *Par ceste meie destre.* The additions to the *Lex salica* tell us, "[Franci] in eorum dextera et arma eorum sacramenta adfirmant" (cited by Rajna, *Origini*, p. 391). But the custom appears also in Vergil (*Æn.* VII, 234).

48. *Par la barbe.* Not only this Saracen, but also Charlemagne (v. 249) and Oliver (v. 1719) swear by their beards. Tavernier (*Vorgeschichte*, p. 122) thinks the custom may be of oriental origin, and hence an evidence of contact during the Crusades; it does not appear in the Bible.

49–50. Here, as often, *Franc* and *Franceis* are interchangeable terms: they are the people of Charlemagne's empire, "France" in the larger sense; see v. 36. Thus it is that *Frank* came to mean 'Latin,' 'Occidental,' as differing from the Greeks and Saracens. Cf. also the term *lingua franca* in the Levant, and Hoefft's Diss. (1891), *France, Franceis und Franc im Rolandsliede*, p. 53 ff.

57–58. The transposition of *perdent* is warranted by V⁴: *che ilauia perde*, as well as by the penchant of the poet for transposed parallelism. Cf. MP, III, p. 179 ff. (Warren), and vv. 62 and 78. O: *quil i perdent les testes*.

61. The popular assent is probably not meant to be dubious, but hearty; 'thus may the matter very properly be disposed of.' The expression of neuter *il* in clauses with *si* implies some emphasis, as in v. 1743.

V

Ten messengers named: their instructions

Li reis Marsílies out son conseill finét
Si·n apellat Clarin de Balasguét,
Estramariz e Eudropin son per,
E Priamon e Guarlan lo barbét,
E Machiner e son oncle Maheu,
E Joüner e Malbien d'Oltremer,
E Blancandrin por la raison conter:
Des plus felons dis en at apelez:
'Seignors barons, a Charlemagne irez,
Il est a·l siege a Cordres la citét;

63. No doubt Balaguer, in Catalonia, on the Segre (now pronounced, by the people, Balagué). An emir of this town is among the Saracen XII (v. 894); it is also among the cities captured for Charles by Roland (v. 200). There is a Castillo de Balaguer commanding a pass on the road from Tarragona to the mouth of the Ebro; see MLN, XXII, p. 191 (Weeks), Baist's *Variationen*, p. 217, and Boissonnade, p. 90.

64 ff. These names seem to be pure inventions. Estramariz reappears (v. 941) as one of the Saracen XII; he is slain by Berengier (v. 1304). It seems surprising that the name *Maheu* < Matthaeus should be thus used, but there is no doubt about the reading (V⁴ *Mathé*, **n**. *Mattheu*). In *Elie de St.-Gile*, v. 1248, appears a pagan named *Josué*, while in Kerbogha's army at Antioch were two kings, *Davit* and *Salemon* (*Chanson d'Antioche*, II, p. 260). Cf. also *Samuel*, a historical king of the Bulgars, then pagans (v. 3244).

68. *raison*, L. RATIONEM 'the piece of business.' Thus Vergil calls Æneas' ambassadors *oratores;* cf. v. 70, note.

69. *felons*. The original meaning of this much-used word seems to have been 'skinner,' 'butcher;' later, 'fierce.' Cf. vv. 213, 910, 1471.

70. *a Charlemagne irez*. Tavernier believed that the incidents of this mission are imitated from Vergil (*Æn*. VII, 152 ff.). Æneas dispatches an embassy to King Latinus in the interest of peace; the messengers bear gifts and find "youths in the early bloom of life exercising" outside the walls (cf. v. 113 in *Rol.*); Latinus welcomes the embassy "seated in the midst upon his ancestral throne" (cf. vv. 115–16). There is indeed a general resemblance, and the author of *Rol.* certainly knew Vergil, cf. vv. 72, 1903, 1470, 2211, 2616, nn. For other alleged souvenirs of Vergil, see ZFSL, XXXVI², p. 76 ff. (Tavernier).

71. *Cordres* is almost certainly Córdoba, Lat. CORDŬBA-S. It is a question whether Charles' power

Branches d'olives en voz mains porterez,
Ço senefiẽt pais eꝫ humilitét.
Par voz saveirs se'm poꝺez acorder
Jo vos donrai or eꝫ argent asez, 75
Teres e fiez tant com vos en voldrez.'
Diënt paien: 'De ço avrom asez.' Aoi.

really reached even to the Ebro, in spite of Einhard's assertion, and Córdova was not taken from the Moors until 1236. So serious is this difficulty that L. Gautier, in his earlier editions, entered an imaginary "Cordres" upon his map, placing it near the Pyrenees, between Tudela and Valterra. But we have been told (v. 3) that Charles' conquests reached to the Mediterranean; that this was a general belief is shown by the statement of Ademar of Chabannes († 1034) that "Charles held in his power all the land from Mount Gargano (in Italy) to the Spanish city of Corduba" (ed. Chavanon, 1897, p. 68). The *Chronicle of Turpin* (c. III) repeats this statement, a magnificent window at Aix-la-Chapelle pictures Charles capturing the city (see the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, s. v. *Aix*), while Clerk Konrad's *Ruolandesliet*, vv. 839–890, contains an account of the siege here mentioned. At v. 97 we are told that Charles has taken Cordres; it is there he receives Marsile's embassy. The objection that the words *Il est al siege a Cordres* are inconsistent with the statement in vv. 3–6 is not serious, for Marsile, at the moment, may be ill informed as to the march of events. Boissonnade argues for the small town of *Cortes*, south of the Ebro, in Navarre (pp. 127-29).

72, 80. *Branches d'olive.* An ambassador carrying an olive branch is shown by Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, fig. 129 (XIIIth century). The poet carefully explains the significance of the olive: so do the authors of the *Roman d'Eneas* (vv. 4687–88)

> Ce esteit donc a icel tens
> Signe de pais entre paiens.

and the *Roman de Thèbes:*

> Por ço porte rain d'olivier
> Que paiz li deit senefiier
> (vv. 1243–44).

This caution leads us to suspect that we have here a literary reminiscence, one which might not be understood by unlearned hearers. The Bible as the source seems improbable: *Neh.* viii: 15 speaks of *frondes olivæ*, and *Zech.* iv: 12 has *spicæ olivarum;* in neither passage does the olive signify peace and in neither have we to do with an embassy. But, turning to Vergil, the *Æneid* has at least four passages in which ambassadors bear olive branches (vii, 154; viii, 116; xi, 101, 332). After *Rol.*, the olive in the hands of messengers is frequent.

77. *De ço . . . asez*, 'This will be extremely profitable to us.' Other editors adopt the reading of V^4: *Bien dist nostre avoëz*, 'Our legal representative speaks well.' The Norse translation favors the fut. *avrom* as against the pres. *avom* (= O).

VI

Li reis Marsílies out finét son conseill,
Dist a ses homes: 'Seignors, vos en ireiz,
Branches d'olive en voz mains portereiz,
Si me direiz Charlemagne lo rei,
Por lo soen Deu, qu'il ait merciț de mei:
Ainz ne veḍraț passer cest premier meis
Que jo·l siurai oḍ mil de mes feḍeilz,
Si recevrai la chrestiëne lei,
Serai sis hom par amor e par feiț.
S'il voelt ostages il en avraț, par veir.'
Dist Blancandrins: 'Molt bon plait en avreiz.' Aoi.

VII

The paynim embassy sets out

Dis blanches mules fist amener Marsílies
Que li tramist li reis de Suatílie;
Li frein sont d'or, les seles d'argent mises.
Cil sont montéț ki lo message firent,

79–80. *ireiz, portereiz* in (*ei*) assonance, but *irez* 70 and *porterez* 72 in (*e*) assonance. Similarly, in *Raoul de Cambrai* the older and the younger forms are both used, *-ois* and *-ês* (ed. Meyer and Longnon, p. lxxv).

81. As enclisis of monosyllables in fem. (*e*) after polysyllabic words ending with the same vowel is admissible for *Rol.* (cf. vv. 959, 1760, 3811) the second member of this verse may have been *a Charlemagne·l rei* (=O; the contrary opinion is expressed *Rom.* II, p. 108, but cf. *se faire·l puis*, and similar groups). *Si me direiz* (without enclisis) is suspicious.

88. *plait*, 'plea,' 'case'; cf. vv. 223, 3471, nn.

90. *Suatílie* is not identified. The only variant is V⁴ *Cecilie* (= Cilicia?). Baist, *Variationen*, p. 219, suggests Attalia, on the south coast of Asia Minor (Pamphylia), which appears in the Russian *Itinerary of Daniel* (1106–07) as *Satalia*, in Ambroise, v. 1318, as *Sartalee*. As a grazing country is probably in question, one might suggest the "principalities of *Sousdalie*" (in the region of Moscow) mentioned by Rambaud, *La Russie*, p. 74. Boissonnade (p. 203) inclines to seek Suatílie in Spain.

Enz en lor mains portent branches d'olive;
Vindrent a Charle ki France aṭ en baillie,
Ne·s poet guarder queḍ alques ne·l engignent. Aoi. 95

VIII

Arrival of the embassy

Li emperedre se fait e balz e liez:
Cordres aṭ prise e les murs peceiez,
Oḍ ses chaḍables les tors en abatiéṭ;
Molt grant eschec en ont si chevalier
D'or e d'argent e de guarnemenz chiers. 100
En la citéṭ nen aṭ remés paien
Ne seit ocis, o devient chrestiëns.

97. *Cordres at prise.* See note to v. 71. The siege of Nicæa, in 1097, is the earliest medieval siege about which much is known; see Viollet-le-Duc, *Diction. d'architecture*, VIII, p. 373; Hagenmeyer, AGF, p. 193 ff. For the medieval *chadabula*, see Du Cange, *Cabulus*.

99. *eschec* (or *eskec*) 'war-plunder,' 'loot,' a Frankish word (*skak*), later replaced by *butin*. As a knight followed his lord at his own expense, receiving no pay at all, the importance of plunder may be imagined. Cf. also vv. 1167, 2478, and Boissonnade, pp. 278–80.

101–102. *paien.* "The Mussulmans are thus designated in all the *chansons de geste*, owing no doubt to a confusion between the enemies of the South (Moors and Berbers in Spain and Africa) and those of the East, Saxons, Danes, Slavs, Hungarians and Tartars, who were really pagans. This regrettable confusion has deprived the Mussulmans of their real and proper character in our epic poetry, in which they play so important a rôle" (G. Paris). See also note to v. 8.

Ne seit ocis. To the historians of the First Crusade, the Moslems were not only "increduli," "perfidi," but also "excommunicati" and "execrati"; as supposed heathen, they were the enemies of God and Christ, and as such were usually put to death when the Franks were victorious, as at Antioch and Jerusalem. The Anonymus records cases in which those who would become Christians were not harmed; cf. also Baudry of Dol (*Rec.* IV, p. 81); but it was very rare to let any go free. Tavernier points out that such a method of wholesale conversion by the sword is not historically true of Charlemagne and his margraves: even the Saxon wars were waged on political rather than on religious grounds.

Li empereḍre est en un grant vergier,
Ensemble oḍ lui Roḍlanz eḍ Oliviers,
Sanse li dux eḍ Anseïs li fiers,
Gefreiz d'Anjou, li rei gonfanoniers,
E si i furent e Gerins e Geriers;
La o cist furent des altres i out bien:
De dolce France i aṭ quinze milliers.
Sor pálies blans sieḍent cil chevalier,
As tables joënt por els esbaneier,
E as eschés li plus sávie e li vieill,
E escremissent cil bacheler legier.

104 ff. Of these seven warriors, six are among the Twelve Peers, all of whom fall at Roncesvaux; only Jeffrey of Anjou (not one of the Twelve) survives the disaster. Gerin and Gerier (107) are named here in a line which is suspicious, being found only in O(xford). G. Paris believed that the poet intended to give here the first complete list of the famous XII Peers, but the other versions offer lists differing so widely that this is improbable. For the Twelve Peers, or "compagnons," see note to v. 795. — For the historical Roland, and for Oliver, see Introd. pp. lxxxv, lxxxvii.

106. The first Jeffrey of Anjou was Count Geoffroi I, "Grisegonelle," who was active during the period 954–986; it is known that this personage, at the battle of Soissons, carried the standard or banner (*vexillum*) of the King of France; see *Rom.* XIX, p. 377 (F. Lot), and *ZfRP*, XVI, p. 452 (Baist). Bédier (IV, p. 395) believes that the rather surprising presence here of a Jeffrey as one of Charlemagne's barons, is due merely to the need of surrounding the emperor with impressive figures which, to an audience of the twelfth century, might at the same time be vaguely reminiscent of real personages. A brother of "Jeffrey," Thierri, is to play a leading part at the close of the poem, vv. 3818 ff.

111. The game of *tables*, similar to that now called *trictrac* or *jacquet*, in English, *backgammon*, comes down from classical antiquity; it is pictured in Gautier's *La Chevalerie*, p. 124. Cf. also Willard Fiske, *Chess in Iceland*, 1905, p. 157 ff.

112. *eschés*. The oldest mention of the game of chess as known to Christians appears to be by St. Peter Damian (Migne, *PL* 145, 454 ff.) and dates from 1061 or 1063; by the middle of the twelfth century, the game was well known in France, but there seems to be no mention of it in the Latin literature of France or England before the First Crusade. See Tavernier, *Vorgeschichte*, pp. 30–32. *Rol.* employs the verb *matir*, 893, 3206, and the adj. *mat*, 1986, Eng. *check* (= eschec)-*mate*. Chess-playing at Charles' court is a favorite scene in *Ogier le Danois*, *Renaud de Montauban*, and other later epics.

113. *bachelers*. Originally, these were young unmarried men who lived

Desoz un pin, delez un aiglentier
Un faldestoel i out, fait tot d'ormier,
La siét li reis ki dolce France tient;
Blanche aṭ la barbe e tot floriṭ lo chief,
Gent aṭ lo cors e lo contenant fier:
S'est qui'l demandeṭ, ne'l estoet enseignier.
E li message descendierent a piéṭ
Si'l saluḍerent par amor e par bien.

IX

Blancandrin addresses Charlemagne

Blancandrins aṭ toz premerains parléṭ,
E dist a'l rei: 'Salvez seiez de Deu,
Lo glorios que devons aḍorer!

with their lord and formed part of his household; they were at times very numerous, and could furnish the nucleus of a military force; over them were the knights of more experience. The bachelers were tyros (*tirones*); the chevaliers were veterans. See Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'Origine de la Noblesse*, pp. 244–50; for the source of the word *bacheler*, MLN, XXXII, p. 394 (Carnoy); and cf. v. 70, note.

115. *ormier*. Here probably 'shell,' 'mother of pearl,' L. AURIS MARIS. For the history of the word, see *Rom. Rev.* VIII (1917), p. 167 (Carnoy), and *Rom.* XXXV, p. 170 (A. Thomas). The coastal form *ormer* was early remade to *ormier*, as though from AURUM MERUM, 'or pur,' and later appears with that meaning; so also *argent mier*. Charles' camp-chair, we may believe, was heavily inlaid with iridescent mother of pearl. In O, *ormier* is written as two words five times, as one word four times.

116. *La siét li reis. . . .* The description of Charles recalls Einhard's portrait (c. XXII): "His body was large and strong, his stature tall . . . he had beautiful white hair . . . whether sitting or standing, his appearance was dignified and impressive." The poet of *Baligant* (v. 2985) ascribes to Charles a *voiz grant e halte*, whereas Einhard says "his voice was clear, but hardly so strong as you would have expected." It should be noted that in fact Charles was but 36 years old at the time of the Spanish expedition, but in the epic he is always advanced in years. Cf. above, v. 70, note, and below, vv. 524, 970.

123. Blancandrin greets Charles with a Christian formula, the same as that used later by Ganelon at the court of Marsile, vv. 428–29.

Içо vos mandeţ reis Marsílies li ber:
Enquis aţ molt la lei de salvetét,
[As chrestiëns se voldraţ asembler.] 126 *a*
De son aveir vos voelt asez doner,
Ors e leons e veltres chaḍenez,
Set cenz chameilz e mil hostors muḍez,
D'or e d'argent .iiii. cenz muls trossez,
Cinquante charre que charreier ferez;
Tant i avraţ de besanz esmerez
Dont bien poḍrez voz soldeiers loër.
En cest païs avez estéţ asez,
En France aḍ Ais repaiḍrier bien devez;
La vos siuraţ, ço dist, mis avoëz.'
Li empereḍre tent ambes mains vers Deu,
Baisseţ son chief, comenceţ a penser.

X

Charles questions the messengers

Li empereḍre en tint son chief enclin,
De sa parole ne fuţ mie hastis:
Sa costume est, paroleţ a leisir.

126 *a*. Line wanting in O and V^4; supplied from V^7 and n.

132. *besanz*. Oriental coins, either Byzantine (Greek), or Arabic, which found their way to Western Europe. The Greeks themselves did not use this word. Guillaume le Clerc translates with the words *besant Deu* the Scriptural "talent."

137. *vers Deu*. The poet dwells constantly upon Charles' piety. This emphasis becomes even more pronounced in the *Chronicle of Turpin* and in Konrad's *Ruolandesliet*. Einhard tells us: "He paid the most devout and pious regard to the Christian religion" (c. XXVI); cf. also the Monk of St. Gall on the signal piety of Charles' son Louis (II, c. XI).

141. Parataxis is common in the older monuments of Old French and Old Provençal: see PMLA, XXI, p. 519 (Shepard). The archaic usage is, however, very often suppressed by the scribe of O and the construction modernized, as here; see also vv. 359, 2522, 3462, 3559, 3681, 3834, and Introduction, p. cxxxvii.

Quant se redreceţ molt par out fier lo vis,
Dist as messages: 'Vos avez molt bien dit,
Li reis Marsílies est molt mis enemis:
De cez paroles que vos avez ci dit
En quel mesure en poḍrai estre fiz?'
'Vos, par hostages,' ço dist li Sarrazins,
'Dont vos avrez o dis o quinze o vint;
Par nom d'ociḍre i metrai un mien filz,
E si·n avrez, ço quit, de plus gentilz.
Quant vos serez e·l palais seignorill,
A la grant feste saint Michiel de·l Peril,
Mis avoëz la vos siuraţ, ço dist,
Enz en voz bainz que Deus por vos i fist

142. *par out fier lo vis*. Unlike *per* in Latin (*perfervidus, permagnus*), *par* in OF is always separated from its adjective by the verb; cf. vv. 285, 546, 3745. It is interesting to find the more colloquial word-order used by Aulus Gellius: *Socrati per fuit familiaris*. — The terrifying glance of the emperor is proverbial in the epics: he is Charles *au vis fier*. See G. Paris, HPC, pp. 347–49.

147. The *Voet* (or *Voel?*) of O is unintelligible; *Vos* was proposed by G. Paris (*Rom.* XV, p. 141).

150. Gautier and Gröber solve *sin* of the MS by *si n'*(*avrez*), not, as here, by *si en* (L. INDE). But anxiety to persuade seems to better fit the situation than an outcropping of family pride; so Stengel (*si 'n*) and Bédier.

152. *saint Michel del Peril*. Cf. vv. 37 (note), 1428, 2394. This monastery was under the name of *Sanctus Michael in periculo maris*, so-called because of the danger of surprise by the incoming tides over the level sands. See the Bayeux Tapestry (ed. A. Levé, 1919), scenes 18–20. William of St. Paier explains:

> Peril de meir r'est apelez
> Quer molt sovent i sunt trovez
> Pelerins passanz perilliez
> Que gort de mer aveit neiez . . .
> (vv. 429 ff.).

This shrine, and the pilgrimage to it, are frequently mentioned in the OF epics; the poet of *Rol.* has a special predilection for it. For a poetic description of the monastery as it may have been in the eleventh century, see Henry Adams, *Mont Saint Michel and Chartres*, 1904; for its history, Dom Beaunier, *Abbayes et Prieurés de l'ancienne France*, VII (1914), pp. 95–104.

154–55. Charles' palace (*regia domus*) at Aix covered the famous hot springs and baths; *bainz* here seems to refer to these buildings in which the ceremony of baptism would take place. Similarly, v. 3984, Bramimonde is baptized *es bainz ad Ais*. Einhard (c. XXII) says nothing about the baths being of miraculous origin, but

La voldraṭ il chrestiëns devenir.'
Charles respont: 'Oncor poḍraṭ guarir.' Aoi.

XI

Next day a council is held

Bels fuṭ li vespres e li soleilz fuṭ clers,
Les dis mulez fait Charles establer;
E·l grant vergier fait li reis tendre un tref,
Les dis messages aṭ fait enz hosteler,
Xii. serjant les ont bien conreḍez;
La nuit demorent tres que vint a·l jorn cler.
Li emperedre est par matin levez,
Messe e matines aṭ li reis escoltéṭ,
Desoz un pin en est li reis alez,
Ses barons mandeṭ por son conseill finer:
Par cels de France voelt il de·l tot eḍrer. Aoi.

XII

Li emperedre s'en vait desoz un pin,
Ses barons mandeṭ por son conseill fenir:

the Saracen idea of Charles includes more than one supernatural trait. Cf. *Journal des Savants*, 1896, pp. 637, 718 (G. Paris).

156. 'He may yet be saved;' 'his case is not hopeless.'

157. Some have found difficulty with this line, but may we not translate: 'beautiful was the evening, with a cloudless sunset'?

165. The line is suspicious, as it occurs only in O; cf. v. 168.

168. Rajna, *Origini*, p. 388–89 sees in these open-air assemblies under trees (pine, oak, linden) a custom coming down from Germanic antiquity. The Emir Baligant holds a council under a laurel-tree, v. 2651. Tavernier calls attention to classical precedents: ZFSL, XXXVI (1910), p. 71.

167. *edrer, errer* (Lat. ĬTĔR-ARE), 'travel,' 'proceed,' hence 'be guided.' Cf. William of St. Paier 1021: Par voz conseilz dei bien esrer. — *Cels de France* and *les Francs de France* evidently include men from all parts of Charles' empire; cf. vv. 36, 49.

Lo duc Ogier, l'arcevesque Turpin,
Richart lo vieill e son nevoț Henri,
E de Guascoigne lo proț conte Acelin,
Teḍbalt de Reins e Milon son cosin,
E si i furent e Geriers e Gerins,
Ensemble oḍ els li quens Roḍlanz i vint,
Eḍ Oliviers li proz e li gentilz;
Des Frans de France en i aț plus de mil.
Guenles i vint, ki la traḍison fist.
Des or comenceț li conseilz que mal prist. Aoi.

170. For the legend of Duke Ogier of Denmark, or "Olger the Dane," see Bédier, II², pp. 297–304; Boissonnade, pp. 351–55. For the Archbishop Turpin, see Introduction, and for a résumé as to his "historicity," Bédier, IV, p. 383.

171. *Richard lo vieil* is apparently Richard I, Duke of Normandy, *Ricardus vetus* (*vetulus*, *senior*) in the chronicles, who died in 996, long after Charlemagne's time. He was so called to distinguish him from his son Richard II († 1027). He reappears at v. 3050, also at v. 3471 where he is slain by Baligant. For his rôle in the OF epic, see Bédier, IV, pp. 3 ff., 389, and Boissonnade, p. 410. — *Henri* is mentioned only here; *nevot* is a conjecture (partial erasure in O). Konrad calls him *Heinrich vone Garmes* (v. 1185), but Konrad's list is quite different otherwise. Some take *nevot* in the sense of 'descendant,' and consider this a complimentary reference to Henry I Beauclerk, son of the Conqueror.

172. *Acelin* of Gascony recurs at v. 2882. This region had a sort of independence under Charlemagne, with hereditary dukes (not counts) down to 819. Cf. vv. 819, 2882, and Boissonnade, pp. 363–65.

173. *Tedbalt* (= Thibaut) of Reims and his cousin Count Milon reappear at v. 2433, where they are detailed to guard the dead at Roncesvaux. Tedbald is also named as commanding the sixth division against Baligant (v. 3058); Milon is not mentioned until v. 2971, where he and three others (including again Tedbalt) form a *cortège d'honneur* for the dead bodies of Roland, Oliver and Turpin. For possible prototypes of these personages, see Boissonnade, pp. 388, 390.

178. *Guenles*, obl. case *Guenelon*. For this personage, see Introduction, pp. lxxxviii, and Bédier, IV, pp. 360–61. Dante places Ganelon in Hell, among the betrayers of their country (*Inf.* XXXII, 122). For a survey of the rôle of Ganelon in the OF epic, see PMLA, XXI, pp. 341–58 (Comfort).

Note the skill with which the name of Ganelon is first introduced here: eleven heroes are enumerated, the twelfth and last is "he who did the treason." May this not be a souvenir of *Luke* vi: 16, where, in the list of the twelve Apostles, the last named is Judas, "qui fuit traditor"? (Tavernier).

179. *que mal prist*, 'which made a bad beginning,' 'which was the beginning of misfortune.'

XIII

Charles addresses the council

'Seignors barons,' dist l'emperedre Charles,
'Li reis Marsílies m'at tramis ses messages;
De son aveir me voelt doner grant masse,
Ors e leons e veltres chadenables,
Set cenz chameilz e mil hostors mudables,
Quatre cenz muls chargiez de·l or d'Arábie,
Avoec iço plus de cinquante charre:
Mais il me mandet qued en France m'en alge,
Il me siurat ad Ais a mon estage,
Si recevrat la nostre lei plus salve,
Chrestiëns iert, de mei tendrat ses marches;
Mais jo ne sai quels en est sis corages.'
Diënt Franceis: 'Il nos i covient guarde!' Aoi.

XIV

Roland would reject the proposals

Li emperedre out sa raison fenide.
Li quens Rodlanz ki ne·l otriët mie
En piez se drecet si li vint contredire;
Il dist a·l rei: 'Ja mar credrez Marsílie!

192. Some editors prefer, for this line, the reading of V^4: *Ci a mestier grant guarde*, because the use of a neuter subject pron. *il*, other than with *estre* and *aveir*, is suspicious for *Rol.*

194. *ne l'otriët mie*, 'does not accept this' (the proposal of Marsile). The neuter *lo* (L. illu-d) keeps in OF much of its demonstrative force; cf. vv. 1146, 2424.

195. *si li vint contredire.* The object of the verb is a neuter *lo*, which is here, as often, suppressed when there is already an indirect pronoun (*li*) and when the meaning is clear from the context.

196. *mar credrez Marsílie. mar* with a fut. is nearly equivalent to a negative imperative, 'do not trust Marsile!' The OF translator of the

Set anz aṭ pleins qu'en Espaigne venimes.
Jo vos conquis e Noples e Commibles,
Pris ai Valterne e la tere de Pine,
E Balasguéṭ e Tudele e Sebílie.
Li reis Marsílies i fist molt que traḍitre:
De ses paiens il vos enveiaṭ quinze,
Chascuns portout une branche d'olive,
Noncierent vos cez paroles meḍismes.
A voz Franceis un conseill en presistes,
Loḍerent vos alques de legerie:

Four Books of the Kings renders *Ne interficias eum* 'Destroy him not,' by *mar l'ociras!* Cf. vv. 220, 262, 3558.

198. *Noples*, which reappears at v. 1775, is probably *Napal*, *Nabal*, a stronghold in the diocese of Barbastro, captured by the Christians in 1091; see Boissonnade, pp. 116–18. The anonymous Paduan, author of the fourteenth century *Entrée d'Espagne* (vv. 6714–17) locates it between Aragon and the road which leads into Gascony, and it seems certain that it should be placed in Spain. For this legend, see G. Paris, HPC, p. 263; also A. Thomas, *Entrée d'Espagne*, I, pp. xli–xlvi. Roland enumerates his personal services in the Spanish war in order to add weight to the opinion he is about to express. — *Commibles*. Possibly Coimbra in Portugal, Lat. *Conimbriga*, *Conimbria*, captured by Ferdinand of Castile, in 1064; we may suppose an intermediate form *Conimbles*. Other versions have *Morinde*, which is preferred by some editors; cf. *Rom.* XI, p. 489, and, for another opinion, Boissonnade, pp. 121–22.

199. *Valterne*. Probably Valterra, on the Ebro, three leagues above Tudela. A Saracen, Escremiz de Valterne, figures later (vv. 931, 1291). — *la Tere de Pine*. Probably the district, near Jaca, where is situated the famous monastery of San Juan de la Peña (*cœnobium quod dicitur de Pinia*), burial-place of the kings of Aragon; see Boissonnade, pp. 115–16.

200. *Balasguét*. See v. 63, note. — *Tudele* is Tudela on the Ebro, about 50 miles above Saragossa; a city often mentioned in the OF epic and romance. Its fame in France dates from the five years' siege it underwent during the French expedition of 1085 (Bédier, III, p. 371); captured by the French in 1114. — *Sebílie*. The *Hispalis* of the Latins became *Isbalia*, *Isbilia* to the Arabs, *Sibilia* in the *Chronicle* of Turpin, *Sebile* (: *ville*) in the OF *Cléomadès*, v. 18511. The copyist of O wrote *Sezilie* (= Sicilia?) and may have been thinking of the Norman conquest of Sicily; but here it is surely a question of Roland's exploits in Spain. Boissonnade (p. 96) argues for the town of *Sevil*, near Barbastro. Sevilla is indeed far from the March of Spain, but see notes to vv. 3 and 71; cf. also v. 955.

Dous de voz contes a·l paien tramesistes,
L'uns fut Basans e li altre Basílies;
Les chiés en prist es puis desoz Haltílie!
Faites la guerre com vos l'avez enprise,
En Sarragoce menez vostre ost baniḍe,
Metez lo siege a tote vostre vide,
Si vengiez cels que li fel fist ociḍre.' Aoi.

207 ff. This mission, ending in the murder of the two brothers, is twice referred to later (vv. 330, 490); it is unknown to history. The story, however, reappears in the *Chanson de Basin* (now lost) of which there is a résumé in Branch I, c. 53 of the Icelandic *Karlamagnus Saga* (ed. Unger, 1860, p. 46), and it is related at length by Nicolas of Verona in the *Prise de Pampelune*, vv. 2545–2648. In the latter, the two messengers, described as valiant knights of Langres, are set upon in Marsile's presence by pagans "more than a hundred and twenty-three," and are hanged "out in the fields," without more ado. Marsile excuses his act on the ground that Charles had treacherously attacked him, without a formal *défi*. All this takes place at Saragossa, and not as here (vv. 209 and 491) "on the hills under Haltílie." — That XIth century embassies to pagan courts were often dangerous in reality, is certain. Early in 1100, Tancred sent six messengers to the Emir of Damascus demanding the surrender of that city; the Emir, enraged at the demand, put five of the messengers to death; see Albert of Aix, VII, 17 (= *Rec.* IV, p. 518). The haughtiness and violence of the Emir Kerbogha at Antioch, in 1098, are well attested; see the narrative in AGF, XXVIII, 4.

209. *Haltílie* appears as *Haltoïe* at v. 491, but is difficult to identify. As CV⁷ have *soz* also at v. 491, the form *Haltílie* is to be preferred, and this, as Boissonnade suggests (pp. 86–90), resembles the Spanish *altillo* or *altilla* 'hill' which enters into several place-names in the neighborhood of Barbastro. Here, also, the word Puy (Sp. *Pueyo*) is common. It is an old custom to erect gallows and other instruments of execution upon eminences. *Desoz* means merely 'nearby,' as in modern Fr. *sous la côte;* cf. *Cligès*, vv. 273, 300.

212. *vide* probably mistaken by the scribe, who has *vie*, for *vide* (VITA); cf. the similarly erroneous omission of this intervocalic *-d-* in *Tuele* for *Tudele*, v. 200. The word *vide* 'shrewdness,' 'ability' was archaic in the XIIth century, but it is attested *Erec*, v. 3131*r*, *Aiol*, v. 132, *Roman de Troie*, v. 17466 *var.* and elsewhere; for its origin, cf. M-L, REW 9175, and the related word *veisdie*, v. 675. The received reading has been *vie*, but it would be very poor policy on Roland's part to urge upon Charlemagne a siege which promised to last all the rest of the emperor's life! The younger man would be much more likely to predict an early and successful issue. There is little warrant in the OF for Gautier's "*dût-il durer* (toute votre vie)," which he probably took from v. 291.

XV

Ganelon opposes Roland

Li emperedre en tint son chief enbronc,
Si duist sa barbe, afaitat son gernon,
Ne bien ne mal son nevot ne respont.
Franceis se taisent ne mais que Guenelon;
En piez se dreceț si vint devant Charlon,
Molt fierement comenceț sa raison
E dist a·l rei: 'Ja mar credrez bricon,
Ne mei ne altre, se de vostre prot non.
Quant ço vos mandeț li reis Marsilions

217. "Il est clair que Ganelon hait Roland avant que le poème commence; dans le premier conseil il parle bien moins pour la paix que contre Roland" (L. Petit de Julleville). The cause of this irritation is not revealed until much later: Ganelon is jealous of the great wealth which Roland has acquired in the Spanish wars. The display of this wealth is intolerable to the step-father, who is himself no less greedy for gain; see v. 3758, note, and PMLA, XXXVI (1921), p. 125 ff.

220. Ganelon begins with an expression of self-depreciation and of sincere respect for Charlemagne: "Do not heed the advice of any insignificant fellows (like Roland or myself), unless what we advise is plainly to your advantage." *Ja mar credrez bricon* is, of course, an echo of Roland's phrase *Ja mar credrez Marsilie* (v. 196). — The precise meaning of *bricon* has been much debated, cf. RS IV, p. 328, *Rom.* IX, p. 626, and XV, p. 141. An examination of some thirty passages substantiates the interpretation given above: a *bricon* (nom. case *bris*) is one who is without wealth or power (cf. *Aiol*, v. 4241), without royal dignity (cf. *Moniage Guillaume*, I, v. 881), without honor (cf. *Rec. gén. des Fabliaux*, II, p. 73); he is a poor, spiritless wight, incapable of resenting affronts (cf. *St. Alexis*, 54 *a*), the opposite of an *esprit fort* (cf. Marcabrun to Ugo Catola). Aimeric de Belenoi would have his *bric coratge* transformed into a *ferm coratge* (Appel, *Chr.*[2] p. 71). The word is intimately coupled with *feint*, Eng. *faint*, in Thomas's *Tristan*, vv. 1837, 1841; in the Oxford MS of the *Fables* of Marie de France *bris* — *bricon* of Fable xxxiii is translated in the title by Lat. MASTIX 'worthless slave.' Apparently the word is not used here as an insult, for Ganelon applies it also to himself, and Roland shows no sign of resenting it. It seems better, therefore, to understand the opening sentence as a sort of deprecatory formula, appropriate in addressing the great Emperor in a public assembly.

222–24. *vos . . . tis hom . . . vostre*; see v. 39, note. Were *tis hom*

Que devendraţ jointes ses mains tis hom
E tote Espaigne tendraţ par vostre don,
Puis recevraţ la lei que nos tenom,
Ki ço vos loḍeţ que cest plait degetons,
Ne li chalt, sire, de quel mort nos morjons.
Conseilz d'orgoeill n'est dreiz queḍ a plus mont;
Laissom les fols, as sages nos tenons!' Aoi.

XVI

Naimon offers counsel

Apres iço i est Naimes venuz;
Meillor vassal n'aveit en la cort nul,
E dist a·l rei: 'Bien l'avez entenduţ,

not a formula, it would be a breach of etiquette to address Charles otherwise than with *vos* and *vostre*.

228–29. Thus Ganelon charges that Roland's advice had been prompted by *orgueil* and *folage — orgueil*, in that it showed a careless disregard of the lives of others, and *folage*, because Marsile's proposition is satisfactory. Count Roland will not forget these two accusations; see v. 292. — Note that the Francs are silent when Ganelon concludes, as they were also at the end of Roland's speech; their silence is significant of doubt or disapproval. At this moment of tension and doubt, the wise councillor Duke Naimon rises; he sides with Ganelon against Roland, and his advice is, as usual, followed.

230. *Naimes* (obl. case *Naimon*). Duke Naimon is Charles' intimate companion, counsellor, and major-general. Not being assigned to the rear-guard, he escapes the disaster at Roncesvaux; later he is nearly slain by the pagan king Canabeus in the battle with Baligant; cf. vv. 3429 ff. — History knows of a Naimon, "chief duke of the Gascons," who paid homage to Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, but he is only a name. The epic poets, on the other hand, develop an elaborate legend: his *enfances* will be found in *Aubri le Bourguignon*, his death is related in *Anseïs de Carthage;* the prologue to *Aspremont* eulogizes

> Le duc Namlon que li rois ama tant;
> Tel consellier n'orent onques li Franc.

Naimon's wisdom, prudence and penetration become proverbial: as Aristotle to Alexander so is Naimon to Charles (cf. Jubinal, *Nouveau recueil*, I, p. 187). In *Rol.* there is nothing to indicate either that Naimon is of Bavaria, or that he is a greybeard, but already in V⁴ 158 the latter trait is added: Blanche ot la barbe et le

Guenles li quens com vos aţ responduţ:
Saveir i aţ mais qu'il seit entenduţ.
Li reis Marsílies est de guere vencuz,
Vos li avez toz ses chastels toluz,
Oḍ voz chaḍables avez froissiéţ ses murs,
Ses citez arses e ses homes vencuz:
Quant il vos mandeţ qu'aiez merciţ de lui
Pecchiéţ fereit ki donc li fesist plus.
[De voz barons or li trametez un;]
O par ostage vos voelt faire soürs
Ceste grant guerre ne deit monter a plus.'
Diënt Franceis: 'Bien aţ parléţ li dux.' Aoi.

XVII

Choice of a messenger to king Marsile

'Seignors barons, qui i enveierons
En Sarragoce, a'l rei Marsilion?'

chief tot chanut; similarly in the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*, v. 532. For the name and legend, see Kalbow, *Personennamen*, pp. 36, 74, and G. Moldenhauer, *Herzog Naimes im altfrz. Epos*, 1922.

233. *com.* O has *co.*

234. *mais qu'il seit entendut* 'provided that it (Ganelon's counsel) be properly understood.' Ganelon's speech, inspired as it was by personal animus against Roland, was indeed none too clear: it stands in need of some interpretation, says Naimon.

240. *ki donc li fesist plus* 'who, under such circumstances, would make further war upon him.' For *lo faire*, idiomatic expression meaning 'to fight,' cf. v. 807: for the omission of the direct object pronoun (*lo*), see note to v. 195. — After 240 there is a line left blank in O; all editors supply a line from the other versions, using especially V^4 and V^7.

241. The adverb *o* (Lat. ubi) in the meaning of 'in case that,' as at v. 3790; by extension, 'seeing that,' 'since.' A paraphrase would be: 'in a case like this, in which.'

243. The Franks having approved Naimon's opinion, the matter is settled and Charles acts immediately on the decision.

244. *qui i enveierons?* What necessity is there to send anyone on this dangerous mission? Why may not Blancandrin carry back the reply? The answer may be that the Saracens

Respont dux Naimes: 'Jo irai, par vostre don.
Livrez m'en ore lo guant e lo baston.'
Respont li reis: 'Vos estes sávies hom:
Par ceste barbe e par cest mien gernon,
Vos n'irez pas oan de mei si loing.
Alez seḍeir quant nuls ne vos somont.'

XVIII

Roland and Oliver volunteer

'Seignors barons, qui poḍrons enveier
A·l Sarrazin ki Sarragoce tient?'
Respont Roḍlanz: 'Jo·i puis aler molt bien.'
'Non ferez, certes,' dist li quens Oliviers,
'Vostre corages est molt pesmes e fiers,
Jo me crendreie que vos vos meslissiez.
Se li reis voelt, jo i puis aler bien.'
Respont li reis: 'Ambdui vos en taisiez!

could never be trusted to make a faithful report; at any rate, far from being unmotivated or an evidence of unauthentic additions, Ganelon's mission is strictly in accord with the custom of French kings from Charlemagne to Saint Louis. Bédier (III, pp. 402–04) cites instances from Gregory of Tours, Einhard, and the historians of the First Crusade; to these might be added a case mentioned by Joinville, § 134: "Li roys reçut mout debonnairement ses messages (du grant roy des Tartarins) et li renvoia les siens, qui demourerent dous anz avant qu'il revenissent a li." Cf. also § 444.

247. The glove and the rod are common symbols of investiture, whether of a fief, an office, or a mission. Gregory of Tours (VII, c. 32) mentions messengers with consecrated rods "juxta ritum Francorum." Cf. Von Möller, *Die Rechtssitte des Stabbrechens*, 1900, and Du Cange, s. v. *investitura*. Roland formally surrenders his life to God by offering his righthand glove, vv. 2365, 2373, 2389.

248, 256, 257. The poet takes the opportunity to characterize Naimon, Roland and Oliver: the last-named is certainly right in fearing that Roland would make a poor ambassador.

251, 272. *Alez sedeir*. Probably it would be an error to take these expressions as intended for comic effect. Charles, knowing that the mission to Marsile is one full of danger, is in an extremely irascible mood (cf. *maltalant* v. 271); cf. also v. 2436, note.

Ne vos ne il n'i porterez les piez.
Par ceste barbe, que veḍez blancheier,
Li doze per mar i seront jugiéṭ.'
Franceis se taisent, as les vos aqoisiez.

XIX

Turpin offers to go

Turpins de Reins en est levez de·l renc,
E dist a·l rei: 'Laissiez ester voz Frans.
En cest païs avez estéṭ set anz,
Molt ont oüṭ e peines eḍ ahans.
Donez m'en, sire, lo baston e lo guant
E jo irai a·l Sarrazin espan,
Si·n vois veḍeir alques de son semblant.'
Li emperedre respont par maltalant:
'Alez seḍeir desor cel pálie blanc;
N'en parlez mais se jo ne·l vos comant.' Aoi.

XX

Roland nominates Ganelon, his step-father
Quarrel of Roland and Ganelon

'Franc chevalier,' dist l'emperedre Charles,
'Car m'eslisiez un baron de ma marche

262. *Li doze per.* See v. 793, note.

264. For Turpin of Reims, see Introduction, p. xxx. — *renc*: some word in *-anc*, or *-ant*, is called for by the assonance; possibly we should read *ranc* (cf. Eng. *rank*). Stengel: *i est venuz avant* (from V⁴).

269. *espan*, Lat. HISPANUM ("learned" form). The scribe of O (*en espaigne*) did not recognize the word here, but has it correctly at vv. 612, 2828.

270. *si·n vois vedeir. Vois* from *aler* (Ps. Ind. 1): *Je prétends voir* (L. Petit de Julleville); 'my idea is to see something of what he looks like.' Gautier and Stengel choose the reading of V⁴: *Si li diro* (= *dirai*), with *mon* instead of *son*.

274–330. Most editors of the text

Qui a Marsílie me portast mon message.'
Ço dist Roḍlanz: 'C'iert Guenles, mis paḍrastre.'
Diënt Franceis: 'Car il lo poet bien faire:
Se lui laissiez, n'i trametrez plus sávie.'
(301) E li quens Guenles en fuṭ molt angoissables, 280

of the *Rol.* make here a transposition of laisses, abandoning the order of O: laisses XXIII and XXIV are inserted, in the reverse order, after v. 279 of laisse XX, thus breaking XX into two sections. Thus Mü.², Gau. and Ste., following the β-group of MSS and versions. Luquiens (1909) defended the order of O (see his *Reconstruction*, p. 133 ff.); he was followed by Bédier (III, pp. 462–69) who argued convincingly for the order in O as more coherent, more logical, and more artistic. I also have followed O, placing the transposed numbering at the left of the text.

The main arguments in favor of the transposition, which no doubt appealed also to the early copyist who is responsible for the order found in the β-group, are two: (1) Ganelon's anger, on being nominated by Roland, seems unnaturally sudden (but we have seen — see note to v. 217 — that an irritation of long standing existed in Ganelon's mind); (2) the appointment is made without Charles' assent (but this ignores the fact that Charles, in the *Rol.*, is only on a par with his chief vassals in this matter of appointments; see notes to vv. 280, 321, 779, and cf. the symmetrical scene, 740 ff., where Ganelon designates Roland for the rear-guard). The transposition also mars the poem in other respects, for which see Bédier, *loc. cit.*

274. *Franc chevalier.* "Frank" has here become an adjective, 'proud and bold.' Ermoldus Nigellus (IXth century) says: "Francus habet nomen a feritate sua' (I, 341). The other meaning, 'free,' which has come over into English, is also early (VIIIth century); see G. Kurth, *Etudes franques* (1910), I, p. 89.

275. *de ma marche* of O has no support from the other versions; Ste.: *un vassal de barnage.*

276. *portast.* The tense has abundant parallels in OF; cf. *Roman de Troie*, v. 3257: Ne sai, fait il, cui enveiasse . . .

277. Roland's motive in nominating his step-father to the dangerous mission is, in all probability, sincere: Ganelon is the best man for the difficult task; the Francs think so (v. 279) and Roland says so (v. 294). Roland even offers to go in Ganelon's stead. *Parrastre* may mean not only 'step-father,' but also 'a poor imitation of a father'; it may well be that Roland, who is human, and who has cause for irritation (see vv. 228–29 and note), was at the moment not averse to risking the ambiguous word in the presence of the same barons who had heard Ganelon accuse him of *orgueil* and *folage*. At the same time, it should be noted that Roland, later on, sharply reproves Oliver for speaking disrespectfully of Ganelon (vv. 1026–27).

280. As the Francs agree to Roland's nomination and no others are made, the matter is settled: Ganelon's exasperation is not so much because

De son col gietet ses grandes pels de martre
Ed est remés en son blidalt de pálie.
Vairs out les oeilz e molt fier lo visage,
Gent out lo cors e les costez out larges,
Tant par fut bels tuit si per l'en esguardent. 285
Dist a Rodlant: 'Tot fol, por quei t'esrages?
Ço set hom bien que jo sui tis padrastre.
Si as jugiét qu'a Marsílie m'en alge?
Se Deus ço donet que jo de la repaidre
Jo t'en movrai une si grant contrárie, 290
Ki durerat a trestot ton edage!'

the mission is dangerous as because he owes the nomination to Roland, against whom he already nurses a grudge. The dramatic gesture of throwing off his furs fits admirably the heated speech which follows.

281 ff. Ganelon's expensive furs and silk tunic indicate the rich and high-born noble. A *bliaut* (for this word, see *Rom.* XLI, p. 56) of the XIth century preserved at Munich and supposed to have belonged to the Emperor Henry II, is of white satin damask, with facings of silk which seem to have been of violet color (see Quicherat, *Histoire du costume en France*, 1875, p. 139). — *Vairs out les oeilz.* Either 'steel-blue' (so Ott, *Etude sur les Couleurs en vieux français*, p. 96 ff.) or 'keen,' 'expressive' (so G. Paris, followed by Muriel Kinney, RR, X, 1919, p. 356 ff.). *les oeilz* is a conjecture, there being two syllables wanting in O.

286. *tot fol.* If this reading of O be correct (V^4 has *fel*, and Ste. reads *Tu fel* = 'Thou ruffian'), *fol* is to be understood as the neuter of the adjective, used substantively: 'Silly thing!' Cf. *put fol* (:*col*) used by Wace, *Brut*, I, p. 67 and coupled with *put fel;* also *mala res* used of a person, AGF, XV, 2, and its opposite *douce rien, debonnaire rien* in OF and OPr.

287. *tis parrastre.* Here, according to some critics, is the key to Ganelon's character, "a step-father envious of a step-son's greater fame" (Luquiens); "le père de Roland meurt tôt, et Ganelon prend sa place. Voilà le fait capital, la cause d'une inimitié qui ne peut se terminer que par une catastrophe" (J. Vodoz, "*Roland*": *Un Symbole*, 1920, pp. 24–25). Bédier (III, p. 413) speaks more cautiously of "une haine obscure, ancienne, anime Ganelon contre Roland son fillâtre". The obscurity disappears, however, if my reading of v. 3758 be correct: "Roland (says Ganelon) was overweening in gold and in possessions, Wherefore I sought his death . . ." Cf. vv. 217, 3758 nn.

288. Ganelon is (or pretends to be) incredulous: has he heard aright? For *si, et si* introducing questions expressing surprise at preceding acts or statements, see Schulze, *Der altfrz. direkte Fragesatz* (1888), pp. 51–53.

Respont Roḍlanz: 'Orgoeill oi e folage.
Ço set hom bien n'ai cure de manace,
(315) Mais sávies hom il deit faire message.
Se li reis voelt, prez sui por vos lo face.' 295

XXI

Guenles respont: 'Por mei n'iras tu mie. Aoi.
Tu n'iés mis hom ne jo ne sui tis sire.
Charles comandeṭ que face son servísie,
(320) En Sarragoce en irai a Marsílie:
Ainz i ferai un poi de legerie 300
Que jo·n esclair ceste meie grant ire.'
Quant l'ot Roḍlanz si començaṭ a riḍre. Aoi.

XXII

Quant ço veit Guenles qu'ore s'en rit Roḍlanz
(325) Donc aṭ tel doel por poi d'ire ne fent,
A bien petit queḍ il ne pert lo sens. 305

292. *orgoeil et folage.* These were the very accusations brought by Ganelon against Roland in the assembly (vv. 228, 229), and the younger man has by no means forgotten them.

293. Roland repeats Ganelon's phrase. "How effective is the correspondence between the two lines (287, 293), yet how simple and natural" (Luquiens).

295. *Aoi*, placed in O after v. 296, probably belongs here.

296. "Ganelon refuse: ce haineux aime sa haine . . . Ce raffinement est puisé dans la vérité. Qui hait bien, tient à ses griefs" (L. Petit de Julleville).

297. *mis hom;* cf. v. 39, note.

298. Ganelon makes here, and continues to make a sharp distinction between his feudal duty to King Charles — this he performs punctiliously to the end (cf. v. 309) — and his private acts. He claims the right of private vengeance upon Roland and Roland's friends, and denies that thereby he has committed treason.

300–01. Roland's answer, vv. 294–95, was disarming: it makes Ganelon a bit ashamed of his own flare-up. He is apologetic: 'I am going into Spain, yes, but first, before I go (*ainz*), you must allow me to act and talk rather foolishly [the threat of vv. 289–91] for thereby I can relieve my outraged feelings.' Roland rudely laughs at Ganelon's feelings, and the quarrel grows worse. — The reading *jo·n*, in 301, is due to M. Roques; for *i* indefinite, see Foulet in Bédier's *Comm.*, p. 405. At vv. 513–14, *legerie* and *ire* are again associated.

E dist a·l conte: 'Jo ne vos aim niënt:
Sor mei avez tornét fals jugement!
'Dreiz emperedre, veiz me ci en present,
(330) Ademplir voeill vostre comandement.'
['Certes,' dist Charles, 'trop avez maltalent.'] 309*a*

XXIII

Ganelon perforce accepts the mission

'En Sarragoce sai bien qu'aler m'estoet. Aoi. 310
Hom ki la vait repaidrier ne s'en poet.
En sor que tot si ai jo vostre soer,
(295) Si·n ai un filz, ja plus bel nen estoet,
Ço'st Baldewin qu'om dist ki ert prozdoem.
A lui lais jo mes honors e mes fieuz. 315

306. *Jo ne vos aim niënt.* This may seem an anti-climax, but it is not so: the phrase is a legal one, still in use with diplomats who speak of 'friendship' and 'unfriendly' acts. Cf. vv. 323, 494, 3406, and for technical *amicitia* (OF *amistié*) see PMLA, XXVIII, p. 390 ff. (Stowell).

309 *a*. Line supplied from V⁷.

312. *vostre soer.* Charles' only sister, Gisila, Fr. Gisle, is not named in *Rol.;* nor is Roland's father, Milon. Bramimonde, queen of all Spain, gives Ganelon a present for his wife (v. 637) but again the poet does not reveal her name. Was this because he knew from Einhard (c. XVIII) that, as a matter of history, Gisila "from childhood was dedicated to the religious life"? — For passages mentioning Gisle, see Farnsworth, *Uncle and Nephew in the OF chansons de geste,* 1913, p. 245; for the legend which made Charles the incestuous father of Roland, see G. Paris, HPC, p. 378, and *La Vie de Saint Gilles,* pp. lxxv ff. — Much more might have been made of the tragic figure of Roland's mother: her son is betrayed and slain, and the traitor is her own husband! In the later epics Gisle often appears, but she is ever a weak and colorless figure. Cf. *Rom.* XI, p. 497 (G. Paris). — For *soer* in obl. case, cf. MP, XVI (1919), p. 571; Laubscher, *Syntactical Causes of Case Reduction* (1921) § 80.

314. *que . . . qui.* For this double relative, frequent in OF, see Tobler's *Mélanges,* p. 160. Modernized: "qui, à ce que l'on dit, sera prud'homme." Another instance is: "Astrée qu'on dit qui est retirée dans le ciel," Fénelon, *Tél.* VII.

315. *honors* 'landed estates.' *fieuz* 'fiefs.' Some editors have replaced *fieuz* with *aloez* (for which there is no MS warrant) because the assonance *ieu : ue* seemed inadmissible. Benoît de Ste.-Maure, however, rhymes

Guardez lo bien, ja ne·l veḍrai des oeilz.'
Charles respont: 'Trop avez tendre coer.
(300) Puis que·l comant, aler vos en estoet.'

XXIV

(280) Ço dist li reis: 'Guenles, venez avant, Aoi.
Si recevez lo baston e lo guant: 320
Oḍiṭ l'avez, sor vos lo jugent Franc.'
'Sire,' dist Guenles, 'ço aṭ tot fait Roḍlanz,
Ne·l amerai a trestot mon vivant,
(285) Ne Olivier por qu'il est sis compaing.
Les doze pers por queḍ il l'aiment tant 325
Desfiṭ les ci, sire, vostre veḍant!'

celestiël: *vuel*, and, for other examples, see Tobler's *Vom französischen Versbau*[6] (1921), p. 150. It is possible that the poet may have used here an archaic *foeuz*, or *foez*.

321. *sur vos le jugent Franc*. Evidently the assembly has the right of appointment, upon the nomination of a powerful baron. Charles need not bow to their decision, but he does so here; when, later, Ganelon nominates Roland to the rear-guard (v.743) Charles might veto the nomination but cannot do so, for special reasons. P. Rajna (*Origini*, p. 385) believes this situation is essentially that described by Tacitus, *De Germania*, c. 11.

324. *Compaing* (obl. case *compaignon*). A "companion" is a fellow-chevalier of the same household (*maisniée*, Eng. *meny*). There is nothing very formal about this relation, for Roland and Oliver have twenty thousand "compaignons," vv. 587, 827; the word at times means little more than 'comrade,' vv. 1821, 2565. But there was a higher degree of *compaignonage* which united two chevaliers, or a group like the Twelve Peers; for this there were formal rites at entrance and the bond continued until death. Roland and Oliver share all dangers and all gains in common; each must avenge the other's death, neither can marry without the other's permission, cf. vv. 1720–21. See Stowell, in PMLA, XXVIII (1913), pp. 400–16, who thinks that the custom "flourished during the epoch of the migrations of the Frankish tribes and the early days of the Frankish kingdom . . . it is doubtful if it long survived this primitive period." It is rather surprising to find *compaignons* among the Saracens, v. 941.

326. *Desfi les ci*. Ganelon's anger mounts to the point of a formal *desfiance* in the presence of the whole court; after this, as he claims later (v. 3775), it will not be treachery or treason to compass their death. Not

Ço dist li reis: 'Trop avez maltalant:
Or irez vos, certes, quant jo·l comant.'
(290) —Jo·i puis aler mais n'i avrai guarant: Aoi.
Nul n'out Basílies ne sis frędre Basans.' 330

XXV

An evil omen

Li emperędre li tent son guant lo destre
Mais li quens Guenles iloec ne volsist estre:
Quant lo dut prendre si li chaḍiṭ a tere.
Diënt Franceis: 'Deus! que poḍraṭ ço estre?
De cest message nos avendraṭ grant perte.' 335
— Seignors,' dist Guenles, 'vos en oḍrez noveles.'

XXVI

Ganelon is dismissed with ceremony

'Sire,' dist Guenles, 'donez mei lo congiéṭ,
Quant aler dei plus n'i ai que targier.'

to give this formal notice was to the chevalier a deep disgrace. Charles is powerless to arrest the bitter quarrel, and must endure a sarcastic reference to the fate of his friends Basan and Basile; that he has by no means forgotten the latter, appears below, vv. 488–94. — *ci; ei* in O(?)

329. *Aoi* after this line, but v. 330 was probably intended.

332. *n'i volsist estre.* Ganelon's present company irritates and excites him; he wishes he were elsewhere, and he is quite capable of snatching the glove from Charles' hand.

333–36. Unlucky omens and portents are, of course, very frequent in the classic epics; for those in Vergil, see Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*[3] (1915), p. 316. But closer parallels are to be found in Einhard, c. XXXII, and in the histories of William I of Normandy. Thus, Wace relates an incident at Hastings:

> Quant li dus primes fors issi
> Sor ses palmes avant chaï.
> Sempres i out levé grant cri,
> E distrent tuit: "mal signe a ci!"
> (III, p. 291).

William of Malmesbury relates also that William, just before the battle, put on wrong-side foremost his coat of mail, but in both cases his ready wit managed to reassure his followers. — *noveles* 'plenty of talk;' cf. vv. 55, 412; but at v. 665 'news.'

337. *congiét* 'dismissal.' "La politesse, dans l'ancienne épopée, est

Ço dist li reis: 'A·l Jhesu eȩ a·l mien!'
De sa main destre l'aţ asols e seigniéţ,
Puis li livraţ lo baston e lo brief.

XXVII

Ganelon says farewell to his men

Guenles li quens s'en vait a son ostel,
De guarnemenz se prent a conreȩder,
De ses meillors queȩ il pout recovrer.
Esporons d'or aţ en ses piez fermez,
Ceint aţ Murglais s'espeȩde a son costéţ,

rigoureuse et souvent cérémonieuse; on ne quitte jamais quelqu'un sans lui demander expressément congé" (G. Paris). Cf. vv. 2177, 2764.

339–40. *Al (nom) Jhesu . . . asols et seigniêt.* Evidently Charles, in the mind of the poet, is the priest-king of the Old Testament; cf. v. 3066. He is "another Moses," "another David," the Lord's Anointed, ruling by the divinest of rights; the anonymous Monk of St. Gall (I, c. XXV) entitles him "Episcoporum episcopus, religiosissimus Karolus." Tavernier cites in this connection Luchaire, *Histoire des Institutions monarchiques de la France sous les premiers Capétiens*, II, p. 303: "Les clercs et les moines ne fournissent pas seulement à la monarchie la plus grande partie de ses ressources militaires et fiscales; ils sont aussi les propagateurs zélés de son influence politique." It was an alliance, as Lord Bryce has said, which made the fortune of both parties.

341. The *brief*, Lat. BRĔVE 'inventory' (*e.g.*, of the relics belonging to a church) contains a list of the conditions which Charles intends to impose upon King Marsile. For its contents, see vv. 488 ff.

342 ff. In this laisse we have pictured the human side of Count Ganelon; the poet draws the opposite of an ignoble personage, surrounding him with devoted adherents and relatives, giving him a distinction of dress and bearing which is impressive even to the Saracens: "Noble baron at ci!" they cry, v. 467.

345 ff. Ganelon's warlike equipment contrasts with the olive branches of Blancandrin and his companions, vv. 72 ff. Only thus should the orthodox Emperor Charles communicate with infidels.

346. *Murglais.* Six swords in the *Rol.* are thus individualized by names: *Durendal* (first mentioned, v. 988) belongs to Roland, *Halteclere* (v. 1363) to Oliver, *Almace* (v. 2089) to Turpin, *Joiose* (v. 2501) to Charles, *Preciose* (v. 3146) to Baligant. See Rajna, *Origini*, p. 444, where the custom is held to be Germanic.

En Tachebrun son destrier est montez,
L'estreu li tint sis oncles Guinemers.
La veḍissiez tant chevalier plorer
Ki tuit li diënt: 'Tant mare fustes, ber!
En la rei cort molt i avez estét,

347. *Tachebrun son destrier.* The *destrier* 'war-horse' was so called because, on a journey, it was led at the right hand by the rider of the palfrey: it is the horse *qui vait en destre.* So in the Spanish *Cid*, 1548: *buen cavallo en diestro.* — Of the war-horses which are given names in *Rol.*, the best known are Roland's *Veillantif* (first mentioned v. 1153), and Charles' *Tencendor* (v. 2993), but none of them rivalled in fame, in medieval romance, the destrier of Renaud de Montauban, *Baiart.* For a list of horse-names from OF, see Tobler's *Beiträge*, V, p. 223 ff.

348. "Tenir l'étrier à quelqu'un, c'est faire envers lui acte d'humilité, c'est en quelque sorte un hommage; *voyez* Du Cange, s. v. STREPA." (P. Meyer). Cf. v. 2820.

349. *plorer.* "Ces manifestations physiques de la douleur sont habituelles au moyen âge dans la poésie et l'étaient sans doute dans la réalité" (G. Paris). Other critics are inclined to look for a literary tradition: thus, Æneas is prodigal of tears; cf. L. Beszard's somewhat rambling survey, *Les Larmes dans l'Epopée . . . jusqu'à la fin du XIIe Siècle*, Halle, 1903, pp. 9–11. But King David also waters his couch with tears, and we are probably still nearer the truth when we note that facility in weeping, throughout the medieval literature of piety, is an evidence of deep religious feeling. Roland and Charles especially weep readily, a trait which to superficial observers is unheroic (cf. v. 773); but this *sensibilité* is to the poet a merit, one of the finer qualities which distinguishes them from ordinary men. It is true that the pagan people of Saragossa weep (v. 2695), so do Bramimonde (v. 2577), Baligant (v. 2839) and Marsile, the last-named upon his death-bed (v. 3645), but these people weep from a false and misguided piety; as a rule, the Saracens do not weep, because they are wicked and hardened.

350. *tant mare fustes.* The word *mar* (or *mare*), sometimes preceded by *tant* (as here, also vv. 1860, 2027, 2221) or by *si* (as vv. 2146, 2933), is probably a short form of Lat. MALA HORA 'in an evil hour.' The preterit tense used in connection with *mare* is usually extra-significant, as in Ital. *Ei fu* 'He is dead.' Here one might translate freely, 'Alas! what an unhappy end for you, a hero,' and *mar la vedimes*, v. 1731, 'we have seen it, unhappily, for the last time.' Cf. vv. 1056, 1949, 2195, 2304, 2823, 3446; the translation will vary according to the situation presented.

351 ff. It is conceivable that expressions like those of vv. 350 and 357 should be those of a group, spoken, as it were, in chorus; but it seems preferable to understand vv. 351–56 as spoken by three different persons: the third knows (or has just learned) that it was Roland who had nominated his master, the first is ignorant of that fact. — In v. 354, the reading

Noble vassal vos i soelt hom clamer:
Ki ço jugaţ que doüssiez aler?
— Par Charlemagne n'iers guariz ne tensez.
— Li quens Roḍlanz ne·l se doüst penser
Quer estraiz estes de molt grant parentéţ.'
En pres li diënt: 'Sire, car nos menez.'
Ço respont Guenles: 'Ne placeţ Damnedeu!
Mielz est sols moerge que tant bon chevaler.
En dolce France, seignors, vos en irez,
De meie part ma moillier saluḍez,
E Pinabel, mon ami e mon per,

in O is not assured: the word may be read either *nercs*, *nerts*, or *neres*. The last reading seems to have more in its favor, the confusion of impf. ERAT and the fut. ERIT being well-known (cf. Nyrop, II, § 204, Rem., *Alexis* 27 *e* var., MFrance, *Fables*, I, 10, *n'ieres* fut. 2 sg. in four MSS, *eret* fut. 3 sg., *Boeve de Haumtone*, v. 2580). The objection that the other two speakers use the pl. of respect (*vos*) to Ganelon has little weight: Ganelon uses *tu* to Roland, v. 286 ff., but *vos*, vv. 306–07; Charles uses *vos* to Roland, v. 784, but *tu*, v. 2898.

352. *soelt. solt* in O is not the preterit of *soleir* (which seems not to occur in OF) but the AN reduction of *soelt* SOLET; cf. vv. 2001, 2452. The verb has some peculiar uses in OF, for which see Tobler's *Beiträge*, V, p. 365 ff.

354. This verse may be spoken by Guinemer, who predicts that Charles will be powerless to shield even his royal nuncio, a fear expressed repeatedly by Ganelon himself, vv. 289, 311, 316, and most pointedly, v. 329: *n'i avrai guarant*, 'for you, king Charles, will be powerless to shield me.' Cf. also v. 1241.

356. Ganelon's high family connections will make serious trouble for Charlemagne in the end.

359. *Mielz est sols moerge*. Parataxis; the scribe of O modernizes, as often, leaving the line hypermetric. — Most editors instead of *chevalers* read *bachelers*, but there is a bare possibility that *chevaler* may be an older form of *chevalier*, cf. also v. 2861, and OPr *cavalar* and *cavalier*.

361. For Roland's mother, cf. v. 312, note.

362. *Pinabel*, an important figure, who comes forward in the end to defend Ganelon's cause, 3782 ff. We learn later (v. 3783) that he is of the "castle of Sorence." The poet is a good story-teller: he contrives to mention Pinabel here, in a natural way. J. Loth (*Rom.* XXXI, p. 392) notes that the name, rare in central France, is rather common in the region of St. Malo, on the border of Normandy. — *mon ami* may mean simply 'my friend,' but it may also have the technical sense of 'member of my household,' one who is bound by the obligations of *amistiét;* see PMLA, XXVIII, p. 390 ff. (Stowell).

E Baldewin mon filz que vos savez,
E lui aidiez e por sire·l tenez.'
Entreț en veie si s'est acheminez. Aoi. 365

XXVIII

Ganelon and Blancandrin, returning to Saragossa, converse together

Guenles chevalcheț soz une olive halte,
Asemblez s'est as Sarrazins messages;
Ais Blancandrins ki envers lui s'atargeț,
Par grant saveir paroleț l'uns a·l altre.
Dist Blancandrins: 'Merveillos hom est Charles, 370
Ki conquist Poille e trestote Calábrie;
Vers Engletere passaț il la mer salse,
Aḍ oés saint Pieḍre en conquist lo chevage:

364. *tenir por*, in the older period, frequently appears with the nom. case; cf. ML, III, § 36. Constructions such as Dont il fu puis por Deus (*not* Deu) tenuz, *Partonopeus de Blois*, v. 4607, and Adont ert por enfes tenus, *Cleomadès*, p. 15, are met with as late as Joinville. We might of course read *seignor*, but must then omit the pronoun (*lo*).

365. O: *en sa veie*, but *en veie* is Lat. IN VIA, IN VIAM; the def. article is very slow in appearing here; cf. ML, III, § 179, and *Thèbes*, v. 7357, Wace's *St. Nicolas*, v. 1085.

368. *Ais;* O has *Mais*.

371. Charlemagne's Italian conquests never in fact extended as far as to include either Apulia or Calabria. Einhard (c. XV) states that Charles conquered "all Italy from Augusta Prætoria (Aosta) as far as lower Calabria, where are the frontiers of the Greeks and Beneventans." Some would see here an echo of the capture of these two provinces of the Eastern Empire by the Normans, between 1042 and 1059.

372–73. The mistaken idea that Charles ever conquered the island Saxons may rest upon misunderstanding of passages like those of the *Annales Xantenses* (MGH, II, p. 222, SS). Anno 786: Karolus misit exercitum suum Britanniam (*i.e.* Brittany, not Great Britain), cf. *ibid.* Anno 799. Nor does history support the idea that the payment to Rome of the annual pension of one penny per house, the *Romascot* or *denarius sancti Petri*, was first instituted by any but English (Saxon) kings: it is ascribed either to Offa, king of Mercia (755–794), who was, to be sure, on friendly terms with Charlemagne, or to Ina, king of Wessex (688–726), the latter legend being

Que nos requiert ça en la nostre marche?'
Guenles respont: 'Itels est sis corages,
Ja mais n'iert hom ki encontre lui vailleț.' Aoi.

XXIX

Dist Blancandrins: 'Franc sont molt gentil home,
Molt grant mal font e cil duc e cil conte
A lor seignor ki tel conseill li donent:
Lui eḍ altrui travaillent e confondent.'
Guenles respont: 'Jo ne sai, veirs, nul home
Ne mais Roḍlant qu'oncore en avraț honte.
Ermain seḍeit li reis Charles soz l'ombre,
Vint i sis niés, out vestuḍe sa brónie

adopted by the poet Wace (*Roman de Brut*, II, p. 294).

Verse 373 is cited by G. Paris (*Extraits*, p. xxiii) as one of those "composés à l'occasion de l'expédition de Guillaume le Bâtard en Angleterre," and as furnishing a precious *terminus a quo* for the composition of the Oxford version. It is true that the insular Saxons, in the eleventh century, had long been negligent in their payment of the "Romefee," also that the Saxon church was opposed to the reforms of Gregory VII, and that it was one of William's engagements with the Pope that he was to raise in England an annual tribute to Saint Peter; but the actual payment of Peter's pence remained a burning question under William Rufus, and it is difficult to see in this verse anything more than an attempt to support the Papal claims of that day by alleging that the original conquest of England and the consequent tribute were both legitimate because they went back to Charlemagne. For further discussion, see ZfRP, XVI (1892), p. 510 (Baist) and ZFSL, XLI, p. 60, n. (Tavernier).

382–83. Ganelon does not care to discuss the Franks: he still thinks of himself as loyal to them and to Charles (cf. vv. 370–76), but he welcomes the opportunity to denounce Roland bitterly.

384. The *broigne*, a tunic of leather or strong cloth on which were sewed small plates or rings of metal; it covered the arms to the elbow and the legs to below the knee. See the Bayeux Tapestry for contemporary illustrations; also *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, XXXV (1874), pp. 120–71 (Demay). It was a cruder and less expensive protection than the coat-of-mail (*halsberc, osberc*, Eng. *hauberk*). The giant Corsolt, in the *Coronement Looïs*, donned a hauberk over the broigne, and was thus provided with *dobles armes* (vv. 638, 655).

Eḍ out preḍéṭ dejoste Carcasónie.
En sa main tint une vermeille pome.
— Tenez, bel sire, dist Roḍlanz a son oncle,
De trestoz reis vos present les corones.
Li soens orgueilz lo devreit bien confondre,
Kar chascun jorn de morir s'abandoneṭ.
Seit ki·l ociḍeṭ, tote pais puis avromes.' Aoi.

XXX

Dist Blancandrins: 'Molt est pesmes Roḍlanz,
Ki tote gent voelt faire recreḍant,
E totes teres met en chalengement:
Par quele gent quieṭ espleitier tant?'
Guenles respont: 'Par la franceise gent:
Il l'aiment tant ne li faldront niënt.
Or eḍ argent lor met tant en present,
Muls e destriers, pálies e guarnemenz;
Li empereḍre aṭ tot a son talent:
Conquerraṭ li les teres d'oriënt.' Aoi.

385. *dejoste* 'in the direction of.'

386. The bright red apple represented the gilded ball or globe, the "mound of dominion," or "orb," a part of the regalia of emperors. Around the golden orb were sometimes placed circlets representing the crowns of conquered kings. Here we have Count Roland's idea of a jest; Ganelon does not tell us how the flattery was received by Charles.

389. *lo . . . confondre* 'should certainly some day be the death of him;' *confondre* as at v. 3955.

390. *sei abandoner de* with inf. (correcting *mort* of O to *morir*) is justified by the exx. collected by Tobler, *Altfrz. Wtb.*, col. 39; cf. also Li fous de creire s'abandone, *Livre des Manières*, v. 850; *Thèbes*, v. 5728; *Énéas*, v. 963.

391. *tote pais* 'complete, absolute peace.' For the reading, see Tobler's *Beiträge*, III, p. 30. This line formulates concisely Ganelon's plan: he will lure the Saracens into a plot to destroy Roland, without attacking Charles — a project beset with many difficulties. — For *tote*, Stengel reads *tuit;* and *avriumes* (=O).

XXXI

They vow to destroy Roland — arrival in Saragossa

Tant chevalchierent Guenles e Blancandrins
Que l'uns a·l altre la soe feiţ pleviţ
Queḍ il querreient que Roḍlanz fust ocis.
Tant chevalchierent e veies e chemins
Qu'en Sarragoce descendent soz un if.
Un faldestoel out soz l'ombre d'un pin
Envolupéţ d'un pálie alexandrin.
La fuţ li reis ki tote Espaigne tint,
Tot entorn lui vint mílie Sarrazins.
Nen i aţ cel ki mot sont ne mot tint
Por les noveles que voldreient oḍir.
Atant as vos Guenles e Blancandrins.

XXXII

Blancandrin presents Ganelon to Marsile

Blancandrins vint devant Marsilion,
Par lo poing tint lo conte Guenelon,
E dist a·l rei: 'Sals seiez de Mahom,
E d'Apollin cui saintes leis tenons!
Vostre message fesimes a Charlon,

404. To compass the death of a fellow-soldier while pretending friendship was treason, and Ganelon claims, later, that he stopt short of treason because he pretended no friendship; cf. vv. 3760, 3778.

412. *noveles* 'the speeches on both sides;' cf. v. 3747, *Gormont*, vv. 57, 239, also Dante, *Inf.* xxv, 38.

414. *Marsilion* is the better reading, not because *emperedor* (= O) could not be applied to Marsile, but because a nasal assonance is called for; cf. the emendation at v. 216.

416. The *Salve, rex!* of II. *Sam.* xvi: 16 is rendered by *Salf seit li reis* by the translator of *Les Quatre Livres des Rois*, p. 179. O: *saluez seiez.*

Ambes ses mains en levaţ contre mont,
Loḍaţ son Deu, ne fist altre respons.
Ci vos enveieţ un suen noble baron
Ki est de France si est molt riches hom:
Par lui oḍrez s'i avrez pais o non.'
Respont Marsílies: 'Or diëţ, nos l'oḍrom.' Aoi.

XXXIII

Ganelon demands that Marsile turn Christian

Mais li quens Guenles se fuţ bien porpensez;
Par grant saveir comenceţ a parler
Comë icil ki bien faire lo set,
E dist a·l rei: 'Salvez seiez de Deu,
Lo glorios qui devons aḍorer!

422. There is much to be said in favor of the reading *Coens est de France* instead of *Ki est de France;* cf. V⁴, n, dR and dK. The matter has some importance, as Ganelon's betrayal becomes the more odious the higher he stands in Charles' confidence; cf. *Rom.* XI, p. 386 (G. Paris). — *riches* 'powerful,' as well as 'rich;' thus Guill. de St. Paier, v. 1572: Li reis d. France, Looïs, | Ert sis plus riches enemis.

423. *S'i.* Here *i* = *a lui* (Charles); cf. *Troie*, v. 3716.

425 ff. The poet warns us that Ganelon's speech is cunningly worded. The situation for him is indeed extremely delicate, for he intends to deliver Charles' message (as he has promised to do, v. 308) at whatever risk; at the same time, he will not scruple to make unauthorized additions to it in order to provoke Marsile to war, for this war, he hopes, will be the destruction of Roland. See the analysis by Bédier, III, pp. 416–20. The scene, as all agree, is impressive and full of life.

Critics have found much difficulty in accounting for Ganelon's actions in this scene, cf. G. Paris, *Extraits*, p. xix, and Luquiens, *Reconstruction*, p. 114. It is to be remembered that Ganelon's anger against Roland and the Twelve Peers is a thing personal between himself and them; it has little to do with his place in Charles' army, or with his loyalty to the Christian cause in general (cf. vv. 454 ff., 536). Similarly, the leaders of the First Crusade quarreled violently among themselves, although it probably never occurred to them that they were in any way disloyal to the main purpose of the expedition. Cf. Krey, *The First Crusade* (1921), pp. 194 ff.: "the leaders quarreled and all but fought with each other."

Içọ vos mandeṭ Charlemagnes li ber
Que recevez sainte chrestiëntéṭ;
Demie Espaigne vos voelt en fieuṭ doner.
Se ceste acorde otreier ne volez,
Pris e liiez serez par poḍestéṭ,
A·l siege aḍ Ais en serez amenez,
Par jugement serez iloec finez:
La morrez vos a honte eḍ a viltéṭ.'
Li reis Marsílies en fut molt esfreḍez;
Un algier tint ki d'or fuṭ enpenez,
Ferir l'en volt se n'en fust destornez. Aoi.

XXXIV

Warrantable anger of Marsile

Li reis Marsílies aṭ la color muḍeḍe,
De son algier aṭ la hanste croḍleḍe.
Quant lo vit Guenles, mist la main a·l espeḍe,
Contre dous deiḍe l'aṭ de·l foḍrel geteḍe
Si li aṭ dit: 'Molt èstes bele e clere!
Tant vos avrai en cort a rei porteḍe!

439. *algier*. The word recurs at vv. 442 and 2075. It has been referred to Anglo-Saxon *ætgar* 'spear with a heart-shaped blade' but Braune prefers Frankish *âlgâr* 'three-pronged eel-spear;' see ZfRP, XXXIX, pp. 174–78, Baist's *Variationen*, p. 216, and ZFSL, XXXVII, p. 118 (Tavernier).

440. Messengers were in theory inviolable, a principle frequently enunciated in the *chansons de geste*, cf. Falk, *Etude sociale sur les chansons de geste*, p. 37 ff., also *Thèbes*, vv. 1587, 1882; Wace's *Brut*, II, p. 120 (where King Arthur cries: Taisiez, taisiez! N'i aront mal, messagier sont). In 1098, at Antioch, a Frankish embassy is received by the Emir Curbaram with an oath, and, according to Anselm of Ribemont, "evaginato gladio;" see Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 160, 335; Migne, *PL*, CLV, col. 475.

446. *avrai . . . portede*. For this OF use of the future anterior tense instead of the present perfect, see Tobler's *Mélanges*, p. 317 ff. In the mind of the speaker there is some such thought as 'when all is said and

Ja ne·l dirạt de France l'emperedre
Que sols i moerge en l'estrange contredę:
Ainz vos avront li meillor compereḍe.'
Diënt paien: 'Desfaimes la mesledę!'

XXXV

Second defiant speech of Ganelon

Tuit li preierent li meillor Sarrazin
Qu'e·l faldestoel s'est Marsílies asis.
Dist l'algalifes: 'Mal nos avez baillit
Que lo Franceis asmastes a ferir:
Lui doüssiez escolter eḍ oḍir.'
'Sire,' dist Guenles, 'mei·l avient a soffrir.
Jo ne lerreie por tot l'or que Deus fist,
Ne tot l'aveir ki seit en cest païs,
Que ne li die, se tant ai de leisir,
Que Charlemagnes, li reis poḍestedis,

done,' 'when history shall give her verdict.' Other editors correlate *tant* with the following statement (parataxis), but Tobler's examples favor the exclamatory use; cf. *Aiol*, v. 2937, and *Rol.* v. 2352. — *cort a rei* 'in royal courts.'

449. 'Far otherwise; the bravest here will have paid (will have to pay) for you (with their blood).'

452. *Que* 'so that;' Fr. 'de telle manière que.'

453. *l'algalife*, Arab. *al khalifah* 'the successor' (of Mohammed). Strictly speaking, there could be but one Caliph, but in Spain in the tenth century Abd-er-Rahmân III called himself Caliph openly, and asserted that Cordova was the center of the Moslem world. In Spain the title is disused after c. 1060, and remains only a legend and a memory in the twelfth century. Raoul Glaber (§ 17) mentions *rex Sarracenorum Algalif;* by the time of Joinville, the verbal error is corrected and this historian (§ 584) mentions *le caliphe de Baudas* (Bagdad).

454. *Que* 'in that' = 'because,' Lat. QUIA; cf. v. 4002, and Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe de l'ancien Français* (1923), p. 235.

456. *Sire.* Ganelon probably is addressing the Algalife.

460. *Que*, the neuter relative pronoun, now replaced by *ce que;* cf. the idiom *Jo fereie que fols* (*fereit*), v. 1053, note.

Par mei li mandeţ son mortel enemi.'
Afublez est d'un mantel sabelin
Ki fuţ coverz d'un pálie alexandrin;
Gieteţ l'a tere si·l receit Blancandrins,
Mais de s'espeḍe ne volt mie guerpir:
En son poign destre par l'órie pont la tint.
Diënt paien: 'Noble baron aţ ci!' Aoi.

XXXVI

Ganelon before presenting Charles' letter inflames Marsile against Roland

Envers lo rei s'est Guenles aproismiez
Si li aţ dit: 'A tort vos coreciez
Quar ço vos mandeţ Charles ki France tient
Que recevez la lei de chrestiëns:
Demie Espaigne vos donraţ il en fieuţ,
L'altre meitiéţ avraţ Roḍlanz sis niés:
Molt i avrez orgoillos parçonier!
Se ceste acorde ne volez otreier
En Sarragoce vos vendraţ asegier,
Par poḍestéţ serez pris e liiez,
Menez serez endreit aḍ Ais lo siéţ;
Vos n'i avrez palefreiţ ne destrier
Ne mul ne mule que puissiez chevalchier,
Getez serez sor un malvais somier,
Par jugement iloec perdrez lo chief.

467. *Noble baron a ci!* "Au jeu qu'il joue, Ganelon risque sa vie. Certes, mais c'est précisément ce qu'il veut . . . Il veut que Roland l'ait réellement mis à deux doigts de la mort pour que demain, quand, à son tour, il exposera Roland à la mort, il puisse se dire qu'il ne fait que réclamer son dû." — Bédier, III, p. 418.

470. *Quar* 'because;' mod. *de ce que* . . .

Nostre emperedre vos enveiet cest brief.'
E·l destre poign l'at livrét a·l paien.

XXXVII

King Marsile reads Charles' Message — Jurfaleu, son of king Marsile, offers to make an end of Ganelon

Li reis Marsílies fut escolez de lire,
Fraint lo seiel, getét en at la cire,
Guardet a·l brief, vit la raison escrite:
— Charles me mandet, ki France at en baillie,
Que mei remembret de sa dolor ed ire:
Ço'st de Basan e son fredre Basílie
Dont pris les chiés as puis de Haltoïe;
Se de mon cors voeil aquiter la vide
Donc li envei mon oncle l'algalife,
O altrement ne m'amerat il mie.'
Aprés parlat sis filz envers Marsílie
E dist a·l rei: 'Guenles at dit folie.
Tant at errét nen est dreiz que plus vivet:

485. The reading of O, *fut escolorez del ire*, is discredited by all the other versions. A word *escolorét* seems, in fact, not to exist: the proper word for 'pale' is *descolorét;* cf. vv. 1979, 2218, also Garnier, *Vie St.-Thomas*, vv. 4698, 5016. — *lire* 'to read Latin,' the language of all public instruments. Cf. MP, XXI (1923), p. 108.

488. *Charles me mandet.* The poet has not made it clear whether or not all the statements in the two defiant speeches of Ganelon (430–37, and 469–82) were authorized by Charlemagne. How much has Ganelon exceeded his instructions (the *message* of v. 276)? It would seem that the brief contains only that part of the conditions of peace which were new in the negotiations; here is a new proposal, one which Charles intends to operate as a test of the sincerity of Marsile: if the King of Spain will actually send his uncle as a hostage, Charles will know that Marsile is acting in good faith. But Marsile evades the test, and Charles is deceived.

491. *Haltoïe.* See v. 209, n.

494. *amerat.* See note to v. 306.

Livrez lo mei, jo·n ferai la justísie.'
Quant l'oḍiṭ Guenles l'espeḍe en aṭ brandiḍe,
Vait s'apoier soz lo pin a la tige.

XXXVIII

King Marsile goes apart and holds a council

Enz e·l vergier s'en est alez li reis,
Ses meillors homes meineṭ ensemble oḍ sei,
E Blancandrins i vint a·l chanuṭ peil,
E Jurfalés ki est sis filz eḍ heirs,
E l'algalifes, sis oncles e feḍeilz.
Dist Blancandrins: 'Apelez lo Franceis:
De nostre proṭ m'aṭ pleviḍe sa feiṭ.'
Ço dist li reis: 'E vos l'i amenreiz.'
Guenelon prist par la main destre as deiz,
Enz e·l vergier l'en meineṭ josqu'a·l rei.
La porparolent la traḍison senz dreit. Aoi.

XXXIX

King Marsile, learning that Ganelon is false, offers him costly furs

'Bel sire Guenles,' ço li aṭ dit Marsílies,
'Jo vos ai fait alques de legerie

499. To brandish spear or sword in a king's hall is, as *Thèbes*, v. 1451, informs us, "signes de guerreier." Cf. v. 722, also Pollock and Maitland, *History of the English Law*, I, 22; II, 461.

507. One wonders why Blancandrin has not revealed this important fact before, and thus protected his accomplice from danger. Had Ganelon told him to keep "hands off" until the message of Charles was formally delivered? For another explanation, see G. Paris' *Extraits*, p. xix.

Quant por ferir vos demostrai grant ire.
Guaz vos endreit, par cez pels sabelines,
(Mielz en valt l'ors que ne font cinc cenz livres)
Ainz demain nuit bele en iert l'amendise.'
Guenles respont: 'Jo ne·l desotrei mie.
Deus, se lui plaist, a bien lo vos merisseț!' Aoi.

XL

King Marsile questions Ganelon about Charlemagne

Ço dist Marsílies: 'Guenles, por veir credez
En talant ai que molt vos voeill amer.
De Charlemagne vos voeill oḍir parler:

514. *por ferir* 'even to the point of striking (you);' cf. v. 3617, also *por morir* 'even at the risk of death,' vv. 1048, 1096, 3812.

516. *l'ors* probably 'the trimming,' Latin *ORUM (for ORA) not AURUM; cf. Meyer-Lübke, REW, 6080. The word occurs in Western texts (*Cumpoz*, v. 2604; QLR) in the Western spelling *ur*, as it should be here in O; but the scribe carelessly mistook it for *or* AURUM, remembering such passages as vv. 638–39. Cf. *G. de Dole*, vv. 4373–74: Dont li ors de la forreüre | Valoit plus de .xxv. livres.

518. Marsile has hit upon Ganelon's weak spot: the French noble is covetous, and a gift of costly furs is exactly what will please him most; cf. vv. 281, 462. Ganelon accepts with polite words, but the gleam of avarice is in his eye.

519. *merisset*. The reading of O, *mercie*, is an Anglo-Normanism; so Guernes, *Vie St.-Thomas*, v. 3254. For the author's use of *mercier*, see v. 908; cf. also *merisse* in the Berne *Folie Tristan*, v. 288.

520. For *credez*, O has *sacez* (= *sachiez*), a false assonance; V⁴ reads *cri por ver*, and cf. v. 592.

522. *De Charlemagne*. What more natural, after an agreement has been reached, than that the conspirators should talk of Charlemagne? Three laisses are given to the subject; for these *laisses similaires*, see note to v. 24. It is evident that Ganelon believes, or has deceived himself into thinking, that he can indulge his hatred of Roland without severing his connection with the emperor. G. Paris explained the situation otherwise: Ganelon and Marsile, he thought, were deeply impressed, in spite of themselves, by the greatness of their common enemy (HPC, p. 346). But v. 536, to select only one, can hardly be called the language of an enemy.

Il est molt vielz si aţ son tens uséţ,
Mien esciënt dous cenz anz aţ passéţ.
Par tantes teres aţ son cors demenéţ,
Tanz cols aţ pris sor son escuţ bocler,
Tanz riches reis conduiz a mendistéţ
Quant iert il mais recreḍanz d'osteier?'
Guenles respont: 'Charles n'est mie tels.
N'est hom ki'l veit e conoistre lo set
Que ço ne diëţ li emperedre est ber.
Tant ne'l vos sai ne preisier ne loḍer
Que plus n'i aţ d'onor e de bontéţ.
Sa grant valor ki poḍreit aconter?
De tel barnage l'aţ Deus enluminéţ,
Mielz voeill morir que guerpir son barnéţ.'

XLI

Ganelon inflames Marsile against Roland and the Twelve Peers

Dist li paiens: 'Molt me puis merveillier
De Charlemagne ki est chanuz e vielz:
Mien esciëntre dous cenz anz aţ e mielz.

524. *dous cenz anz.* Cf. v. 117. Charles was seventy-two years old at his death, but the Charles of legend lived to fabulous ages and to unheroic decrepitude. Subsequent poets are even more credulous than Marsile, while the poet of the *Chanson de Guillaume* (v. 1336) makes that Count claim for himself "several hundred and fifty years."

528. *osteier.* The assonance is false. The other versions, including V⁴, support the reading: Ad Ais en France se devreit reposer; cf. *Rom.* XLVII, p. 175, Bédier, *MP.* XXI (1923), p. 110, and vv. 36, 135.

531. *ber.* If like *franc*, the original meaning of this word was 'free man,' both in *Rol.* have reached the stage of 'hero,' 'nobleman.' Cf. vv. 766, 1554, 2708.

530. *voeill* 'first person' is called for, against O *veit*, and is supported by V⁴ n. Mü. and Ste. keep *veit*, but loyalty to one's chief (cf. v. 1909) fits the sense better.

Par tantes teres aṭ son cors travailliéṭ,
Tanz cols aṭ pris de lances e d'espiez,
Tanz riches reis conduiz a mendistiéṭ:
Quant iert il mais recreḍanz d'osteier?'
— Ço n'iert,' dist Guenles, 'tant com viveṭ sis niés;
N'aṭ tel vassal soz la chape de·l ciel.
Molt par est proz sis compaing Oliviers.
Li doze per que Charles aṭ tant chiers
Font les enguardes a .xx. mil chevaliers;
Soürs est Charles, que nul home ne crient.' Aoi.

XLII

Dist li paiens: 'Merveille en ai molt grant
De Charlemagne ki est chanuz e blans:
Mien esciëntre plus aṭ de .ii. c. anz.
Par tantes teres est alez conquerant,
Tanz cols aṭ pris de bons espiez trenchanz,
Tanz riches reis morz e vencuz en champ:
Quant iert il mais d'osteier recreḍant?'
— Ço n'iert,' dist Guenles, 'tant com viveṭ Roḍlanz;
N'aṭ tel vassal d'ici qu'en oriant.
Molt par est proz Oliviers sis compaing.
Li doze per que Charles aimeṭ tant
Font les enguardes a .xx. mílie de Frans:
Soürs est Charles, ne crient home vivant.' Aoi.

541. Baist (*Variationen*, p. 214) thinks the *espiét* was weightier than the *lance;* cf. vv. 3080, 3154, and *Ch. de Guillaume*, v. 228, n.

544, 557. Ganelon is here engaged in shifting the talk away from Charles and in concentrating attention upon Roland.

548. *mil* 'thousands,' instead of the usual pl. *mílie*, is well instanced, cf. Wace, *Rou*, v. 6761, *Troie*, vv. 7726, 12646.

XLIII

GANELON ADVISES MARSILE AGAINST BATTLE WITH CHARLEMAGNE, BUT SUGGESTS THE DESTRUCTION OF THE REAR-GUARD, WITH ROLAND

'Bel sire Guenles,' dist Marsílies li reis,
'Jo ai tel gent plus bele ne veḍreiz,
Quatre cenz mílie chevaliers puis aveir:
Puis m'en combatre a Charle eḍ a Franceis?'
Guenles respont: 'Ne vos, a ceste feiz.
De voz paiens molt grant perte i avreiz.
Laissiez folie, tenez vos a·l saveir:
L'emperedor tant li donez aveir
Franceis n'i ait ki toz ne s'en merveilt;
Par .xx. hostages que li enveiereiz
En dolce France s'en repairrat li reis,
Sa riedreguarde lerrat deriedre sei,
Iert i sis niés, li quens Roḍlanz, ço creiṭ,
Eḍ Oliviers li proz e li corteis:
Mort sont li conte, seḍ est ki mei en creit,
Charles veḍrat son grant orgueill chaḍeir,
N'avrat talent que ja mais vos guerreit.' Aoi.

564–65. Those who find a serious inconsistency between this statement and that of vv. 18–19 have overlooked the fact that a force inadequate to confront Charles might be adequate to destroy the rear-guard. Marsile does in fact produce this immense number, v. 715; his statement may therefore be correct and Ganelon's dissuasion may be sincere advice. Cf. Luquiens, *Reconstruction*, pp. 113–14, and vv. 1041, 1449.

574. Charles' army, while on the march is protected, front and rear, by the 20,000 commanded by Roland, Oliver and the Peers. These references to the *enguardes* (vv. 548, 561) and now to the rear-guard prepare us for the arrangement which Charles actually makes, later on. Ganelon declares that the destruction of Roland and his force will cripple Charles to the point of defeat, and the argument has some appearance of soundness. Were Charles not an indomitable hero he might have withdrawn from Spain in disgust; cf. his expressions, vv. 2901 ff. and 2920 ff.

577. *mort sont li conte:* a vigorous present tense for the future, as also

XLIV

'Bel sire Guenles,' ço dist li reis Marsílies,
'Comfaitement poḍrai Roḍlant ociḍre?'
Guenles respont: 'Ço vos sai jo bien dire:
Li reis seraṭ as meillors porz de Cízere,
Sa rieḍreguarde avraṭ detrés sei mise,
Iert i sis niés, li quens Roḍlanz li riches,
Eḍ Oliviers en qui il tant se fiḍeṭ,
XX. mílie Frans ont en lor compaignie.
De voz paiens lor enveiez .c. mílie,
Une bataille lor i rendent cil primes,
La gent de France iert blecieḍe e blesmiḍe;
Ne·l di por ço, des voz iert la martíries.
Altre bataille lor livrez de meḍisme:
De quel que seit, Roḍlanz n'estoerdraṭ mie.
Donc avrez faite gente chevalerie,
N'avrez mais guere en tote vostre viḍe. Aoi.

XLV

Marsile adopts Ganelon's plan

'Chi poḍreit faire que Roḍlanz i fust morz
Donc perdreit Charles lo destre braz de·l cors,

v. 3513. So in *Hamlet* V: Horatio, I am dead; thou livest . . . Another instance at v. 965.

580. The second part of this line, lacking in O, is supplied from V⁴.

581. Marsile has now come over to Ganelon's plan.

583. *meillors* 'chief,' cf. v. 51. Elsewhere we find *maistres porz*, as at v. 2939; V⁴ *la grant port*. Cf. also v. 719.

588. Oliver, at first sight, correctly judges this First Division at 100,000; cf. vv. 1041, 1440.

591. This line appears to mean: 'I do not promise, however, that you also will not suffer severely.' OF *nel di por ce* has at times the effect of mod. *non que*, Eng. 'not but that;' cf. *Troie*, v. 30105.

592. *Altre* 'a second;' cf. v. 1449, note, and v. 3221.

Si remandreient les merveilloses oz,
N'asemblereit jamais si granz esforz,
Tere maior remandreit en repos.'
Quant l'ot Marsílies si·l aţ baisiét e·l col.
Puis si comenceţ aḍ ovrir ses tresors. Aoi.

XLVI

The treason is sworn to by Ganelon

Ço dist Marsílies: 'Qu'en parleriëns mais?
Conseilz n'est proz dont huem a seür n'est,
La traḍison me jurrez entresait.'
Ço respont Guenles: 'Issi seit com vos plaist.'
Sor les reliques de s'espeḍe Murglais
La traḍison juraţ si s'est forsfaiz. Aoi.

XLVII

Marsile makes his oath

Un faldestoel i out d'un olifant,
Marsílies fait porter un livre avant,

598. *remandreient* 'would come to an end,' 'would exist no more.'

600. Some editors follow the Beta versions and read *Tere d'Espaigne* (so Gau., Ste.) but *Tere Maior* = Charlemagne's empire, or France in the large sense, is entirely acceptable. The expression "the Great Land" occurs in the Arab geographers in the sense of 'the great country beyond the Pyrenees.' The troubadour Bertrand de Born speaks of a French king, apparently Philip II, as "the king of Terra Maior." Cf. vv. 818, 952, 1489, 1616, 1784. — Here is the first of four great eulogies of the French; cf. also vv. 1848, 3031, and 3084.

604. The end of the line in O is illegible; for the expression introduced, cf. Crestien de Troyes, *Erec*, v. 3401, *Lancelot*, v. 356; Marie de France, *Espg.*, v. 675. In the next line, the reading is from V^7.

609. *un olifant.* An archaic use of the indefinite article; cf. ML, III, § 197. *Olifant* 'ivory' is here the material, as also at v. 2653.

La lei i fuţ Mahom e Tervagant.
Ço aţ juréţ li Sarrazins espans:
'S'en riedreguarde troevet lo cors Rodlant,
Combatrat sei a trestote sa gent,
E se il poet, morrat i veirement.'
Guenles respont: 'Bien seit vostre comanz!' Aoi.

XLVIII

Ganelon receives numerous and costly presents

Atant i vint uns paiens Valdabrons,
Icil levaţ lo rei Marsilion;

611. *la lei Mahom* 'the (sacrilegious) writings of Mohammed'; the name *Alcoran*, still used by Boileau, is not instanced in France before the XIVth century. Kerbogha's mother, according to AGF (XXII, 8) refers to the Koran as *nostra pagina*, while Albert of Aix (*Rec.* IV, 428) states that the Crusaders "codices innumerabiles . . . repererunt, in quibus sacrilegi ritus Sarracenorum . . . inscripti erant." — *Tervagant* is apparently identical with the *Termagant* of *Hamlet*, III, sc. 2. The name appears to be neither Latin, Germanic, nor Arabic; some of the etymologies proposed are: *terra vagans*, ANS, CXXXV, p. 205; *ter vagari* NED, *s.v.*; a (very poor) anagram of Saturn, ZfRP, XXXVIII (1914–17), p. 226. Others would derive it from the name of the Gallic bull-god *Tarvos Trigaranus*, for which see Dottin, *Manuel*, pp. 235–37; D'Arbois, *Les Druides et les Dieux celtiques à forme d'animaux* (1906), p. 155; Bertrand, *La Religion des Gaulois*, p. 351. The name continues in the current of epic tradition down to Ariosto (OF XII, 59): Bestemiando Macone e Trivigante | E di sua legge ogni maestro e donno.

613. *lo cors Rodlant* 'Roland himself;' see Tobler's *Mélanges*, c. vi: "Emploi périphrastique de *cors* pour désigner une personne."

614. *sei; lui* in V⁴.

615. *Rodlanz*, it seems, is the subject understood of *morrat;* but this whole passage leaves much to be desired as to readings.

616. *vostre comanz* 'your wish,' 'your project' (just expressed). *Comant* is here the verbal substantive of *comander* 'to create,' as in the *Chanson de Guillaume*, vv. 804, 807, and *Folque*, v. 6154; cf. *faire mes commans* 'carry out my plans,' *Chevalier au Cygne*, v. 8590.

618. *levat.* O's poor reading (*en uait*) is corrected from v. 1563. *Lever* in the sense of 'act as god-father to' is amply attested in OF, the word being taken from the *Ordo Baptismi*

Cler en riḍant l'aṭ dit a Guenelon:
'Tenez m'espeḍe, meillor nen aṭ nuls hom.
Entre les helz aṭ plus de mil mangons.
Par amistiez, bel sire, la vos doins
Que nos aidiez de Roḍlant lo baron,
Qu'en rieḍreguarde trover lo poḍussom.'
— Bien seraṭ fait,' li quens Guenles respont.
Puis se baisierent es vis eḍ es mentons.

XLIX

Aprés i vint uns paiens Climborins,
Cler en riḍant a Guenelon l'aṭ dit:
'Tenez mon helme, onches meillor ne vi,
Si nos aidiez de Roḍlant lo marchis,
Par quel mesure lo poḍussom honir.'
— Bien seraṭ fait,' Guenles li respondiṭ.
Puis se baisierent es boches eḍ es vis. Aoi.

Parvulorum, cf. P. de Thaon, *Bestiaire*, v. 2117, G. de St.-Paier, v. 1456. Gautier and Geddes think it improbable that the author, in spite of his ignorance of Moslem institutions, would ascribe baptism to the pagans; they understand this line (and v. 1563) as meaning 'raised him knight.' All that is clear is that Valdabron, whose exploits are recounted at vv. 1562 ff., was in some way *patrinus* to King Marsile.

619. *cler*. "Le mot *clair* est le vocable d'élection de nos vieux poètes, le constant refrain de la *Chanson de Roland*, dont il détermine l'atmosphère lucide." Legouis, *Chaucer* (1910).

621. *les helz*. The pl. seems to be due to the fact that the handle was at times made of two pieces soldered together; thus, in the *Dit de l'Espée* (Scheler, *Trouvères belges*, p. 178): Par les heus dont li crois [the handle] est faite; cf. also Et. Boileaue, *Livre des Mestiers*, I, lxvi, 10. The line seems to mean: 'Counting both the hilts (= the handle), there is more than a thousand-weight of gold (upon it).' Cf. v. 1570, where Mü. and Ste. read *a mil mangons*, and *Girart de Rossillon*, v. 6643, where Appel defines *mangon* as 'a piece of gold of a certain weight.'

626. The kisses seal the compact, as in feudal investiture. The act is a *baisier en foi;* cf. *Chanson d'Antioche*, I, p. 249.

632. O's reading is defective; possibly *respondiēt li* would be correct.

L

Atant i vint reïne Bramimonde,
'Jo vos aim molt, sire,' dist ele a·l conte,
'Car molt vos priseț mis sire e tuit si home.
A vostre femme enveierai dous nosches,
Bien i aț or, matices e jaconces,
Mielz valent eles que tot l'aveir de Rome,
Vostre emperedre si bones ne vit onches.'
Il les aț prises, en sa hoese les boteț. Aoi.

LI

Marsile collects treasure and hostages for Charlemagne

Li reis apeleț Malduit, son tresorier:
'L'aveir Charlon est il apareilliez?'
E cil respont: 'Oïl, sire, asez bien:
.Vii .c. chameilz d'or e d'argent chargiez,
E .xx. hostages des plus gentilz soz ciel.' Aoi.

LII

Marsile bids farewell to Ganelon

Marsílies tint Guenelon par l'espadle,
Si li aț dit: 'Molt par iés ber e sages.
Par cele lei que vos tenez plus salve,
Guardez de nos ne tornez lo corage.

638. *jaconces*. For this word, see MP, XVIII (1921), p. 597 (Nykl.)

641. *en sa hoese*. So in *Aspremont* (ed. L. Brandin, v. 2006) Duke Naimon puts into his hose the paw of a griffin he has slain; cf. also *Poema del Cid*, v. 821: *una uesa plena* (*de oro e plata*) is paid to Minaya.

643. *l'aveir Charlon* is evidently the tribute (*lo treüt d'Espaigne*) mentioned at vv. 666, 678.

646. This, with v. 679, is the last mention of the unfortunate hostages; the poet forgets to inform us as to their fate when Marsile's treachery is discovered.

De mon aveir vos voeill doner grant masse,
.X. muls chargiez de·l plus fin or d'Arábie,
Ja mais n'iert anz altretel ne vos face.
Tenez les clés de ceste citét large,
Lo grant aveir apresentez a Charle,
Puis me jugiez Rodlant a riedreguarde.
Se·l puis trover a port ne a passage
Liverrai lui une mortel bataille.'
Guenles respont: 'Mei est vis que trop targe.'
Puis est montez, entret en son veiage. Aoi.

LIII

Charlemagne awaits Ganelon's return

Li emperedre aproismet son repaidre,
Venuz en est a la citét de Gelne:
Li quens Rodlanz il l'at e prise e fraite,
Puis icel jorn en fut cent anz deserte.
De Guenelon atent li reis noveles,
E lo treüt d'Espaigne la grant tere.
Par main en l'albe, si com li jorz esclairet,
Guenles li quens est venuz as herberges. Aoi.

661. *aproismet* 'approaches.' V^4 has *a preso*, which suggests rather OF *aprestet* 'gets ready.'

662. *Gelne*. The Oxford MS has *galne* (or *egalne*) but the assonance requires a word in (*ai*) or (*è*). This place has not been identified. Editors have generally adopted the reading of the Beta group, *Valterne, i.e.* Valterra (V^4 *ualente*, CV^7 **n**. *Valterne*), but one may suspect that this reading is drawn from v. 199, where Valterne figures among Roland's conquests. This suspicion receives some support from the fact that CV^7 **n**. have reduced 100 to 7 years, apparently to bring the conquest within the period of Charles' Spanish expedition. It would be easy to suggest other towns, *e.g.* Gelsa, or Jelsa, at eight leagues from Saragossa on the left bank of the Ebro, where there are important Roman remains (v. 664); but at present the means for a certain identification are lacking. For several conjectures as to *Galne*, see Boissonnade, pp. 118–21.

668. The author of *Rol.* is a skill-

LIV

Ganelon makes a false report to Charlemagne

Li emperedre est par matin levez,
Messe e matines at li reis escoltét,
Sor l'erbe verte estut devant son tref.
Rodlanz i fut ed Oliviers li ber,
Naimes li dux e des altres asez.
Guenles i vint, li fel, li parjurez,
Par grant veisdie comencet a parler,
E dist a·l rei: 'Salvez seiez de Deu!
De Sarragoce ci vos aport les clés;
Molt grant aveir vos en faz amener
E .XX. hostages: faites les bien guarder.
E si vos mandet reis Marsílies li ber
De·l algalife ne·l devez pas blasmer,
Kar a mes oeilz vi .c. mílië armez,
Halbers vestuz, alquanz helmes fermez,
Ceintes espedes as ponz d'or neielez,
Ki l'en conduistrent tresqu'en la rive mer:

ful raconteur: he passes over the details of Ganelon's return journey which would only make his audience impatient (Clark).

678. *vos en faz amener* = *vos en amein*. For this periphrase of the verb in a personal mode, see Tobler's *Mélanges*, I, pp. 25–29, and V, p. 315. Very frequent in *Rol.*, cf. vv. 700, 1249, 2992.

681. Tavernier's remark (*Vorgesch.*, p. 65) that *ne . . . pas*, with *pas* in other than the literal sense of 'step,' occurs only here, is erroneous; cf. vv. 980 and 1528. But it is rare in *Rol.*

683. *alquanz* is suspicious; read *as granz?* V⁴ has *virdi elmi*.

685. Reading from V⁴: *trosqua la riua del mar*. Ste. *trosqu'a l'eve de mer*. Cf. Trois serours seur rive mer | Chantent cler, Bartsch's *Romanzen und Pastourellen*, p. 19.

680–691. All this, of course, is pure fiction: the Algalife is very much alive, and will be the death of Oliver on the field of Roncesvaux, vv. 1943 ff. But the copyist of O, taking the present passage in earnest, thought it wrong to make any further mention of the Algalife as alive: hereafter he regularly replaced his

Cil s'en foïrent por la chrestiëntét
Queḍ il ne voelent ne tenir ne guarder.
Ainz qu'il oüssent .iiii. liues siglét
Si·s aqoilliṭ e tempeste eḍ orez:
La sont neiét, ja mais nesun veḍrez.
Seḍ il fust vis jo·l oüsse amenét.
De·l rei paien, sire, par veir creḍez
Ja ne veḍrez cest premier meis passét
Qu'il vos siuraṭ en France lo regnét
Si recevraṭ la lei que vos tenez,
Jointes ses mains iert vostre comandez,
De vos tendraṭ Espaigne lo regnét.'
Ço dist li reis: 'Graciëz en seit Deus!
Bien l'avez fait, molt grant proṭ i avrez.'
Par mi cele ost font mil graisles soner,
Franc desherbergent, font lor somiers trosser.
Vers dolce France tuit sont acheminét. Aoi.

LV

CHARLES AND ROLAND MARCH HOMEWARDS — THE PAGANS PREPARE THE AMBUSH IN THE MOUNTAINS

Charles li magnes aṭ Espaigne guasteḍe,
Les chastels pris, les citez violeḍes;

name with *Marganice*, or *le Marganice*, but he is not supported by the other versions; see the passage 1914 ff. This falsehood of Ganelon's is lost sight of in his greater misdeeds, and is not again referred to.

702. *dolce France*, as in vv. 109, 706, 1695, 1927, 2431. Wilmotte sees in this expression a bit of learned epic tradition: *patria dulcis* is used by the author of the *Walthari poesis* (60), by that of the *Ruodlieb* (1, 64), while Vergil would be the ultimate source: *dulcia arva, dulces terras, dulces Argos* (*Eclog.* I, 3, *Æn.* IV, 281).

703. The poet takes a new start; for the *reprise* in the epics, see Gautier, *Les Epopées françaises*, I², p. 383 ff. Einhard's statement, which bears a striking resemblance to v.

Ço dist li reis que sa guere out finede.
Vers dolce France chevalchet l'emperedre.
Li quens Rodlanz at l'enseigne fermede,
En som un tertre encontre·l ciel levede.
Franc se herbergent par tote la contrede.
Paien chevalchent par cez graignors valedes,
Halbers vestuz, venteles bien fermedes,
Helmes laciez e ceintes lor espedes,
Escuz as cols e lances adobedes;
En un broillet par som les puis remestrent:
.iiii. c. mílie atendent l'ajornede.
Deus! quel dolor que li Franceis ne·l sevent. Aoi.

LVI

Charlemagne's two dreams

Tresvait li jorz, la nuit est aseride,
Charles se dort, li emperedre riches;

704, is much more modest (c. IX, 4–7): "omnibus *quæ adierat* oppidis et castellis in deditionem acceptis." See notes to vv. 3, 71, 3652.

706–07. The transition is rather abrupt. V^4, 636 furnishes an excellent intermediate line: Passet li jorz, declinet la vesprede.

707. Perhaps *s'enseigne* (after V^4, CV^7). The *enseigne*, *signa* in the contemporary Latin historians, was (*a*) the flag of the warrior, (*b*) his war-cry, and often (*c*) the name of his land. See Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, p. 753.

711. The *ventelle* (oftener *ventaille*, v. 3449) was a fly or flap-piece of the hauberk, square or triangular in shape; when laced or buttoned it covered the chin and the front of the neck: see Enlart, *Archéologie française*, III, p. 402 ff., and MP, III, p. 541 ff. (Hamilton). So-called because it fluttered loose when not in place, cf. the verb *venteler*. The form *ventele* is rare, but cf. *Richart le Bel*, v. 4694, also Nicot's Dictionary of 1606, *s.v.*, and *Rol.*, v. 1293. For *venteles*, O has: *et tres* (!)

714. O has *bruill*. Emendation suggested by a line in the *Charroi de Nismes* (P. Meyer, *Recueil*, p. 247): En un bruillet de pins et de loriers.

715. The figure 400,000 is supported by all MSS and versions; cf. v. 565. Against the 20,000 under Roland, the poet intends to make the odds fearful indeed.

718–24. Charles' first dream, or, as he calls it, his "angelic vision"

Sonjaţ qu'il ereţ as graignors porz de Cízere,
Entre ses poinz teneit hanste fraisnine:
Guenles li quens l'aţ desor lui saisiḍe,
Par tel aḍir estrosseḍe e brandiḍe
Qu'envers lo ciel en volent les esclices.
Charles se dort qu'il ne s'esveilleţ mie.

LVII

Aprés iceste, altre avison sonjaţ:
Qu'ereţ en France a sa chapele aḍ Ais,

(vv. 725, 836) is clearly prophetic: the traitor appears in person and breaks Charles' ashen spear-handle — signifying the rear-guard and the Peers — into splinters. Most critics consider this and the following dream as foreign to an older stage of the poem; they do not appear in **c**, nor in **n**. Mentz points out that the intrepid Emperor is not terrified by the visions, as is usual in the epics; additional evidence of Charles' greatness. For a brief study of Charles' four dreams, see PMLA, XXXVI (1921), pp. 134–41 (Krappe).

719. The *ports de Cize* are also mentioned at vv. 583, 2939. It is through this much traveled mountain-pass that Charles and the main army toil thrice, deeply impressed by the lofty hills and the dark vales (vv. 814, 1830); cf. Bédier, III, pp. 296, 304, 322; Boissonnade, pp. 136–37.

720. *hanste fraisnine* suggests the *hastile fraxinum* of Ovid, and the *hastile fraxineum* of Waltharius, v. 1295.

721. For this meaning of *desor* (*sor*) see Tobler's *Beiträge*, V, p. 377, and cf. OF *sor son pois* 'against his will.'

724. *que* = 'de telle manière que.'

725 ff. An allegorical animal dream, like those frequent in the old Norse sagas. Essaying the rôle of interpreter, we may suggest that the boar is Marsile, who lays the deadly plot to cut off the emperor's "right arm," Roland (v. 597); the leopard is Marsile's formidable uncle, the Algalife, who makes an even deadlier assault upon the rear-guard (vv. 92 and 1913 ff.). Ardenne is the wilderness, home of wild beasts. The hunting-dog is Roland, who fights with Marsile and cuts off his right hand (v. 1903). The outcome of the final conflict with the Caliph and his Moors is long doubtful, and the pagans are forced to leave three of the French alive on the field as Charles arrives (v. 2162). Tavernier (*Vorgesch.*, p. 66) adopts a different interpretation, that of Mentz (*A. u. A.* LXXIII, p. 96): boar = Ganelon, leopard = Pinabel, hound = Thierry d'Anjou, but this is surely looking too far ahead: the immediate thing at present is Roncesvaux and the treason of Ganelon. Besides, the dramatic trial of Ganelon is provided for in another of Charles' visions (2555 ff.). A king struggling with a bear (Ste., v. 726 *a*,

E·l destre braz li morst uns vers si mals.
Devers Ardene vit venir un leupart,
Son cors deménie molt fierement asalt.
D'enz de sa sale uns veltres avalaṭ
Que vint a Charle les galos e les salz,
La destre oreille a·l premier ver trenchaṭ,
Iriedement se combat a·l liepart.
Diënt Franceis que grant bataille i aṭ,
Mais il ne sevent li quels d'els la veintraṭ.
Charles se dort, mie ne s'esveillaṭ. Aoi.

LVIII

Ganelon nominates Roland to command the rear-guard

Tresvait la nuit ed apert la clere albe,
Parmi cele ost sonent menuṭ cil graisle.
Li emperedre molt fierement chevalcheṭ.
'Seignors barons,' dist l'emperedre Charles,

adopts *ors* instead of *vers*, from V⁴) figures in the *Waltharius*, 621 ff.; cf. Tavernier, ZFSL¹, XLII (1914), p. 64.

735. *Mais* is not in O: supplied from V⁴.

737. *la clere albe*. Some find here a souvenir of Vergil: "When with the early dawn the next bright day had chased away the stars" (*Æn.* V, 42; cf. III, 588 and IV, 6). For *cler*, cf. v. 619, n. After this verse, V⁴ adds a line = Resveilliez est li emperedre Charles.

*738. End of the line from V⁴V⁷, O's reading being illegible.

740–44. "Cette trahison . . . est, au reste, d'une conception peu logique, car Guenelon ne pouvait savoir si Charles mettrait Roland à la tête de son arrière-garde, car les présents que Guenelon reçoit dans le camp ennemi devaient forcément éveiller des soupçons sur sa fidélité . . ., car Guenelon ne pouvait prévoir qu'il ne serait pas lui-même mis à la tête de l'arrière-garde, etc." G. Gröber, pp. 9–10. In answer to the first and third of these objections, Bédier points out that it is now morally impossible for either Charles or Roland to object to any nomination Ganelon may make, because Ganelon, in the same critical circumstances, had accepted the appointment, risked his life, and had refused to let Roland go

'Veḍez les porz e les destreiz passages:
Kar me jugiez ki iert en rieḍreguarde.'
Guenles respont: 'Roḍlanz, cist miens fillastre:
N'avez baron de si grant vasselage.'
Quant l'ot li reis fierement lo reguardeṭ,
Si li aṭ dit: 'Vos estes vis diables:
E·l cors vos est entreḍe mortel rage.
E ki seraṭ devant mei en l'ansguarde?'
Guenles respont: 'Ogiers de Denemarche:
N'avez baron ki mielz de lui la faceṭ.'

LIX

Roland accepts the duty

Li quens Roḍlanz quant il s'oḍiṭ jugier Aoi.
Donc aṭ parléṭ a lei de chevalier:

in his place. Charles, remembering the quarrel, Ganelon's *défi* and threats against Roland, is tormented with suspicion and anxiety, but he is powerless to act without proof. Moreover, he reflects, how can Ganelon have serious designs upon Roland's life, being, as he now is, here in my power? See Bédier, III, p. 422 ff., and p. 427: "Nous sommes en présence d'une combinaison unique et si délicate que la moindre intervention d'un remanieur quelconque ne peut que la fausser." As to whether or not Marsile's presents to the traitor were in suspicious evidence, the poet does not inform us; but cf. v. 3756, note.

743. *fillastre.* Ganelon parodies Roland's *padrastre,* v. 277. Both words were ambiguous: *fillastre* may mean 'poor imitation of a son;' for this contemptuous or derogative force, see the exx. collected by Cooper *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeivs* (1895), p. 192 ff. and cf. Dante, *Inf.* xii, 112.

746–47. "Charles ne sait pas, ni ne peut deviner que Ganelon est l'homme qu'il est, celui qui, pour la volupté de cette heure, a fait le sacrifice de sa vie" (Bédier). Dangerous as the moment is, Ganelon cannot conceal his satisfaction: is not his long-meditated revenge about to be gratified, and to the full?

747. The line is improved metrically if we place *cors* at the cæsura (*Vos est el cors . . .*) as it is in V⁴.

750. *Aoi* after v. 751 may belong here.

751 ff. This reply is dignified and worthy of Roland: it is 'in the manner of a true chevalier,' as the poet says, even if, as most think, v. 753 is spoken in irony.

'Sire padrastre, molt vos dei aveir chier:
La riedreguarde avez sor mei jugiét;
Nen i perdrat li reis ki France tient,
Mien esciëntre, palefreit ne destrier,
Ne mul ne mule que deiet chevalchier;
Nen i perdrat ne roncin ne somier
Qued as espedes ne seit ainz eslegiez.'
Guenles respont: 'Veir dites, jo·l sai bien.' Aoi.

LX

Quant ot Rodlanz qu'iert en la riedreguarde
Iredement parlat a son padrastre:
'Ahi! culverz, malvais hom de put aire,

758. The line is weak, and is found only in O; Ste. rejects it, as well as the whole of the following laisse, 761 ff.

760. Ganelon has attained his main object, Roland is to be left behind with the rear-guard; the traitor can afford to be polite and ironically concede this trifling matter to Roland's pride. Cf. Bédier, III, p. 426.

761 ff. A laisse of doubtful authenticity, wanting in all MSS and versions, except O; cf. v. 753, n. The contrast in tone between the two speeches of Roland is surprising. G. Paris judged them to be "deux versions différentes, toutes deux présentes à la mémoire du rédacteur, qui les a transcrites l'une à la suite de l'autre;" the second speech he considered to have rather better claim to authenticity than the first (HPC, p. 22, and cf. *Rom.* XI, p. 298). Stengel, relying on the MSS, would suppress the second, while Bédier ventures to defend both (III, p. 426, n.). It seems probable that the second speech is the work of an interpolator, possibly the copyist of O, who failed to notice (1) that vulgar vituperation is quite foreign to the poet's conception of the attitude of Roland to his step-father (cf. vv. 1025–26); (2) that Roland uses *vos* and not *tu* in addressing Ganelon (v. 316); (3) that it was a glove and not a staff which Ganelon let fall (vv. 331-33). Roland at this moment has not the slightest reason to suspect the fate that awaits him at Roncesvaux; to command the rear-guard is his customary duty (vv. 549, 561, 574, 585); he is not afraid of threats (v. 293) but rather welcomes a fight (v. 1008). Is not prowess in battle as breath to his nostrils? To attribute vexation (*iredement*, v. 762) to him merely because of his appointment seems absurd: if he is *irascuz* 'irritated,' as Naimon says (v. 777) it is because of Ganelon's sneering manner and the ambiguous *fillastre* of v. 743.

Quiḍas li guanz me chaḍist en la place,
Com fist a tei li bastons devant Charle?' Aoi.

LXI

Distress of Charlemagne

'Dreiz empereḍre,' dist Roḍlanz a·l baron,
'Donez mei l'arc que vos tenez a·l poign;
Mien esciëntre ne·l me reproveront
Queḍ il me chieḍeṭ com fist a Guenelon
De sa main destre quant reçut lo baston.'
Li empereḍre en tint son chief enbronc,
Si duist sa barbe e detoerst son gernon;
Ne poet muḍer que de ses oeilz ne plort.

LXII

Naimon advises Charles to give Roland a strong force

Anprés iço i est Naimes venuz,
Meillor vassal n'out en la cort de lui,

766. *al baron* 'to that hero;' O has *le barun*. Similarly Dante uses *barone* in speaking of St. James and of St. Peter. Cf. vv. 531, 2568, and *Gormont*, v. 275.

767. The bow appears to be the symbol of command, although it is one of the arms of the foot-soldier, not of the chevalier. William the Conqueror's vessel bore in front a copper image of a child, "saete et arc tendu portant." Wace, *Rou*, II, p. 286.

769–70. Editors find two difficulties here: (1) Ganelon received a staff, a glove, and a letter from the hand of Charles, but not a bow (vv. 247, 341); (2) it was the glove that fell, an evil omen (vv. 331–32). Moreover, in v. 770, the words *qnt recut le bastun* are certainly in a later hand. Müller reads: 770 Vostre guanz destres quant reçut le bastun; Stengel: De sa main destre li guanz et li bastuns. But fairly satisfactory sense can be made without reçourse to emendation: 'Certainly (says Roland) they will not make me this reproach, that this bow falls out of my hand, as happened to Ganelon, out of his right hand, at the time he received the staff.' But the sentences are certainly loosely knit.

773. For Charles' ready tears, cf. v. 349, note.

E dist a·l rei: 'Bien l'avez entenduţ:
Li quens Roḍlanz il est molt irascuz.
La rieḍreguarde est jugieḍe sor lui,
N'avez baron ki ja mais la remut.
Donez li l'arc que vos avez tenduţ,
Si li trovez ki tres bien li aiut.'
Li reis li doneţ, Roḍlanz l'aţ receüţ.

LXIII

Roland refuses to accept more than twenty thousand men

Li emperedre en apeleţ Roḍlant:
'Bel sire niés, or savez veirement
Demie m'ost vos lerrai en present:
Retenez les, ço'st vostre salvement.'
Ço dist li quens: 'Jo n'en ferai niënt.
Deus me confondeţ se la geste en desment!
XX. mílie Frans retendrai, bien vaillanz.

779. 'Il n'y a pas un de vos barons qui la lui ôte, qui la bouge, qui la change' (G. Paris, *Rom.*, II, p. 109). For the manner of making these appointments, cf. vv. 243, 280, 321.

782. For the common omission of *lo* before *li*, cf. vv. 1502, 2126, 3604.

784. Stengel is probably right in reading *sachiez*, with V⁴.

785. Lat. *hostis* was oftener fem., the word is only fem. to Crestien de Troyes, and it is certainly fem. at v. 211. O's reading *Demi mun host*, therefore, should not stand.

786. *ço est* in OF may take the same case as the appositional antecedent; cf. vv. 866, 2238, 2615, 3715, *Ch. de Guillaume*, v. 1292, n.

787. This is a hint (though not the first, cf. vv. 256, 390) of Roland's recklessness, his *desmesure;* in blunt soldier fashion, he refuses reinforcements.

788. *geste* here in the same sense as *Thèbes*, v. 5618: Remembre lor la fiere geste, Le bon linage dont il sont. *Aliscans*, v. 2801 refers to the Saracens as *la geste Mahom*. So, too, Dante's expression *la santa gesta*, *Inf.* XXXI, 17, 'the blessed band,' 'the martyred company.' These, however, must be thought of also as united by the tie of blood.

789. After *Rol.*, 20,000 becomes the conventional number for a rear-guard, cf. *Thèbes*, v. 8815, where the

Passez les porz trestot seürement,
Ja mar crendrez nul home a mon vivant.'

LXIV

Roland's companions

Li quens Roḍlanz est montez e·l destrier, Aoi
Contre lui vient sis compaing Oliviers,
Vint i Gerins e li proz quens Geriers,
E vint i Ates, si i vint Berengiers,

poet goes on to mention Les quatre eschieles de Rollant, Dont cil jogleör vont chantant. But one *eschiele* may contain as many as 20,000 men, as *Girart de Rossillon*, § 147. See the enumerations below, vv. 3019 and 3217 ff.

792. This *Aoi* may belong after v. 791.

793 ff. We have been told (vv. 547, 560) that the Twelve Peers, including Roland and Oliver, habitually command the van or the rear-guard. There is reason to believe that the poet at this point intended to give the full list of the Twelve. Instead, however, of what we may call the official list, such as it appears at vv. 2402 ff. (cf. also vv. 2186 ff.), we are surprised to find in O that four of the Peers are missing. These are Ivon and Ivoire, Engelier and Sanson; in their stead are named here Turpin (who is not a Peer), Guaifier, Austoire, and Gaultier du Hum. The evidence of the other versions (V⁴**ndR**) would be in favor of restoring the missing Peers, as follows (according to Stengel): 796 Sanse li dus et Anseïs li fiers | Ive et Ivorie que li reis out tant chiers | Venuz i est li Guascoinz Engeliers . . .

794. Gerin et Gerier have been mentioned before: vv. 107, 174. "Dans la confrérie des douze pairs, on remarque trois petites associations plus intimes, trois couples de guerriers qui sont entre eux 'compagnons,' Ivon et Ivoire, Gerin et Gerier, Roland et Olivier. Les deux premiers couples sont unis matériellement par l'allitération des deux noms" (G. Paris). As to the alliterative coupling of names, examples of which occur also among the Saracens (vv. 64, 66, 2670) see P. Rajna, *Origini*, p. 54; Kr. Nyrop, *Storia dell'epopea francese*, pp. 193–194; A. H. Krappe, *Alliteration in the Chanson de Roland and in the Carmen* (1921), pp. 29 ff., 60. The custom is no doubt of Teutonic, and probably of specifically Norse or Danish, origin.

795. *Aton*, or *Haton*, is coupled with Berengier also at vv. 2405, 2187; so in the *Coronement Loois*, v. 565: "Hates et Berengiers." At v. 1297, his prowess immediately precedes that of Berengier. But the scribe of O has written *Otes* here and at v. 2405, while at v. 1297 he suppressed Aton in favor of Gualtier. The testimony of the other versions is strongly in favor of restoring Aton to his usual

Vint i Austóries eḍ Anseïs li fiers,
Vint i Gerarz de Rossillon li vieilz,
Venuz i est li riches dux Guaifiers;
Dist l'arcevesques: 'Jo irai, par mon chief.'
'E jo oḍ vos,' ço dist li quens Gualtiers, 800

place among the Peers; see G. Baist, *Ein falscher Pair*, ZfRP, XVIII (1894), p. 272. The name Atto or Hatto is frequent in the entourage of Charlemagne; Boissonnade (p. 367) mentions a Languedocian Bernard-Aton, who was a prominent crusader in the Orient and in Spain. — *Berengiers*. This name, wide-spread in France, is associated particularly with the crusading Counts of Barcelona (so Boissonnade, p. 368).

796. For the "powerful duke Austórie," see v. 1625, and n. O, by accident, has interverted the adjs. *fiers* and *vielz*.

797. *Gerart de Rossillon*. History knows nothing of a noble of this name in the time of Charlemagne. For an historic count Gerard, regent of the Kingdom of Provence in the time of Charles the Bald, see Bédier, II², pp. 25 ff., who shows how this Gerart became the hero of the Provençal *chanson de geste*. The epic hero is called "of Rossillon" from a hill of that name, near Châtillon-sur-Seine. Did the poet of *Rol.* intend to indicate an ancestor of this historic Gerard by adding *lo vieil*, "the elder"? Matthew Paris (*Historia Anglorum*, I, p. 57) mentions a Girardus de Russelun who took the cross in 1095; see Bédier, II², p. 92, n.

798. *Guaifier*. Einhard relates the wars of Pepin the Short, father of Charlemagne, against Waifarius, duke of Aquitaine; for this personage and his place in legend, see G. Paris, *Mélanges de Littérature*, p. 205; Bédier, III, p. 174; IV, pp. 169, 377. From an enemy of the Frankish kings he later becomes a powerful friend. His name is met with in epic and romance as late as *Don Quijote*: Cervantes mentions a puppet-show in which a Don Gayferos rescues a fair Melisendra.

800. *Conte Gualtier*, surnamed *del Hum* (v. 803). Neither name nor place has been identified. This mysterious person (see vv. 803–13, 2039–55, 2059, 2067, 2076) who is Roland's man, who conquered Maëlgut (?) and who was the nephew of Drogon "the elder," is singled out to survive at Roncesvaux among the very last: only Turpin and Roland live longer than he (v. 2076 ff.). It would seem probable that the poet intended, in introducing this personage and in assigning to him such prominent and creditable exploits, to honor some French or Norman family. The place-name *du Homme*, *du Hommet*, is frequent in Normandy and Brittany (Calvados, Eure; see Boissonnade, pp. 341–47), but these (see Joret, *la Colonisation scandinave en Normandie*, 1913, p. 30) seem to derive from Norse *holmr* 'île,' if not from Lat. ŭlmu, OF *oume*, while the assonance at v. 2039, in either case, calls for a different vowel: the assonance is in *ú* (: *vertut*, etc.). Perhaps the name is rather to be connected with Norse *hūn* or *hūnn*, 'top of mast,' 'head,' a word still found

'Hom sui Roḍlant, jo ne li dei faillir.'
Entre els eslisent .xx. mílie chevaliers. Aoi.

LXV

Gautier du Hum is sent on scout duty to protect Charles

Li quens Roḍlanz Gualtier de·l Hum apeleṭ:
'Prenez mil Frans de France nostre tere
Si porprenez les deserz e les tertres,
Que l'empereḍre nisun des soens n'i perdeṭ.' Aoi.
Respont Gualtiers: 'Por vos lo dei bien faire.'
Oḍ mil Franceis de France la lor tere
Gualtiers desrengeṭ les destreiz e les tertres:
N'en descendraṭ por malvaises noveles

in Norman patois, and for which see ML, REW, 4240. Boissonnade (p. 345) finds a fief near Avranches which appears in the charters as *de Hume*, but the family is later known as de *Houme*, a dissyllabic word.

Gautier is despatched by Roland upon scout duty to protect Charles (v. 806); he is to occupy the ravines and the hill-tops, a precaution eminently wise in the neighborhood of Roncesvaux, see Einhard's account of what actually happened to Charles' rear-guard in the year 778, c. IX of the *Vita Karoli*. Gautier does not reappear until v. 2039.

801. *faillir* is out of place in the assonance, but an infin. *faillier* * (as if made from *faille*, cf. Prov. *falhar*) is not attested for OF. The formula *faire faille* 'faiblir,' 'reculer' has the air of a military technical term (*Troie*, vv. 20431, 21570, etc.) and one may recall formations like *aïuer* from the noun *aïue*, in place of *aïdier*.

804. *nostre tere*. Some importance has been attached to this as indicating Roland's home country; but, unfortunately for the argument, V⁴ has *vostre terre*.

805. For *deserz*, Stengel reads *destreiz*, as in v. 809; V⁴ *lo destrer;* but cf. the expression *la tere guaste*, used at v. 3127.

807. *lo faire bien* 'to put up a good fight'; cf. vv. 240, 1698, 1876, 3400.

810 ff. seem to anticipate the coming disaster to the rear-guard. Of the thousand Franks chosen, seven hundred were actually engaged against a pagan division under King Almaris of Belferne. For the reappearance of Gautier at a critical moment, see vv. 2039 ff. — *Belferne*. Stengel reads *Balverne*, with **n** and V⁴ (*Baiuerne*). Boissonnade (pp. 163–66) sees in *Bel-*

Enceis qu'en seient .vii.c. espeḍes traites;
Reis Almaris de·l regne de Belferne
Lor liverraṭ bataille lo jorn pesme.

LXVI

Charles' army crosses the mountains into Gascony

Halt sont li pui e li val tenebros,
Les roches bises, li destreit merveillos.
Lo jorn passerent Franceis a grant dolor:
De .xv. liues en ot hom la rimor.
Puis queḍ il vienent a la tere maior
Viḍrent Guascoigne, la tere lor seignor,
Donc lor remembreṭ des fieuz e des honors
E des pulceles e des gentilz oixors:
Cel nen i aṭ ki de pitéṭ ne plort.
Sor toz les altres est Charles angoissos:

ferne a deformation of *Beni-Merin* (*Belmarin, Balmarin* in French writers), name of a well-known Berber group; *Almaris*, he thinks, was suggested by the town of *Almeria* (*Aumarie* in French).

814 ff. Verses admirably descriptive. Einhard (c. VI) uses similar words in describing Charles' passage of the Alps: "The Franks found their way thru the pathless mountain ridges, the rocks that soared to heaven, and the sharply pointed cliffs."

818. *la tere maior;* cf. v. 600, n.

819. *Guascoigne.* A count Acelin of Gascony is among Charles' most trusted warriors; see vv. 172, 2882. Einhard (c. XV) states that Charles "conquered and made tributary . . . Aquitania and Gascony, and the whole Pyrenean range." In reality, Gascony was by no means Charles' land in the same sense as was Aquitaine; see the mention of Blaye at v. 3689, and note to v. 172. But Einhard's statement was enough for the poet of *Rol.*

820. Tavernier compares a sentence of Guibert de Nogent (*Rec.* IV, 256) who is speaking of the return from the First Crusade: "Igitur Franci . . ., quum ad dulce solum visuri parentes, filios et uxores redire gestirent." Cf. also *Æn.*, X, 280. — *honors* 'landed estates'; cf. v. 3733, and *Poema del Cid*, v. 887.

As porz d'Espaigne aţ laissiét son nevoţ,
Pitét l'en prent, ne poet muḍer n'en plort. Aoi. 825

LXVII

Charlemagne is besieged with gloomy presentiments

Li doze per sont remés en Espaigne,
XX. mílie Frans ont en la lor compaigne,
Nen ont poör ne de morir dotance.
Li emperedre s'en repaiḍreţ en France,
[Ploreţ des uelz, tireţ sa barbe blanche,] 829 *a*
Soz son mantel en fait la contenance. 830
De joste lui chevalcheţ li dux Naimes
E dist a·l rei: 'De queiḍ avez pesance?'
Charles respont: 'Tort fait ki·l me demandeţ.
Si grant doel ai ne puis muḍer ne plaigne:
Par Guenelon seraţ destruite France. 835
Anuit m'avint par une avison d'ángele
Que entre mes poinz me depeçout ma hanste.

827. *compaigne* in the technical sense, for which see v. 324, n.

829 *a*. The beard spread abroad over the cuirass is the sign of jaunty defiance to the enemy; cf. vv. 1843, 3122, 3318, 3520; to tuck it away under the cloak indicates depression of spirits. It is difficult to find a satisfactory meaning in v. 830 without introducing v. 829 *a* from the other versions, as do Stengel and Gautier. Bédier: 'Sous son manteau il cache son angoisse.' It is disquieting, however, to note that verse 829 *a* is also wanting in **n**. Lat. CONTINERE is much used in the sense of 'to direct the movement' of troops, as one may speak, in mod. Fr. of "la contenance d'une colonne." When we remember the French preoccupation with matters of military costume (cf. the incident of the cadets of St. Cyr, in the late war) it is possible that v. 830 may mean merely that Charles directs his troops clad (not in armor but only) in his cloak, and this is so unusual that Naimon remarks upon it. — The cloak might cover the face and head as well as the body (cf. *Auberee* 91, n.); Charles' long and flowing cloak is mentioned by the Monk of St. Gall, while Einhard adds that it was blue in color (c. XXIII).

836. See vv. 719–23. A *visio angelorum* occurs in *Luke* xxiv: 23.

Cil aṭ jugiéṭ mis niés Roḍlanz remaigneṭ,
Jo·l ai laissiéṭ en une marche estrange:
Deus! se jo·l pert ja n'en avrai eschange.' Aoi. 840

LXVIII

King Marsile assembles an immense army

Charles li magnes ne poet muḍer n'en plort.
.C. mílie Franc por lui ont grant tendror,
E de Roḍlant merveillose poör:
Guenles li fel en aṭ fait traḍison,
De·l rei paien en aṭ oüṭ granz dons: 845
Or eḍ argent, pálies e ciclatons,
Muls e chevals e chameilz e leons.
Marsílies mandeṭ d'Espaigne les barons,
Contes, vezcontes e dux e almaçors,
Les amirafles e les filz as contors: 850

838. The assonance in O, *rere guarde*, is false; the other versions agree in the pleonastic *mis niés Rollanz*, but *remaignet* 'stay behind,' is a conjecture. G. Paris: Grant paor ai mis niés as porz remaigne; C: Grant poor ai mis niés Rollanz remaigne.

841. *Charles li magnes*. "Si quelques poètes, comme celui du *Roland*, savent ce que 'magnes' veut dire et l'emploient même en le détachant du nom propre, cela prouve seulement, comme le dit M. Rajna, qu'ils avaient une instruction au-dessus de l'ordinaire." — G. Paris, *Rom.* XIII, p. 610. Cf. vv. 1195, 3611, 3622.

849. *almaçors*. This title (in assonance also at v. 1275) is the Arabic *al mansûr* 'the victorious,' surname of Mohammed ibn-Ali-Abir, regent of the Caliphate in the time of Hixem II (976–1002). His fifty-six campaigns against the Christians fixed his name in the consciousness of Europe. Raoul Glaber (II. ix. § 18) speaks of the "gens Sarracenorum cum rege suo, Almuzor nomine" (cf. *Almoçor*, *Almozor* in the *Poema de Fernan Gonçalez*, ed. Marden). In the XIIIth century, Peire Cardenal appears not to know that Almansor was a historical person (C. Appel, *Chr*². 76: 50).

850. *amirafles*. Nicolette (*Aucassin et Nicolete*, 37: 8) laments that she was ever "daughter of the king of Carthage, or cousin of the *amuaffle*." According to Suchier, "le mot, usité dans les chansons de geste, provient de l'Arabe *almodaffer* (victorieux), surnom de Hakam, roi de Cordoue et contemporain de Charlemagne." Possibly we have in *amurafle* a blend of

.iiii.c. mſlie ajosteţ en .iii. jorz.
En Sarragoce fait soner ses tabors,
Mahomet lievent en la plus halte tor,
Paien n'i aţ ne·l priţ e ne·l aḍort,
Puis si chevalchent par molt grant contençon
Tere Certaine e les vals e les monz:
De cels de France viḍrent les gonfanons.
La rieḍreguarde des doze compaignons
Ne laisseraţ bataille ne lor dont.

LXIX

Aëlroth, nephew of Marsile, boasts that he will slay Roland

Li niés Marsílie il est venuz avant
Sor un mulet oḍ un baston tochant,

this word with *amiraſle*, for which see ZfRP, XLII (1922), p. 226 (Brüch).

852. The wonder and terror inspired in the Christian armies by the strange Moorish drums are reflected in several passages in the *Poema del Cid*, vv. 696, 1660 ff., 2345; cf. *Rol.* v. 3137, and Boissonnade, p. 256.

853–54. "Rien n'est plus contraire à la vérité." — Gautier. Cf. v. 8, note. But the idea that the Moslems worshiped idols frequently recurs; thus, Baudry of Bourgueil ascribes to Pope Urban at Clermont (1095) a reference to the *simulacra barbara* venerated in the Temple of Solomon (Migne, *PL*, CLXVI, 1066), while the Pseudo-Turpin (c. IV) expatiates upon an idol named *Salamcadis*, which was worshiped in Andalusia and which Charlemagne failed to destroy.

856. *Tere Certaine*. In the MS the copyist in writing *La tere certeine* seems to have had in mind the expression *terre certaine* 'solid ground,' instanced by Suchier, *Chanson de Guillelme*, p. xlv. But more probably the poet meant Cerdagne, which is *Cerritania* in Latin form; cf. Boissonnade, pp. 113, 130 ff. The Spanish Cerdagne is the upper valley of the Segre; why go so far east in order to surprise the French at Roncesvaux? why not follow the nearer route *via* Huesca, Jaca and the Pass of Aspre? Or, was the name Cerdagne then loosely applied to the whole southern slope of the Pyrenees? The poet of the *Chanson de Guillelme* seems to place *Tere Certaine* at one league from the Atlantic.

860. Just as Charles' nephew is prominent in the action, so is the nephew of King Marsile. We learn

Dist a son oncle belement en riḍant:
'Bel sire reis, jo vos ai serviṭ tant
Si·n ai oüṭ e peines eḍ ahans,
Faites batailles e vencuḍes en champ.
Donez m'un fieuṭ, ço'st lo colp de Roḍlant,
Jo·l ociḍrai a mon espiéṭ trenchant;
Se Mahomet me voelt estre guaranz,
De tote Espaigne aquiterai les panz
Des les porz d'Aspre entresqu'a Durestant.
Las seraṭ Charles si recreḍront si Franc,

his name is Aëlroth, at v. 1188. — For *il*, Ste. reads *li*, with V⁷; V⁴ *si*.

866. It was customary to ask as a favor the first blow of the battle, *le colp premier*. Taillefer, at Hastings, does so, as is related by Wace, *Rou*, II, 8035 ff., by Benoît, *Chronique*, 37,497 ff., and by Geofroi Gaimar, who adds: Mar demanda le coup primier. In *Aspremont*, v. 600, Balant claims that the first blow is his, "en fief, si l'orent mi parent."

Here, however, the request is for the first blow at Roland. "Roland n'assiste pas à la scène qui suit, et pourtant il la remplit. Tous les principaux chefs sarrasins s'avancent tour à tour, et jurent de tuer Roland. Dans toute l'armée chrétienne ils ne voient que Roland; et cette haine universelle de l'ennemi contre un seul homme rehausse singulièrement le héros. Il y a là un art incontestable et délicat." (L. Petit de Julleville.) Moreover, this situation was the aim and is the direct result of Ganelon's plotting, vv. 382, 473, 544, 575, etc.

867 ff. These ante-prœlium boasts (*vantances*, or *gabs*) are frequent in all the epics. In the Oxford *Girart de Rossillon*, vv. 4750 ff., Charlemagne rejoices to hear his chevaliers exciting each other and boasting: E Carlon fu molt bons qui·s ot gabar. Compared with these *vantances* of the Saracens, the poet of *Rol.* has made Roland's boasts moderate indeed; cf. vv. 1055, 1065, 1077 ff. Luquiens notices that Aëlroth vows he will slay Roland with his spear, *i.e.* at first encounter; in the sequel, Roland slays Aëlroth with his spear, v. 1202.

870. For the Pass of Aspre, or *Aspera Vallis*, see Bédier, III, p. 295 ff. The reading of O (*porz d'Espaigne*) is not supported by the other versions, including V⁴ (*porti daspre*). The Continental *Boeve de Hantone* (371 *var.*) uses the expression: Des le port d'Apres jusques a Monpellier. — *Durestant* is not identified. "From the Pyrenees to the Moorish border" would seem to be the right meaning. Is it possible to connect the word with *Estremadura*, "the moving border of land recovered by the Christians from the Moors" (Marden)? In the time of the Cid, Estremadura is south of the Duero and north of the Tajo (see the map in Menéndez Pidal's edition, vol. II). For another conjecture, see Boissonnade, pp. 75–77.

N'avrez mais guere en tot vostre vivant.'
Li reis Marsílies l'en aţ donéţ lo guant. Aoi.

LXX

Aëlroth asks that he and eleven other saracen knights be opposed to the Twelve Peers of France

Li niés Marsílie tient lo guant en son poign,
Son oncle apeleţ de molt fiere raison:
'Bel sire reis, fait m'avez un grant don.
Eslisiez mei .xii. de voz barons
Si·m combatrai as .xii. compaignons.'
Toz premerains l'en respont Falsarons,
Icil ert freḍre a·l rei Marsilion:
'Bel sire niés, e jo e vos irom,
Ceste bataille veirement la ferom;
La rieḍreguarde de la grant host Charlon,
Il est jugiéţ que nos les ociḍrom.' Aoi.

873. The glove as symbol of the investiture, the fief asked for v. 866; cf. especially vv. 2829, 2838.

877. Some of the versions have changed the number XII to XI, and some modern critics find a difficulty here, as Aëlroth is among the Saracen Twelve. The Norse translation, however, has XII, and we need not be so literal-minded: there are to be twelve in all, counting the speaker.

The XII Heathen Champions are Aëlroth, nephew of Marsile; Falsaron, Marsile's brother; king Corsablis, a Berber; Malprimes of Berbegal; an Emir of Balaguer; an Emir of Moriane; Torgis, count of Tortelose; Escremiz of Valterne; Estorgant and Estramariz, who appear to be "compagnons"; Margarit of Sevilla (the only one to escape alive); and the eccentric Chernubles of Moneigre, who falls at the hand of Roland. The arming and the boasts of these Saracen Twelve heighten the interest in the coming battle, but some critics have placed these among the "younger" scenes of the *Rol.*, cf. *Rom.* XI, p. 507 ff. (G. Paris).

LXXI

Reis Corsablis il est de·l altre part,
Barbarins est e molt de males arz;
Cil aţ parléţ a lei de bon vassal,
Por tot l'or Deu ne voelt estre coḍarz.
As vos poignant Malprimes de Brigal,
Plus cort a piéţ que ne fait uns chevals.
Devant Marsílie cil s'escriḍeţ molt halt:
'Jo conduirai mon cors en Rencesvals,
Se truis Roḍlant, ne lerrai que ne·l mat.'

LXXII

Un amurafle i aţ de Balaguét,
Cors aţ molt gent e lo vis fier e cler.
Puis queḍ il est sor son cheval montez

889. *Brigal.* O: *brigand,* but *brigal* correctly at v. 1261. For Berbegal in the twelfth century, cf. Boissonnade, p. 96.

892. *Rencesvals.* This is the oldest-known mention of Roncesvaux as the battle-field of Charles' rear-guard. For a comparison of the town and its environs with the scanty indications vouchsafed us by the poet of *Rol.*, see P. Rajna, *A Roncisvalle — alcune osservazioni topografiche in servizio della Chanson de Roland* (Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo, II (1899), pp. 387–89); also G. Paris, *Légendes du moyen âge* (1903), art. "Roncesvaux," pp. 3–63; more fully still, Bédier, III (1912), pp. 297–327, with maps. Bédier describes the close relations which existed, in the XIth and XIIth centuries, between the Abbey of Sainte-Foy of Conques, near Rodez (dep. Aveyron) and the church and almshouse of Roncesvaux, on the one hand, and with the church of Sainte-Foy of Conches in Normandy (dep. Eure), on the other. All three establishments were directly interested in the expeditions against Spanish Islam at the end of the XIth century; diffusion of legendary detail was easy, as Roncesvaux is a station on the great pilgrim route to St. James of Compostela; see Bédier's map, pp. 93, 124, and Georgiana G. King's *The Way of Saint James* (1920), III, p. 449. The pilgrims of St. James are mentioned in *Rol.* (v. 3687).

892. *mon cors* often means little more than *moi-même;* see Tobler, *Mélanges* (1905), pp. 39–40; and cf. vv. 613, 1607, 3370.

894. *amurafle.* Cf. v. 850, note.

Molt se fait fiers de ses armes porter;
De vasselage est il bien alosez:
Fust chrestiëns asez oüst barnét.
Devant Marsílie cil en est escridez:
'En Rencesvals irai mon cors guidér,
Se truis Rodlant, de mort serat finez,
Ed Olivier e toz les doze pers.
Franceis morront a doel ed a viltét.
Charles li magnes vieilz est e redotez,
Recredanz iert de sa guerre mener,
Remaindrat nos Espaigne en quitedét.'
Li reis Marsílies molt l'en at merciét. Aoi.

LXXIII

Un almaçor i at de Moriane,
N'at plus felon en la tere d'Espaigne.
Devant Marsílie at faite sa vantance:
'En Rencesvals guiderai ma compaigne,
XX. mílië homes ad escuz ed a lances.
Se trois Rodlant, de mort li doins fidance;
Ja mais n'iert jorz que Charles ne se plaignet.' Aoi.

898–99. Cf. v. 3164. The same idea is found often in the histories of the First Crusade. Baudry of Bourgueil says of the Turks (Migne, *PL*, CLXVI, 1086): "Indubitanter viri sunt callidi, ingeniosi et bellicosi; sed, proh dolor! a Deo alieni."

900. For the absence of the reflexive pronoun with compound tenses in OF, see ML, III, § 295; and cf. vv. 1180, 3163.

901. *guider* (V^4CV^7); O has *juer*.

905. *redotét* 'doddering.' For these past participles with active meaning, see Tobler, *Mélanges*, p. 200, and cf. *tressuét* 'sweating,' v. 2100.

909. *Moriane*. Probably Moriana, on the upper Ebro, near the boundary between Navarre and Old Castile. This region was taken from the Moors in 1045, and the town is on the old pilgrim route to Santiago. Stengel prefers to read *Buriane* (from V^4) the famous "tierras de Borriana," near Valencia; for these see Bédier, I, p. 423, and for another *Moriane*, v. 2318.

LXXIV

D'altre part est Torgis de Tortelose;
Cil est uns quens, si est la citét soe;
De chrestiëns voelt faire male voḍe.
Devant Marsílie as altres si s'ajosteṭ.
Ço dist a·l rei: 'Ne vos esmaiez onches: 920
Plus valt Mahom que saint Pieḍre de Rome.
Se lui servez, l'onor de·l champ avromes.
En Rencesvals a Roḍlant irai joindre,
De mort n'avraṭ guarantison por home.
Veḍez m'espeḍe ki est e bone e longe, 925
A Durendal jo la metrai encontre,

916 (931, 940). *D'altre part.* The phrase strikingly resembles Vergil's recurring *Parte alia, alia de parte,* and *At parte ex alia* of Silius Italicus I: 426. — *Torgis.* The name, curiously enough, coincides with a well-known Germanic (Norse) name, frequent in Normandy (cf. Boissonnade, p. 416). Was the poet of *Rol.* playing a practical joke upon a personal enemy, Turgis, Bishop of Avranches (1094–1138), as suggested by Tavernier, ZFSL, XXXVIII², p. 101? The name occurs in later epics (*Anseïs, Gaufrei, Fierabras*) applied to pagans; cf. also *Ch. d'Antioche,* I, p. 134: E vait ferir Torgis, un cuvert mescreant. — *Tortelose* appears to mean 'little Tortosa,' the latter on the Ebro, in Catalonia; cf. *Toletulum* diminutive of *Toletum,* and *Granatulo,* near *Granada,* as instanced by Dozy, *Recherches,* I³, p. 298. Louis the Pious took Tortosa, in 811, but soon lost it, and it later became a famous haunt of pirates. In 1148, Pope Eugenius III instigated a veritable crusade against Tortosa. The town is described in the *Chronicle* of Turpin as *oppidum fortissimum.* For other explanations of the word, see Densusianu, *La Prise de Cordres et de Sebille,* p. lxxix, note, and Boissonnade, p. 74.

922. *avromes* restored from C, the assonance being false in O: *ert nostre.*

924. *por home* 'thru the efforts of any man'; cf. *por nul home,* v. 2153, and v. 3812, n.

926. First mention of Roland's sword, which, according to *Rol.* (vv. 2318 ff.) Charlemagne gave to his nephew at the behest of God himself. In *Aspremont,* v. 5879, we are told that Charlemagne had Durendal from Eaumon, "sire devers Orient"; other epics make the sword the work of the famous smith Wieland, or of his brother Munificans (so *Fierabras*); see Althof, *Walthari Poesis,* II, p. 268. While other sword names are self-explanatory, the meaning of "Durendal" remains unknown. Crestien de Troyes has "Durandart" (*Yvain* 3235), Turpin (c. xxii) "Durenda," the Verona statue "Durindarda." —

Asez oḍrez la quel iraṭ desore!
Franceis morront se a nos s'abandonent,
Charles li vielz avraṭ e doel e honte,
Ja mais en tere ne porteraṭ corone.'

LXXV

D'altre part est Escremiz de Valterne;
Sarrazins est si est soe la tere;
Devant Marsílie s'escriḍeṭ en la presse:
'En Rencesvals irai l'orgoeill desfaire;
Se trois Roḍlant, n'en porteraṭ la teste,
Ne Olivier ki les altres chadeleṭ;
Li doze per tuit sont jugiéṭ a perdre,
Franceis morront e France en iert deserte,
De bons vassals avraṭ Charles soffraite.' Aoi.

LXXVI

D'altre part est uns paiens Estorganz,
Estramariz i est, uns soens compaing;
Cil sont felon traḍitor sosduiant.
Ço dist Marsílies: 'Seignors, venez avant.
En Rencesvals irez as porz passant,
Si aiderez a conduire ma gent.'
E cil respondent: 'Sire, a vostre comant.
Nos asaldrom Olivier e Roḍlant,
Li doze per n'avront de mort guarant.

The poet of *Rol.* leaves the ultimate fate of Durendal in doubt; the olifant is saved and left at Bordeaux (v. 3685), but the sword is last heard of in the hands of Count Rabel (v. 3017). For later legends as to its final disposition, see Bédier, III, p. 388, note.

941. It is rather surprising to find *compaignonage*, and even of the second degree, among the Saracens; see notes to vv. 324, 827.

Cez noz espeḍes sont bones e trenchanz,
Nos les feroms vermeilles de chalt sanc,
Franceis morront, Charles en iert dolenz,
Tere maior vos metrom en present,
Venez i, reis, si·l veḍrez veirement,
L'empereḍor vos rendrom recreḍant.'

LXXVII

Corant i vint Margariz de Sibílie,
Cil tient la tere entresqu'as Cazmarines;
Por sa beltéṭ dames li sont amies,
Cele ne·l veit vers lui ne·s esclargisseṭ,
Quant ele·l veit, ne poet muḍer ne riḍeṭ:
Paien n'i aṭ de tel chevalerie.
Vint en la presse, sor les altres s'escriḍeṭ,
E dist a·l rei: 'Ne vos esmaiez mie.
En Rencesvals irai Roḍlant ociḍre,
Ne Oliviers n'en porteraṭ la viḍe,
Li doze per sont remés en martírie.
Veḍez m'espeḍe ki d'or est enheldiḍe,
Si la·m tramist li amiralz de Primes,
Jo vos plevis qu'en vermeill sanc iert mise.

954. Verse corrected from V⁷; O has: *Lempereor nos metrum en present* = v. 952.

955. *Margariz*, here a person-name, means 'renegade'; see Du Cange, *s.v.* MARGARIZARE. The word is Byzantine in origin, and occurs elsewhere as a synonym of OF *renoié;* see Bédier, IV, pp. 44, 46, n. — *Sibílie.* There was a Sibila on the coast of Tunis, and another in Asia Minor (Lycaonia), but if Cazmarines (v. 956) is really the Galician Camariñas (cf. Boissonnade, pp. 99–102) we must conclude for Sevilla in Spain. Cf. note to v. 200.

958. The Norse translator understood *s'esclargir* to mean 'to make a declaration of love'; cf. *se déclarer*, as used by Corneille (*Sertorius*, iv. 2). The word occurs again, v. 1807.

961. *sor* 'above' = 'louder than'; cf. v. 721, n.

965. *remés. Remaneir* = 'to come to an end'; their end will be tragic.

Franceis morront e France en iert honiḍe.
Charles li vielz a la barbe floriḍe,
Ja mais n'iert jorz qu'il nen ait doel eḍ ire.
Jusqu'aḍ un an avrom France saisiḍe,
Gesir poḍrom e·l borc de saint Denísie.'
Li reis paiens parfondement l'enclineṭ. Aoi.

LXXVIII

D'altre part est Chernubles de Moneigre,
Josqu'a la tere si chevol li baleient;
Graignor fais porteṭ par giu quant il s'enveiseṭ
Que .vii. mulet ne font quant il someient.
Icele tere, ço dist, dont il esteient,
Soleilz n'i luist ne blez n'i poet pas creistre;
Pluie n'i chiét, roseḍe n'i adeiseṭ;
Pieḍre n'i aṭ que tote ne seit neire:
Diënt alquant que diable s'i meient.

970. *floride* 'whitened'; cf. vv. 117, 1771, 3087, and see the discussion by Lommatzsch, ANS, CXXXV (1916), p. 170 ff. Einhard tells us merely that "Charles had beautiful white hair"; the celebrated mosaic of the Lateran shows the then youthful emperor with a moustache only.

973. Einhard relates that the Danish King Godofrid boasted that "he would come to Aix, the seat of the King's court, with a mighty force." At Antioch, in 1098, Kerbogha boasts he will conquer Romania (Asia Minor), Bulgaria and Apulia (AGF, XXI, 9). "Ce vers," says L. Petit de Julleville, "semble présenter Paris comme la capitale de la France;" but this is forcing the meaning.

974. Marsile expresses his thanks by bowing; cf. vv. 2008, 2763.

975. *Moneigre*. Possibly the town now Monegrillo, on the Ebro below Saragossa (canton of Pina). The region of Los Monegros, lying east of Saragossa, is generally wild and desolate. Other versions have substituted *Valnigre* (V^4, **n**.) or *Mont Nigre*. Cf. Boissonnade, pp. 93–95.

978. .iiii. in O is an error for .uii., that is, .vii., a reading confirmed by the meter and by **n**. and V^4.

983. As the assonance calls for an oral vowel, neither *meinent* (VL MĬNANT) nor *mainent* (from *maneir*) is admissible. Meyer-Lübke (ANS, CIII (1899), p. 439, n.) proposed *veillent* 'Wache halten'; Boucherie (RdLR, XI (1880), p. 291) was the first to propose Lat. MĬNGUNT, approved by P. Meyer, Baist and Tavernier. P. Meyer, however, pointed

Ceo dist Chernubles: 'Ma bone espeḍe ai ceinte,
En Rencesvals jo la teindrai vermeille;
Se trois Roḍlant lo proṭ enmi ma veie,
Se ne·l asaill donc ne faz jo que creiḍre,
Si conquerrai Durendal o la meie.
Franceis morront e France en iert destreite.'
Aḍ icez moz li .xii. per s'aleient;
Itels .c. mílie Sarrazins oḍ els meinent
Ki de bataille s'arguḍent e hasteient.
Vont s'adober desoz une sapeiḍe.

LXXIX

Aëlroth's army — the Frankish rear-guard hear the Saracen trumpets

Paien s'adobent d'osbers sarrazineis,
Tuit li plusor en sont dobléṭ en treis;

out that MINGĔRE has not passed into the Romance languages, an objection which cannot be raised to its synonym MEJARE (MEARE also, cf. Gœtz-Gunderman, *Corpus Gll.*, V. 311. 11); cf. ML, REW, 5468. In Normandy the word may have coincided with AS *migan*, of the same meaning. That it has not been instanced in OF literature is due to obvious reasons; that it was avoided or misunderstood by the other versions is also explainable.

984. The assonance is again false. One may conjecture *aseidet*, based upon Prov. *aseder;* cf. the *Atlas linguistique*, chart no. 1752, and the parallel formations *asoifer*, *afamer* (Wace). From the *sitit hasta cruores* of Statius (*Theb.* xii: 595) to the Song of the Dagger of Helene Vacaresco, weapons athirst for blood are met with. Cf. also *Erec* 2874, 3056, *Aiol* 5861, *Troie* 14,179. OF *sedeillier*, *seeillier* 'be athirst' seems not to be available here.

987. One may hesitate between 'then am I an untrustworthy person' and 'then am I a recent convert — a convert of yesterday' (not a seasoned follower of the Prophet). Cf. Tobler's *Beiträge*, III, pp. 90, 92.

988. Luquiens points out that Chernubles is the first paynim to be slain by Durendal, v. 1324.

991. *Itels* has at times the force of Eng. 'about,' and therefore may require no correlating clause. The line has a false assonance, has poor support in the other versions, and might be omitted to advantage.

995. *doblét en treis*. Cf. the *lorica trilix* of Vergil, the *lorica triplex* of *Waltharius* (v. 263), *Poema de mio*

Lacent lor elmes molt bons sarragozeis,
Ceignent espeḍes de·l acier vianeis,
Escuz ont genz, espiez valentineis,
E gonfanons blans e blois e vermeilz.
Laissent les muls e toz les palefreiz,
Es destriers montent si chevalchent estreit.
Clers fut li jorz e bels fuṭ li soleilz,
N'ont guarnement que toz ne reflambeit,
Sonent mil graisles por ço que plus bel seit.
Granz est la noise si·l oḍirent Franceis.
Dist Oliviers: 'Sire compaing, ço creiṭ,
De Sarrazins poḍrom bataille aveir.'
Respont Roḍlanz: 'E Deus la nos otreiṭ!
Bien devons ci ester por nostre rei;
Por son seignor deit hom soffrir destreiz
Eḍ endurer e granz chalz e granz freiz,
Si·n deit hom perdre e de·l quir e de·l peil.
Or guart chascuns que granz cols i empleit.
Male chançon de nos dite ne seit!

Cid, v. 3634: "tres dobles de loriga tenie Fernando."

998. Many generations later, Rabelais will parody these details of equipment: "Son espee ne feut Valentiene, ny son poignard sarragossoys," is recorded of Gargantua (I, 8).

1002. "Ce vers contient peut-être un souvenir historique: le combat de Roncevaux eut lieu le 15 août" (G. Paris). About the year 1100, however, it was believed that the battle of Roncesvaux had been fought on "the sixteenth day before the calends of July"; cf. Bédier, III, p. 51.

1005. *granz . . . noise;* cf. Vergil's "It cælo . . . clangor tubarum," *Æn.* XI, 192, and elsewhere.

1009 ff. Some have cited in this connection Lucan's phrase (*Phars.* IX, 402): Serpens, sitis, ardor, arenæ, Dulcia virtuti; but in *Rol.* the appeal is not to martial pride but to personal loyalty to one's overlord and king. Much nearer in spirit to Roland's are the words of Tacitus, *De Germania*, c. 14: "To survive one's chief and to return from battle is a foul disgrace which lasts as long as life. To defend him, support him, to turn one's brave deeds to his glory, this is their chief oath of allegiance. The chiefs fight for victory, the followers for their chief."

1014. *Male chançon.* Satiric songs have circulated in every army; Cæsar himself was not spared by his

Paien ont tort e chrestiën ont dreit.
Malvaise essample nen serat ja de mei.' Aoi.

LXXX

Oliver, from a high hill, sees a great pagan army coming, and suspects an ambush

Oliviers montet desor un pui halçor,
Guardet sor destre par mi un val herbos,

soldiers. When Rollo with his Danes was besieging Chartres, he was attacked and surrounded by Count Ebles of Poitou. The Northmen making a sortie under cover of night, Count Ebles, in the darkness and terror, hid himself in the house of a workingman. Vers en firent e estraboz | Ci out assez de vilains moz, says Benoît (*Chronique des Normands*, II, v. 5904). On the Third Crusade, Henry, duke of Burgundy, caused to be made a song against Richard: E la chançon par l'ost hanta. Richard replied in kind, and who would blame him? asks Ambroise, who records the incident (*Guerre sainte*, vv. 10,653 ff.). Cf. also Orderic Vital, IX, c. 26. That songs of this sort furnished elements to the epics is improbable, for they are never regarded as sober history, and they are soon forgotten. — The hypermetric line in O is corrected from V^4 and V^7. O: *Que maluaise ch . . . chantet.*

1015. "Cette idée du bon droit des chrétiens revient souvent dans notre poème, et fait de la guerre entre chrétiens et infidèles un vrai 'jugement de Dieu'" (G. Paris). Tavernier (*Vorgeschichte*, pp. 83–88) produces evidence to show that, previous to the Council of Clermont, the conflicts of western Europe with the Saracens had been political rather than religious in motive; that with the First Crusade a new turn is given to the situation. Henceforth, to exterminate the pagan is a universal duty, a mission; those who fall in the crusade are martyrs, and are received into heaven; the crusade is the will of God: *Deus vult!* With this in mind we may accept Gautier's statement: "Le *Roland* est véritablement animé par le grand souffle des croisades"; but we are assisting at the First Crusade in action, not merely in preparation.

1016. *essample;* cf. v. 3979. This is the medieval *exemplum*, 'anecdote,' 'tale with a moral application.' Roland's story may have pointed many a moral, but, as he desired, it is not a discreditable story.

1017. The scribe of O seems not to have recognized the word *halçor* (altiorem), although it recurs v. 3698; V^4 has *o pei altor*. Rajna believes that this hill may be sought either in the principal chain, or in the ridge which separates Roncesvalles from the valley of the Irati, to the east. If Oliver looked to the right (*sor destre*) from this ridge, he would see the oval depression, certainly the

Si veit venir cele gent paienor,
Si·n apelaṭ Roḍlant son compaignon:
'Devers Espaigne vei venir tel brunor,
Tanz blans osbers, tanz elmes flambeios!
Icist feront noz Franceis grant iror.
Guenles li fel out faite traḍison,
Ki nos jugaṭ devant l'empereḍor.'
— Tais, Oliviers!' li quens Roḍlanz respont,
'Mis paḍrastre est, ne voeill que mot en sons.'

LXXXI

Oliver, amazed at the sight, reports to the Franks

Oliviers est desor un pui montez,
Or veit il bien d'Espaigne lo regnéṭ,

bottom of an ancient lake, where the town now is and which is supposed to be the field of battle. See v. 892, note, and Boissonnade, p. 140.

1019. *gent paienor* is the Church-Latin *gens paganorum;* cf. *geste francor,* 1443, 3262, and *tens anciënor,* "Vie saint Alexis," v. 1.

1020. Cf. Berol, *Tristan,* v. 4192: Oiez de quoi on vos apele, *i.e.,* "de quoi on vous exige une déclaration formelle" (E. Muret).

1021. *brunor,* as in TV⁷. Bédier would keep O's *bruur* 'uproar'; cf., however, *luisent* in vv. 1031, 1043.

1022. *blans osbers.* Ott, *Etude sur les couleurs en vieux français* (1899), p. 7, thinks a *blanc osberc* is one 'de couleur blanche brillante,' and this is the usual opinion. But *blanc,* at least with *harnais,* meant also 'plain'; cf. Enlart, *Arch. frç.,* III, p. 504. Herzog (ZfFSL. XXIII², p. 94) suggests a third alternative: OF *blanc* may have inherited the meanings of OF *blant* 'soft,' 'yielding,' 'flexible'; cf. the adj. *legier* constantly applied to hauberks.

1024. It is Oliver who first suspects foul play, for he is more penetrating than Roland. The rôles are reversed in the *Carmen.* — The reading of O is emended from v. 1820.

1025. *jugat* 'désigna par jugement' (G. Paris); cf. vv. 243, 321 and notes; also v. 656. It is improbable that we have here the meaning of 'condemn,' 'doom,' adopted by some translators of this line. Cf. the *jugedors* at Ganelon's trial, v. 3471, n.

1026–27. Roland resents any reflection upon a member of his family; it is noteworthy that when he is done to death at the battle, he never mentions Ganelon, nor in fact does he blame anyone but himself, v. 1863.

E Sarrazins ki tant sont asemblét. 1030
Luisent cil elme ki ad or sont gemmét
E cil escut e cil osberc safrét,
E cil espiét, cil gonfanon fermét.
Sol les eschieles ne poet il aconter,
Tant en i at que mesure n'en set. 1035
Ed il medismes en est molt esguarez,
Com il ainz pout de·l pui est avalez,
Vint as Franceis, tot lor at acontét.

LXXXII

Dist Oliviers: 'Jo ai paiens veduz,
Onc mais nuls hom en tere n'en vit plus, 1040
Cil devant sont .c. milië ad escuz,
Helmes laciez e blans osbers vestuz;
Dreites cez hanstes, luisent cil espiét brun.
Bataille avrez, onches mais tel ne fut.
Seignors Franceis, de Deu aiez vertut, 1045
E·l champ estez que ne seiom vencut.'

1032. *safrêt.* This word appears to mean 'bordered with blue,' *safre*, Eng. *zaffer* (from SAPPHIR) being oxide of cobalt used as a varnish. The sapphire passed for a stone (and hence a color) valuable to the fighter: the Lapidaries assert that it conserves the strength, lessens perspiration, and heals wounds. The varnish might be knocked off in fighting, cf. *desafrét*, vv. 2158, 3426. Later, the verb *safrer* is found meaning simply 'to border'; so in heraldry.

1034. *eschieles* 'divisions'; the word is the Frankish *skara* 'Schaar,' confused with *eschiele*, Lat. SCALA; it is used to translate CL CUNEUS, as II *Reg.*, ii: 25: "esturent serreement, cume en eschiele" (v. QLR, p. 127), or ACIES. "Ces divisions sont généralement formées d'hommes du même pays ou de pays voisins. Mais ces corps n'étaient pas permanents: on les formait au moment de l'action quand on avait le temps et souvent le temps manquait" (P. Meyer). Cf. the long passages below, vv. 3026 and 3217 ff., in the *Baligant* episode.

1041. *Cil devant.* This is the First pagan Division of 100,000 (cf. vv. 588, 991, 1187, 1440).

Diënt Franceis: 'Dehét ait ki s'en fuit!
Ja por morir ne vos en faldrat uns.' Aoi.

LXXXIII

Oliver urges Roland to call for help, but Roland thrice refuses

Dist Oliviers: 'Paien ont grant esforz;
De noz Franceis mei sembleţ aveir poi: 1050
Compaign Roḍlanz, kar sonez vostre corn,
Si'l oḍraţ Charles, si retorneraţ l'ost.'
Respont Roḍlanz: 'Jo fereie que fols,

1047. *Dehét ait* must have been a crushing malediction, for it translated the ecclesiastical *odium Dei habeat;* see G. Paris, *Mélanges linguistiques*, p. 488 ff., and *Rom.* XXXII, p. 444 (Sheldon).

1048. *por morir* 'at the cost of death.' Cf. vv. 1096, 3041, 3812.

1050. This verse, and v. 1087, may be a souvenir of I *Mach.*, IX, 9: *nos autem pauci sumus.*

1051. *vostre corn*, the *olifant* of v. 1050, plays a great rôle in the poem. After the miraculous blast, vv. 1753 ff., which recalls Charles, and after being split upon the helmet of a treacherous Saracen, vv. 2287 ff., the olifant is found on the battlefield by Charlemagne, who intrusts it to Count Guineman (v. 3017). Its sound is again heard in the later (Baligant) battle, louder than all other horns (vv. 3119, 3302), and it is safely deposited by the Emperor, when he returns to France, at the church of St. Seurin, at Bordeaux (vv. 3685 ff.). Here for long years it could be seen by pilgrims and other wayfarers. For this part of its history, see Bédier, III, p. 324 ff., and for the word *olifant*, MP, XX (1922), p. 9 (Holmes).

1052. After this line, some editors would insert a verse, based upon V^4, 988: Secorera nos li rois al son estorc. Possibly: Socorrat nos li reis a son esforz; cf. v. 1061.

1053. "Le refus de Roland d'appeler Charles à son secours est dans notre poème la vraie cause du désastre de Roncevaux: c'est un trait d'héroïque folie comme on en retrouve souvent dans l'histoire militaire de la France: citons seulement les batailles de Mansourah et de Courtrai. Par là ce désastre prend un caractère vraiment tragique, puisqu'il provient en grande partie de la faute du héros, de sa *desmesure* . . . mot qui rend parfaitement l'idée de l'*ὕβρις* homérique" (G. Paris). To similar effect Bédier (III, p. 433): "S'il y a honte à appeler à l'aide quand on peut se battre seul, en quel temps, en quel pays, quel chef, surpris par un ennemi trop nombreux, a jamais hésité à

En dolce France en perdreie mon los.
Sempres ferrai de Durendal granz cols,
Sanglenz en iert li branz entresqu'a·l or.
Felon paien mar i vindrent as porz:
Jo·l vos plevis, tuit sont jugiét a mort.' Aoi.

LXXXIV

'Compaing Roḍlanz, l'olifant car sonez,
Si·l oḍraṭ Charles, feraṭ l'ost retorner,
Socorraṭ nos li reis o son barnéṭ.'
Respont Roḍlanz: 'Ne placeṭ Damnedeu
Que mi parent por mei seient blasméṭ,
Ne France dolce ja chieḍeṭ en viltéṭ!
Ainz i ferrai de Durendal asez,
Ma bone espeḍe queḍ ai ceinte a·l costéṭ,
Tot en veḍrez lo brant ensanglentéṭ.
Felon paien mar i sont asembléṭ:
Jo·l vos plevis, tuit sont a mort livréṭ.' Aoi.

demander du renfort? 'D'iço ne sai jo blasme,' dit très justement Olivier" (v. 1082). — *faire que fols* = 'faire ce que ferait un fou,' hence *fols* is nom. case; cf. Tobler, *Mélanges*, p. 14. Or, is this *que* a continuation of Lat. *quam?* Cf. v. 1209. *Faire que sage* is met with as late as Rabelais and La Fontaine.

1054. G. Paris and Stengel insert here a line from V⁴: Se por paien ja sonasse mon corn; cf. v. 1075. Count Roland makes the fatal mistake of despising and underrating his opponents.

1059. Three times Oliver urges common prudence, three times Roland casts prudence to the winds. The poet makes the most of this psychologically tense situation, as he does of others later: see the list of *laisses similaires*, note to v. 24.

1064. According to Baudry de Bourgueil, who is describing the battle of Dorylæum (1097), "Boamundus autem, videns innumerabilem inimicorum multitudinem, [said] 'Ne quæso deturpetur propter nostram negligentiam laus Francorum; non vilescat propter nostram segnitiem sanctum nomen Christianorum'" (Migne, *PL*, CLXVI, 1084). Cf. also vv. 1090, 1927. The ideas expressed are strikingly similar; Baudry's *Historia Jerusalem* may be a little later than *Rol.* For the "allocution militaire" in the epics, see Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, p. 747, note.

LXXXV

'Compaing Roḍlanz, sonez vostre olifant,
Si·l oḍraṭ Charles ki est as porz passanṭ;
Jo·l vos plevis, ja retorneront Franc.'
'Ne placeṭ Deu,' ço li respont Roḍlanz,
'Que ço seit dit de nul home vivant!
Ne por paien que ja seie cornant!
Ja nen avront reproece mi parent.
Quant jo serai en la bataille grant
E jo ferrai e mil cols e .vii. cenz,
De Durendal veḍrez l'acier sanglent.
Franceis sont bon, si ferront vassalment:
Ja cil d'Espaigne n'avront de mort guarant.'

LXXXVI

OLIVER IS ANXIOUS; ROLAND CONFIDENT

Dist Oliviers: 'D'iço ne sai jo blasme.
Jo ai veḍuṭ les Sarrazins d'Espaigne,
Covert en sont li val e les montaignes,
E li lariz e trestotes les plaignes;
Granz sont les oz de cele gent estrange,
Nos i avom molt petite compaigne.'
Respont Roḍlanz: 'Mis talenz en engraigneṭ;

1078. This curious post-position of the smaller number is also met with at v. 1417; cf. also *Cor. Looïs*, v. 74: Bien puez mener en ost mil et cent homes; *Aspremont* (ed. Bekker, p. 33): E Sarrazin plus de mil et set cenz. Such uncalled-for exactitude, as developed later in the prose romances, will lend itself to burlesque and satire; cf. Schneegans, *Geschichte der grotesken Satire* (1894), pp. 171, 257.

1088. *engraignet* 'grows more intense.' Apparently not from Lat. GRANDIS, but from G. GRAMI, OF *graim, grain*. Guillaume le Clerc uses the word of a fire: E tant crest li feus e engraigne | Qu'il esprent tote la montaigne (*Best.*, v. 363); so

Ne placeț Deu ne ses sainz ne ses ángeles
Que ja por mei perdeț sa valor France!
Mielz voeill morir que hontages me vaigneț.
Por bien ferir l'empereḍre nos aimeț.'

LXXXVII

The Saracen army comes into view

Roḍlanz est proz eḍ Oliviers est sages:
Ambedui ont merveillos vasselage.
Puis queḍ il sont as chevals eḍ as armes,
Ja por morir n'eschiueront bataille:
Bon sont li conte e lor paroles haltes.
Felon paien par grant iror chevalchent.
Dist Oliviers: 'Roḍlanz, veḍez en alques,
Cist nos sont pres, mais trop nos est loinz Charles.
Vostre olifant soner vos ne'l deignastes:
Fust i li reis, n'i oüssom damage.
Guardez amont par devers les porz d'Aspre,
Veḍeir poḍez dolente rieḍreguarde:
Ki ceste fait ja mais n'en feraț altre.'

Aliscans, 4169: Desramés s'arme, cui mautalens engregne; and *Troie*, v. 9820.

1093–96. G. Paris noted the power and the conciseness of the characterization. We are reminded of Diomedes' estimate of Hector and Æneas: "Both excelled in courage, both excelled in brilliant feats of arms, the latter was more advanced in piety" (*Æn.* XI, 291).

1099. *vedez en alques* 'you already see not a few of them'; for this use of *alques*, see ZFSL, XXV, p. 6, (Ebeling).

1103. *les porz d'Aspre*. The assonance in O (*les porz d'Espaigne*) is false; reading from V⁴: *uer li port daspre*. Cf. v. 870, note.

1103–04. These lines seem to mean, 'Look up yonder towards the Aspre valley: you can see that your men are depressed and apprehensive; they know they will not escape alive.' But the reading of O is confused (v. 1104) and makes the line suspicious.

1105. *ceste*, according to G. Paris, refers not to *riedreguarde*, but to a general idea understood, as 'chose,'

Respont Roḍlanz: 'Ne dites tel oltrage!
Mal seit de·l coer ki e·l piz se coḍardeṭ!
Nos remandrom en estal en la place,
Par nos i iert e li cols e li chaples.' **Aoi.**

LXXXVIII

Roland encourages Oliver

Quant veit Roḍlanz que bataille seraṭ,
Plus se fait fiers que leons ne leuparz.
Franceis escriḍeṭ, Olivier apelaṭ:
'Sire compaign, amis, ne·l dire ja!
Li empereḍre, ki Franceis nos laissaṭ,
Itels .xx. mílie en mist aḍ une part
Son esciëntre nen i out un coḍart.
Por son seignor deit hom soffrir granz mals,
Eḍ endurer e forz freiz e granz chalz,
Si·n deit hom perdre de·l sanc e de la charn.
Fier de la lance e jo de Durendal,

'affaire,' 'entreprise'; *altre* also would then be fem., with the effect of a neuter. For other instances of this use, see ZFSL, XXIII², p. 117 (Herzog).

1109. Roland means 'with spear and sword,' for *chaple* is sword-work; cf. v. 1681.

1111. A line destined to become famous: as Wilmotte notes (*Rom.* XLIV, p. 69), it was copied into half a dozen epics and romances, sometimes verbatim. — Roland's serene self-confidence is here at its height, and will survive the First Encounter (vv. 1188–1448), in which the Saracen Twelve are all killed; in the Second Encounter, with Marsile's forces, Roland will see the French Peers perish, one by one, and he boasts no longer: aware at last that victory is impossible, he still continues to encourage his men (vv. 1466, 1560, 1592). Roland's successive states of mind are finely analyzed by Bédier, III, p. 434 ff.

1113. *ne·l dire ja* refers back to v. 1106. Does Count Roland feel that he has been too severe with his friend Oliver? might he have spoken less harshly? — For *nel dire ja*, other versions have *traiez vos ça*, for which cf. v. 2131.

1117. *por son seignor*, cf. v. 1009, note.

1120. O: *Fier de lance*. Cf. v. 3727,n.

Ma bone espede que li reis me donat;
Se jo i moer dire poet ki·l avrat
Qued ele fut a nobílie vassal.'

LXXXIX

Archbishop Turpin sermonizes the French, absolves, and blesses them

D'altre part est l'arcevesques Turpins,
Son cheval brochet e montet un lariz,
Franceis apelet, un sermon lor at dit:
'Seignors barons, Charles nos laissat ci;
Por nostre rei devom nos bien morir.
Chrestiëntét aidiez a sostenir.
Bataille avrez, vos en estes tuit fit,
Kar a voz oeilz vedez les Sarrazins.
Clamez voz colpes, si preiez Deu mercit,
Asoldrai vos por voz anmes guarir.
Se vos morez, esterez saint martir,
Sieges avrez e·l graignor paredis.'
Franceis descendent, a tere se sont mis,

1133. Absolution (and communion) before going into battle is well authenticated. In 1097, before the siege of Nicæa, the crusaders entered the land of the Turks; they camped, and all, high and low, went to confession and took communion (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 144, 256). Later, at Antioch, Robert the Monk relates that Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy ordered a fast of three days, confession and communion; this completed "Nostri vero milites ut primum in quamdam planitiem venerunt, Podiense episcopo (*i.e.*, Adhemar) innuente sterterunt, et cum summo silentio sermonem illius audierunt. Erat autem vestitus lorica . . . dixit: . . . 'Nunc vero purgati estis . . . Et quid timeretis? . . . Qui hic morietur, vivente felicior erit, quia, pro temporali vita, gaudia adipiscetur æterna.' . . ."

1134. For this idea, "hardly thinkable before the Council of Clermont," see Tavernier, *Vorgeschichte*, pp. 98–99. Gregory VII hesitated to formulate it so crudely, but Urban II at Clermont sponsored it, if we are to believe Guibert of Nogent (*Rec.*, IV, p. 138).

E l'arcevesques de Deu les benedist:
Par penitence comandet a ferir.

XC

The French make ready for battle

Franceis se drecent si se metent sor piez,
Bien sont asols e quite de pechiez,
E l'arcevesques de Deu les at seigniez;
Puis sont montét sor lor coranz destriers,
Adobét sont a lei de chevaliers,
E de bataille sont tuit apareilliét.
Li quens Rodlanz apelet Olivier:
'Sire compaing, molt bien lo saviiez,
Guenles li quens nos at toz espiiez,
Pris en at or ed aveir e deniers.
Li emperedre nos devreit bien vengier.

1137. *de Deu* 'in the name of God'; cf. vv. 416, 428, 1141.

1138. *Par penitence . . . ferir.* The Council of Clermont, in fact, authorized this novel form of penitence: "iter illud pro omni pœnitentia reputetur." Guibert of Nogent styles it a "novum . . . salutis promerendæ genus" (*Rec.*, IV, p. 124); no doubt it must have disturbed deeply those who had thought that alms, fasting, prayer and pilgrimage were the only acceptable "fruits meet for repentance," but the Clermont Council marks more than one break with the past. It should be added that the Council took pains to hedge the new penitence with the provision "Quicunque *pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniæ adeptione,* ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei . . ."

1146. *lo*, cf. v. 2424; *ço* is far more common in anticipating a statement (prolepsis).

1147. *espiiez.* The widely divergent variants show that this word puzzled the early copyists; here, it seems to mean little more than 'deceive,' as in Rutebuef, *Rec. gén. de Fabliaux*, III, p. 226. T. Müller rightly objected to making it merely a synonym of *trahir* (Gautier, Geddes).

1148. Roland knows that his stepfather is covetous; the poet also has been careful to inform us of the fact, see vv. 844–47. Does Roland suspect that Ganelon is jealous of him, and that this passion, an outgrowth of his avarice, is in fact the *primum mobile* of the treason? See v. 3758, note.

1149. The poet prepares us thus for

Li reis Marsílies de nos aṭ fait marchiét,
Mais as espeḍes l'estovraṭ eslegier.' Aoi.

XCI

Portrait of count Roland

As porz d'Espaigne en est passez Roḍlanz
Sor Veillantif son bon cheval corant.
Porteṭ ses armes, molt li sont avenanz,
Mais son espiét vait li ber palmeiant,
Encontre·l ciel vait la more tornant,
Laciét en som un gonfanon tot blanc.
Les frenges d'or li batent josqu'as mains,
Cors aṭ molt gent, lo vis cler e riḍant;
E sis compaing aprés lo vait siuant,
E cil de France lo claiment a guarant.
Vers Sarrazins reguardeṭ fierement,
E vers Franceis húmeles e dolcement,
Si lor aṭ dit un mot corteisement:

the reprisals, for Charlemagne's great revenge, vv. 2443 ff.

1152 ff. Portrait of Roland, evidently made *con amore*. — First mention of Roland's war-horse (*destrier*). Cf. v. 347, note. The meaning of "Veillantif" is unknown: does it mean 'old favorite'? The same two adjectives are combined by Guillem de Berguedan, in speaking of a melody (Diez, *Die Poesie der Troubadours*[2], p. 75, n.); the author of *Aucassin et Nicolete*, § 1, 2 may possibly be using *Vielantif* as the name of a jongleur.

1155. *Mais* seems not to be adversative here, but to mean 'furthermore,' Fr. 'de plus'; V[4] has *Et*.

1158. *frenges* was corrected from *renges* (= O) by Foerster (ZfRP, XXXII, p. 456). William of Kent *Roman de toute Chevalerie*, speaks of "gonfanons frengez." — *mains*. The assonance appears to be false, but no entirely satisfactory emendation has yet been proposed. Cf. v. 3965.

1163. *húmeles*. "Pour umelement e dolcement" (G. Paris; cf. Nyrop, III, § 604). It seems more prudent, however, to follow the manuscript and take *húmeles* as an adj. which agrees with the subject. — What the poet says here of Roland bears some resemblance to Einhard's eulogy of Charlemagne, c. XX: "benignitas suæ naturæ . . . mansuetudo . . . minima severitas . . ."

1164. For *mot* in the sense of 'short speech,' cf. ZFSL XXV, p. 16

'Seignors barons, soëf, lo pas tenant!
Cist paien vont grant martírie querant.
Encui avrom un eschec bel e gent,
Nuls reis de France n'out onkes si vaillant.'
A cez paroles vont les oz ajostant. Aoi.

XCII

Oliver exculpates Charles and encourages the Franks

Dist Oliviers: 'N'ai cure de parler.
Vostre olifant ne deignastes soner,
Ne de Charlon mie vos nen avez;
Il n'en set mot, nen aṭ colpes li ber,
Cil ki la sont ne font mie a blasmer.
Kar chevalchiez a quant que vos poḍez.
'Seignors barons, e·l champ vos retenez,
Por Deu vos pri bien seiez porpenséṭ
De cols ferir, de receivre e doner.
L'enseigne Charle n'i devons obliḍer.'
Aḍ icest mot sont Franceis escriḍéṭ.
Ki donc oḍist Monjoie demander,

(Ebeling). — *corteisement.* Possibly 'quietly,' 'privately'; cf. v. 3796, where *corteis* has another secondary meaning.

1165. *lo pas* 'at a walk.'

1167. *eskec* is 'plunder'; it plays an important rôle in the poem, cf. vv. 99, 2478. For many similar phrases in the historians of the First Crusade, see Tavernier, *Vorgeschichte*, pp. 101–02. — *gent* should probably be replaced by *grant*, as in V⁴ 1093.

1172. For this idiomatic phrase, see Tobler, *Mélanges*, p. 69. Oliver means to remind Roland that he is now, unfortunately, without Charles' customary support.

1181. *Monjoie!* is Charles' *enseigne*, his war-cry (*cri d'armes*). As to the origin of the word, the poet of *Rol.* has a theory, vv. 2508–10, and a bit of supposed history, see vv. 3093–95. Monte Gaudia was the hill whence the wearied pilgrims could first discern the Eternal City — *Roma mirabilis;* and there were similar hills near Santiago and Jerusalem; it is the pilgrims' outcry of joy at the end of their long

De vasselage li poḍust remembrer.
Puis si chevalchent, Deus! par si grant fiertéṭ,
Brochent aḍ ait por lo plus tost aler,
Si vont ferir: que fereient il el?
E Sarrazin ne·s ont mie dotez:
Frans e paiens as les vos ajostez.

XCIII

Aëlroth rides forward and taunts the French — he is slain by Roland

Li niés Marsílie aṭ a nom Aëlroth,
Toz premerains chevalcheṭ devant l'ost,
De noz Franceis vait disant si mals moz:
'Felon Franceis, hui josterez as noz:
Traḍiṭ vos aṭ ki a guarder vos out.
Fols est li reis ki vos laissaṭ as porz,

quest. Most war-cries are place-names, that of the Bretons was *Malo!* of the Gascons *Biez!* of the Angevins *Valee!* or *Valie!* The Turks and other Musulmans also have their cry, *Aride!* (meaning unknown). For the lengthened form, *Monjoie saint Denis!* see *Rom.* XXXI, p. 445 (G. Paris), also Bédier, II², pp. 237–52, and *Rom.* LIII (1927) pp. 338–40 (F. Lot).

1184. For this use of *lo* (CL eo), see Tobler's *Beiträge*, II, p. 48 ff. In English, 'in order to go so much (or, that much) the faster.'

1187. *as les vos ajostez* 'behold them joined in battle.' The battle of Roncesvaux is imagined as falling into three main encounters: Aëlroth is the first paynim commander to be defeated (cf. vv. 588, 1041); then King Marsile comes up with his great army, and is repulsed with difficulty; finally, the Algalif with fifty thousand negroes finishes the slaughter of the Christians. For the noteworthy resemblance to the three phases of the great battle of Zalaca (1086) between the Almoravide Yûsuf and Alfonso VI of Castile, see Introduction, p. lxxxiii.

1188. *Aëlroth* was mentioned before but only as "the nephew of Marsile," vv. 860, 874. He commands the First pagan Division (cf. vv. 588, 1041, 1187, nn.). The name is *Adalroth, Adelroth, Aderlot* in other versions; perhaps *Adelroth* is called for here. In the *Récit de la première Croisade* (II, 161) there is a King Aillrous, "cui sont li Libïɜn."

Enquoi perdraṭ France dolce son los,
Charles li magnes lo destre braz de·l cors.' 1195
Quant l'ot Roḍlanz, Deus! si grant doel en out.
Son cheval brocheṭ, laisseṭ corre aḍ esforz,
Vait lo ferir li quens quant queḍ il pout;
L'escuṭ li fraint e l'osberc li desclot,
Trencheṭ lo piz si li briseṭ les os, 1200
Tote l'eschine li deseivreṭ de·l dos,
O son espiéṭ l'anme li gieteṭ fors,
Enpeint lo bien, fait li brandir lo cors,
Pleine sa hanste de·l cheval l'abat mort,
En dous meitiez li aṭ brisiéṭ lo col; 1205
Ne lesseraṭ, ço dist, que n'i parolt:
'Oltre culverz! Charles n'est mie fol,
Ne traḍison onkes amer ne volt.
Il fist que proz qu'il nos laisaṭ as porz;

1195. *lo destre braz, i.e.*, Roland, cf. vv. 597, 727, n. The vaunt of Aëlroth and its swift punishment remind us of the similar fate of Vergil's Numanus, he who "stalked before the van, shouting things true and untrue," and whose taunts Ascanius "could not endure." See *Æn.*, IX, 590 ff.

1204. *pleine sa hanste.* This oft-recurring phrase (*pleine sa lance* also occurs, cf. *Aiol*, vv. 644, 4984) seems to apply to a free blow, a blow with the whole length of the spear-handle; thus, in *Voyage de Charlemagne*, v. 464, we find *pleine hanste* as a measure of length. Littré translated 'with spear-shaft unbroken,' as though PLENA = INTEGRA. — The lance was the principal weapon in battle and tourney, and the French excelled in its use: Fulcher of Chartres speaks of them as "mirabiles de lanceis percussores." Needless to say, the lance is not thrown; *ferir* is the verb generally used (v. 1322); Oliver breaks off the head (*more*) after fifteen blows and has only a club left, vv. 1323, 1351. See the Bayeux Tapestry, pll. 23 and 59, for knights in the act of using the lance. Cf. Introduction, p. xvi.

1207. For these taunts heaped upon an overthrown enemy, there were abundant precedents in the Latin epics; cf. *Æn.*, XII, v. 296. In the *Punica* of Silius Italicus (I, v. 383) Murrus is victorious over Hiberus: Prostratumque premens telo, voce insuper urget: "Fallax Pœne, jaces . . ." The *Roman de Troie* elaborates many similar speeches, such as that of Diomedes to the overthrown Æneas, vv. 11,255 ff.

1209. *Il fist que proz.* Cf. v. 1053, note. In his retorts, Roland does little but contradict.

Ui nen perdraṭ France dolce son los.
'Ferez i, Franc! nostre est li premiers cols.
Nos avom dreit mais cist gloton ont tort.' Aoi.

XCIV

Duke Falsaron rides forward to avenge his nephew, but is slain by Oliver

Uns dus i est si aṭ nom Falsarons,
Icil ert freḍre a·l rei Marsilion,
Il tint la tere Dathan eḍ Abiron:
Soz ciel nen aṭ plus encrisme felon.
Entre dous oeilz molt out large lo front,
Grant demi piéṭ mesurer i pout hom.
Asez aṭ doel quant vit mort son nevoṭ,

1211. *li premiers cols;* cf. vv. 866, 867, nn. The first blow was no doubt an augury of the outcome of the whole conflict, but in this case the augury proved fallacious.

1215. *la tere Dathan* the "wilderness of Paran," in Palestine (see *Num.*, XVI: 1–35). A Biblical reminiscence, found also *Brendan*, v. 200, *Thèbes*, v. 4838; the story was made known by many a sermon on the dramatic doom of the rebels against Moses. In O, the names are garbled (*datliun* & *balbiun*) but there is no doubt of the reading: see V^4 V^7 **n.** dR. Boissonnade's objections (pp. 224–29) are without basis.

1217. *Entre dous* is almost a preposition here; the expression is studied by Tobler, *Beiträge*, II, p. 98, n.

1218. *demi piét.* At the siege of Antioch in 1098, Bohemond having routed an army of Turks (see Oman, *The Art of War*, pp. 277–79) the Christians brought back a hundred heads, some of which were set upon stakes in view of the enemy. Raoul of Caen states that among these heads "inventum est unum inter cætera, et hoc memorabile! ab oculo ad oculum semipedalem distantiam habens" (*Gesta Tancredi*, c. 57). The slaying of this giant conferred glory upon the house of Blois, adds Raoul. The fact that a gigantic paynim met his death in this battle is confirmed by the Augsburg Chronicles, *anno* 1098; see MGH, SS, III, p. 135, and Hagenmeyer, AGF, p. 273, n. 42. By what channel did the author of *Rol.* learn of this peculiar and well authenticated incident? In a later epic, *Huon de Bordeaux* (v. 4933), figures a seventeen-foot giant, who, according to the author, "Demi piét ot entre l'uel et le nes," but in this case we are not dealing with history.

Ist de la presse si se met en bandon,
E si·s escriḍeṭ l'enseigne paienor.
Envers Franceis est molt contrarios:
'Enquoi perdraṭ France dolce s'onor.'
Ot l'Oliviers si·n aṭ molt grant iror,
Lo cheval brocheṭ des óries esporons,
Vaiṭ lo ferir en guise de baron;
L'escuṭ li fraint e l'osberc li derompt,
E·l cors li met les pans de·l gonfanon,
Pleine sa hanste l'abat mort des arçons.
Guardeṭ a tere, veit gesir lo gloton,
Si li aṭ dit par molt fiere raison:
'De voz manaces, culverz, jo n'ai essoign.
Ferez i, Franc! car tres bien les veintrom.'
Monjoie escriḍeṭ, ço'st l'enseigne Charlon. Aoi.

XCV

King Corsablis, the Berber, makes his boast, but is killed by Turpin

Uns reis i est si aṭ nom Corsablix,
Barbarins est d'un estrange païs,
Si apelaṭ les altres Sarrazins:
'Ceste bataille bien la poḍom tenir,
Kar de Franceis i aṭ asez petit,
Cels ki ci sont devom aveir molt vil,

1221. The poet does not tell us what the Saracen war-cry was; from other texts we learn that it was *Aride!* Thus *Doon de Nanteuil*, vv. 209–10: La oïssiez *Montjoie!* fierement escriër | Et Sarrazin *Aride!* et lor tabors sonner. Cf. v. 1181, n.

1226. A line often used by the jongleurs, so often in fact that it became desperately commonplace in the later epics; but it may have been new and fresh in *Rol.*

1232. *essoign* here = 'harm,' 'danger'; Villon still uses the variant *essoine* in a nearly related sense (*Ballade des Dames du temps jadis*). But 'I do not care for' = 'I do not fear' is *n'ai cure de* (v. 293).

Ja por Charlon n'i iert uns sols guariz;
Or est li jorz qu'els estovraṭ morir.'
Bien l'entendiét l'arcevesques Turpins,
Soz ciel n'aṭ home que tant voeilleṭ haḍir;
Son cheval brocheṭ des esporons d'or fin,
Par grant vertuṭ si·l est alez ferir;
L'escuṭ li frainst, l'osberc li desconfist,
Son grant espiét par mi lo cors li mist,
Empeint lo bien que mort lo fait brandir,
Pleine sa hanste l'abat mort e·l chemin,
Guardeṭ arieḍre, veit lo gloton gesir,
Ne laisseraṭ que n'i parolt, ço dist:
'Culverz paiens, vos i avez mentiṭ,
Charles mis sire nos est guaranz toz dis,
Nostre Franceis n'ont talent de foïr,
Voz compaignons ferons trestoz restis,
Noeves vos di, mort vos estoet soffrir.
'Ferez, Franceis! nuls de vos ne s'oblit.
Cist premiers cols est nostre, Deu merciṭ!'
Monjoie escriḍeṭ por lo champ retenir.

XCVI

Malprimes of Brigal is slain by Gerin

E Gerins fiert Malprimes de Brigal;
Sis bons escuz un denier ne li valt,

1241. *por Charlon* 'for all Charles can do.'

1244. Turpin's loyalty to the Church is of the *intransigeant* type; cf. v. 1482 (Luquiens).

1257. *Noeves*. The copyist of O modernized by suppressing this word and writing *noveles*, in spite of the meter. But OSp and OPr both have *nuevas*, *novas* in the sense of 'news'; for OF we may cite *Thèbes*, v. 168: De ton pere nueves orras, and Berol's *Tristan*, v. 3027: S'ot Tristan noves de s'amie, but the word became archaic in the XIIth century. For the expression, cf. Ganelon's remark, v. 336, and Benoît, *Chronique*, v. 33,566: Franceis lor font oïr noveles | Qu'il lor espandent les cerveles . . .

1261. O has *Engelers*, but *Gerins*

Tote li fraint la bocle de cristal,
L'une meitiét li torneṭ contreval,
L'osberc li rompt entresqueḍ a la charn,
Son bon espiét enz e·l cors li enbat.
Li paiens chiét contreval aḍ un quat;
L'anme de lui en porteṭ Sathanas. Aoi.

XCVII

The Emir of Balaguer is slain by Gerier

E sis compaing Geriers fiert l'amuraffle;
L'escuṭ li fraint e l'osberc li desmaileṭ,
Son bon espiét li met en la curaille,
Empeint lo bien, parmi lo cors li passeṭ,
Pleine sa hanste mort l'abat en la place.
Dist Oliviers: 'Gente est nostre bataille.'

XCVIII

Death of the Emir of Moriane at the hand of duke Sanson

Sanses li dux vait ferir l'almaçor;
L'escuṭ li frainst k'est aḍ or eḍ a flors,

is certainly the correct reading; cf. vv. 1269, 1289. V⁴ inserted *Berecers* (= *Berengiers*), but Berengier's prowess comes later, at v. 1304.

1263. Gerin's lance strikes the exact center of the shield, where is the *bocle* (OF also *bloque*), the BŬCCŬLA SCUTI, so called because of the face of animal or man placed there; in jousting, one aimed at the mouth.

1268. *Sathanas* here = 'a devil named Satan'; cf. AGF, c. XVIII, 6: (Turci) reddiderunt infelices animas Diabolo et Sathanæ ministris; also *Gormont*, 507, where *li Satanas* means 'the devilish one' = King Gormont. In *Aspremont* (ed. Bekker, p. 9) the soul of a slain paynim is carried off to hell by two devils, "Pilate" and "Antecris."

1275. Boissonnade (p. 407) sees in the name of this Peer a compliment to a noble family established early in the region of Dol (French Brittany); they bore the honorary title *signifer sancti Samsonis*.

1276. *ad or*. Not the material, but something added, is expressed

Li bons osbers ne li est guaranz proz,
Lo coer li trencheț, lo fírie e lo polmon,
Que mort l'abat, qui qu'en peist o qui non.
Dist l'arcevesques: 'Cist cols est de baron.'

XCIX

Death of Torgis of Tortelose at the hand of Anseis the Fierce

Eḍ Anseïs laisseț lo cheval corre,
Si vait ferir Torgis de Tortelose;
L'escuț li fraint desoz l'oreḍe bocle,
De son osberc li derompiéț les dobles,
De·l bon espiéț e·l cors li met la more,
Empeinst lo bien, tot lo fer li mist oltre;
Pleine sa hanste e·l champ mort lo trestorneț.
Ço dist Roḍlanz: 'Cist cols est de prodome.'

C

Engelier of Bordeaux slays Escremiz of Valterne

Eḍ Engeliers li Guascoinz de Bordele
Son cheval brocheț si li lascheț la reḍne,
Si vait ferir Escremiz de Valterne;

here by the preposition *a;* cf. vv. 1354, 1372.

1277. *guaranz proz.* 'is no great protection to him'; for *guaranz*, V⁴ has *gaires*, which is a paraphrase.

• 1282. For Torgis of Tortelose, see v. 916, note. As this Torgis is slain here by Anseïs, it must be another Torgis who later falls under the blows of Oliver, v. 1358. Cf. *Rom.* XLIV, p. 80 (Wilmotte).

1289. *Engelier de Bordele.* Boissonnade attempts, without success, to find a historical prototype for this chevalier. He notes, however, that the founder of the house of Anjou was an Engelier (*Ingelgerius;* cf. pp. 361–63).

L'escuț de·l col li fraint eḍ eschanteleț,
De son osberc li rompiéț la ventele,
Si·l fiert e·l piz, entre les dous forceles,
Pleine sa hanste l'abat mort de la sele.
Aprés li dist: 'Tornez estes a perdre.' Aoi.

CI

Aton puts Estorgant to death

Eḍ Ates fiert un paien Estorgant
Sor son escuț en la pene devant,
Que tot li trencheț lo vermeill e lo blanc;
De son osberc li aț romput les pans,
E·l cors li met son bon espiéț trenchant,
Que mort l'abat de son cheval corant.
Aprés li dist: 'Ja n'i avrez guarant.'

CII

Estramariz slain by Berengier

E Berengiers il fiert Estramariz;
L'escuț li frainst, l'osberc li desconfist,
Son fort espiéț parmi lo cors li mist,
Que mort l'abat entre mil Sarrazins.
Des .xii. pers li .x. en sont ocis,

1293. *ventele;* cf. v. 711, note. O has *ventaille;* but the correction is supported by V⁴: *lauentella*, as well as by the assonance.

1297. *Ates*, obl. case *Aton*. For this Peer, see v. 795, note. The scribe of O, who wrote *gualter*, evidently was anxious to exalt the name of Gualtier du Hum, for whom see v. 800, note. V⁴ has *Astolfo*.

1306. *escut* for *espiet* in O is a slip; V⁴: *so grant esple* (= *espiel*).

1308. *Des doze pers*. For the boasts of the Twelve Saracen Peers, see vv. 860 ff. Ten of the twelve have now fallen before the French Peers, leaving alive only the handsome Count Margarit of Seville (see vv. 955–74) and the eccentric Chernuble (see vv. 975–89). — Three of the

Ne mais que dous nen i aṭ remés vis:
Ço est Chernubles e li quens Margariz.

CIII

Margarit of Seville attacks Oliver fiercely, but escapes away

Margariz est molt vaillanz chevaliers,
E bels e forz eḍ isnels e legiers.
Lo cheval brocheṭ, vait ferir Olivier;
L'escuṭ li fraint soz la bocle d'ormier,
Lez lo costéṭ li conduist son espiéṭ,
Deus lo guariṭ qu'e·l cors ne·l aṭ tochiéṭ:
La hanste froisseṭ, mie nen abatiéṭ,
Oltre s'en vait qu'il n'i aṭ destorbier;
Soneṭ son graisle por les soens raliier.

CIV

Roland draws Durendal and slays Chernuble

La bataille est merveillose e comune.
Li quens Roḍlanz mie ne s'aseüreṭ,
Fiert de·l espiéṭ tant com hanste li dureṭ,
A .xv. cols l'aṭ e fraite e perduḍe;

French Peers do not figure here; Ivon, Ivoire and Girard de Rossillon are not given opponents. In their places appear Turpin (v. 1243), who is not one of the Twelve, while Roland and Oliver are each given two opponents (Roland, vv. 1196, 1321, Oliver, vv. 1224, 1313).

1316. *Deus lo guarit.* Cf. Robert the Monk (*Rec.*, III, p. 786): "sed Deus militem suum [Godfrey of Bouillon] custodivit eumque scuto suæ defensionis munivit." — *que* = 'de telle manière que'; so v. 1318, and often.

1318. *Oltre s'en vait, i.e.*, Margariz, if we are to trust V⁴, who, instead of *por les soens*, has *por paiens*. Thus Margarit is the only Saracen Peer to escape death; he does not appear again.

Trait Durendal sa bone espeḍe nuḍe,
Son cheval brocheṭ si vait ferir Chernuble;
L'elme li fraint o li carboncle luisent,
Trencheṭ la coife e la cheveleḍure,
Si li trenchaṭ les oeilz e la faiture,
Lo blanc osberc, dont la maile est menuḍe,
E tot lo cors tresqu'en la forcheḍure,
Enz en la sele, ki est aḍ or batuḍe,
E·l cheval est l'espeḍe aresteüḍe!
Trencheṭ l'eschine, onc n'i out quis jointure,
Tot l'abat mort e·l preṭ sor l'erbe druḍe.
Aprés li dist: 'Culverz, mar i moüstes.
De Mahomet ja n'i avrez aiuḍe.
Par tel gloton n'iert bataille ui vencuḍe.'

1327. The downward course of Durendal is followed with a ruthless exactness. — For *coife*, O has *cors*, but neither *cors* of O nor *cef* of V^4 is satisfactory, cf. *cors* below, v. 1330, and v. 3436. The *coife*, a hood or cap of soft material, protected the head from the hard helmet. — The historians of the First Crusade relate a similar and probably authentic exploit of Godfrey of Bouillon at Antioch: the Turk is cleft in twain horizontally with one blow. See the histories of the Monk Robert, Raoul of Caen, and Gilo of Paris (in Migne, *PL*, CLV, 705, 530, 957), and the later epic *Godefroi de Bouillon*, vv. 6266 ff. To this exhibition of Godfrey's stupendous strength, "cujus ense trajectus Turcus duo factus est Turci," William of Malmesbury (l. iv) adds a second, not so well attested: "Another also who attacked him he clave asunder from the neck to the groin, by taking aim at his head with a sword; nor did the dreadful stroke stop here, but cut entirely thru the saddle, and the back-bone of the horse." Turpin's *Chronicle* ascribes the same exploit to Charlemagne (c. XX), and in the *Voyage de Charlemagne*, vv. 454–64, Charles boasts that his sword will cleave horseman, saddle and horse, and then bury itself in the ground. William of Malmesbury may have drawn this second feat from *Rol.* Cf. also v. 1644.

1331. The saddle is ornamented with flattened gold thread; so, in English, "beaten banners," "beaten velvet." Cf. v. 1595, where it would likewise be an error to construe *batut* with *or*.

1332. This line has poor support in the other versions; if it be interpolated, it would have been more fittingly placed after, instead of before, v. 1333.

1334. *L'erbe drude.* The luxuriant grass (cf. vv. 2358, 2871) and the pines of Roncesvaux are true to reality; see Boissonnade, pp. 141–42.

CV

Great slaughter of the Saracens

Li quens Roḍlanz parmi lo champ chevalcheṭ,
Tient Durendal ki bien trencheṭ e tailleṭ.
Des Sarrazins, lor fait molt grant damage,
Ki lui veḍist l'un geter mort sor l'altre!
Li sans toz clers eissiṭ par cele place,
Sanglant en aṭ e l'osberc e la brace,
Son bon cheval lo col e les espaḍles.
Eḍ Oliviers de ferir ne se targeṭ;
Li doze per n'en deivent aveir blasme,
E li Franceis i fierent e si chaplent.
Moerent paien eḍ alquant en i pasment.
Dist l'arcevesques: 'Bien ait nostre barnages!'
Monjoie escriḍeṭ, ço est l'enseigne Charle. Aoi.

CVI

Oliver's exploits

Eḍ Oliviers chevalcheṭ par l'estorm,
Sa hanste est fraite, nen aṭ queḍ un tronçon,
E vait ferir un paien, Malsaron;

1340. Suchier found the same construction in the *Chanson de Guillaume*, vv. 554, 748.

1342. *eissit.* O has *esir*, apparently for *gesir* 'to lie,' which seems inadequate here; cf. also v. 2247. In the latter verse, it is noticeable that V⁴ 2402 reads *gessir*, which suggests O Prov. *geisir, geishir* 'issue forth,' a variant of *eissir*, L. EXIRE. But aside from OF *gesse* 'gutter,' the Provençal word, which may be connected with G. *giessen*, seems to have no representatives in OF. Stengel emends: Sanc et cervelle espandre par la place; but *espandre* has no warrant in the MSS.

1346. *n'aveir blasme* appears to be a technical fighting-term, like *faire lo bien;* cf. vv. 1174, 1718.

1349. *Bien* 'reward'; cf. v. 3740, and Wace, *Rou*, 3196: "Bien ait vostre venue!"

1353. *Malsaron.* O: *malum;* the correct form supplied by n. and dR; V⁴ has *Falsiron*.

L'escuț li fraint k'est aḍ or eḍ a flor,
Fors de la teste li met les oeilz ansdous,
E la cervele li chiét as piez desoz;
Mort lo trestorneț oḍ tot .vii. c. des lor.
Puis aț ocis Torgis eḍ Estorgoz;
La hanste briseț eḍ escliceț as poinz.
Ço dist Roḍlanz: 'Compaing, que faites vos?
En tel bataille n'ai cure de baston:
Fers eḍ aciers i deit aveir valor.
O'st vostre espeḍe ki Halteclere aț nom?
D'or est li helz e de cristal li ponz.'
— Ne la poi traire,' Oliviers li respont,
'Kar de ferir oi jo si grant bosoign.' Aoi.

CVII

Danz Oliviers trait aț sa bone espeḍe
Que sis compaing li aț tant demandeḍe,
Eḍ il li aț com chevaliers mostreḍe:
Fiert un paien, Justin de Valferreḍe,
Tote la teste li aț par mi sevreḍe,
Trencheț lo cors e la brónie safreḍe,
La bone sele ki aḍ or est gemmeḍe
Eḍ a'l cheval aț l'eschine copeḍe;
Tot abat mort devant lui en la preḍe.

1357. Luquiens questions this line, but *od tot* may mean simply 'along with' (seven hundred already slain). V^4 has *intro cento*.

1360 ff. Roland and Oliver are able, at this early stage of the battle, to exchange a warrior's jest. One can imagine the frenzied applause at the climactic line, 1366. — V^4 adds, after v. 1366, a line not without interest: Que m'entornerent trente milie Esclavon.

1370. For *Valferree*, Baist would read *Val-betee*, 'the frozen valley' (following V^4 and dR). For another suggestion, see Boissonnade, p. 108.

1371. A weak line, found only in O; rejected by Stengel.

1374. *copeḍe*. O reads *trenchee* (false assonance) V^4: *colpea*. Bédier would keep *trenchee* (*Rom.* XLVII, p. 474). *Coper* is probably a different word from *colper;* REW, 2409.

Ço dist Roḍlanz: 'Or vos receif jo, freḍre,
Por itels cols nos aimeṭ l'emperedre.'
De totes parz est Monjoie escridede. Aoi.

CVIII

Exploits of Gerin and Gerier, and of Turpin

Li quens Gerins siét e·l cheval Sorel,
E sis compaing Geriers en Passecerf;
Laschent lor reḍnes, brochent amdui aḍ ait,
E vont ferir un paien Timozel,
L'uns en l'escuṭ, e li altre en l'osberc.
Lor dous espiez enz e·l cors li ont frait;
Mort lo trestornent tres en mi un guarét.
Esperveris, icil fuṭ filz Borel,
Celui ocist Engeliers de Bordel.
E l'arcevesques lor ocist Siglorel,

1376. *receif*. Lat. RECĬPIO in the sense 'warrant,' 'promise' is well known, with direct object of the thing and indirect object of the person, as in Cicero's phrase: *ea quæ tibi recipio et promitto*. *Se recevoir* in the meaning of 'to make oneself safe,' 'to take refuge' is still known in Mod. Fr. (see Littré); but, to judge from the other versions of *Rol.*, the simple verb 'warrant' was already an archaism and was a puzzle to them and to the copyist of O. Roland's sentence is paratactic: 'I do assure you, brother, (that) the emperor,' etc. Stengel has recourse to V⁴: Or te cognois mon frere. This line is short one syllable in O; the added word *Or* is, of course, a conjecture.

1386–87. Two lines, omitted here from the text, are surely not genuine, but due to the copyist of O. They evidently refer to the two horses named in 1379–80: Nel oï dire ne jo mie nel sai [a false assonance] | Liquels d'els dous en fut li plus isnels.

1388–89 are reconstructed, with the aid of V⁴, out of the single "bad" line in O: *Esprie's icil fut filz burdel.*

1389. *Bordel*, as a variant of *Bordele(s)*, vv. 1289, 3684, is frequent in Old Prov.; cf. also *Bordeuz*, *Bordel* attested in 1193 and 1214 for the town of Bordeaux (Drôme). See Gröhler, *Französische Ortsnamen* (1913), p. 65.

1390. *Siglorel*. Nothing is known of this predecessor of Merlin, nor of his descent into hell. — Jupiter is a demon, like Apollin (v. 8). The

L'enchanteḍor ki ja fuṭ en enfern:
Par artimálie l'i conduist Jupiter.
Ço dist Turpins: 'Icist nos ert forsfaiz.'
Respont Roḍlanz: 'Vencuz est li culverz.
Oliviers, freḍre, itel colp me sont bel.' 1395

CIX

Ganelon's treason is succeeding, but the traitor will be punished

La bataille est adureḍe endementres,
Franc e paien merveillos cols i rendent,
Fierent li un, li altre se defendent.
La veḍissiez tante hanste sanglente,
Tant gonfanon romputz, e tante enseigne; 1400
Tant bon Franceis i perdent lor jovente!
Ne reveḍront lor meḍres ne lor femmes,
Ne cels de France ki as porz les atendent. Aoi.
Charles li magnes els plaint si se dementeṭ:
De ço cui chalt? Nen avront socorance. 1405

poet Wace, two generations later, is hardly better informed: Al tens antif que jadis fu | Eurent diable grant vertu, | Que se fesoient aorer | Et dex et deuesses clamer . . . | Jupiter, Mars, Mercurius . . . Adoration of these "devils" is characterized as *mahomerie* ("Vie Saint Nicolas," vv. 341 ff.). — *artimálie* from ARTE MATHEMATICA, regarded with dread as a branch of magic; for the word, see G. Paris, *Mélanges linguistiques*, pp. 273–74.

1393. 'This fellow was guilty towards us' (he has been an offender against us Christians). For *forsfaiz*, see Tobler's *Mélanges*, p. 196.

1396 ff. "It is probable that in the original poem vv. 1396–1405 (read 1403?) and 1412–1437 constituted a pair of 'laisses similaires'; if so, they were technically excellent." — Luquiens, *Reconstruction*, p. 123, n.

1399. O is here hypermetric; reading from V^4 and V^7; cf. also vv. 349, 1655–56.

1404. *els plaint*. There is a knot in MS. Stengel read *en plu.;* but it is rather *el . . plai . . .*

1405. *socorence* has not been instanced in OF, but the assonance calls for *-ence;* cf. also *secorent* in V^4, Prov. *corensa, corent* for *corant* Horn 2958, and pairs like *penitence, peni-*

Malvais servísie lo jorn li rendiét Guenles,
Qu'en Sarragoce sa maisniede alat vendre;
Puis en perdiét e sa vide e ses membres,
E·l plait ad Ais en fut jugiez a pendre,
De ses parenz ensemble od lui tel trente
Ki de morir nen ourent nule atente. Aoi.

CX

Desperate valor of the French — Strange omens in France foreshadow the death of Roland

La bataille est merveillose e pesant,
Molt bien i fiert Oliviers e Rodlanz,
Li arcevesques plus de mil cols i rent,
Li .xii. per ne s'en targent niënt,
E li Franceis fierent comunement.
Moerent paien a milliere ed a cenz:
Ki ne s'en fuit de mort n'i at guarant,
Voeillet o non, tot i laisset son tens.
Franceis i perdent lor meillors guarnemenz;
Ne revedront lor pers ne lor parenz,
Ne Charlemagne ki as porz les atent.

tance, listed by Suchier, *Reimpredigt,* pp. 70–71.

1407. *sa maisniede.* Charles' household, English "meny" (Spenser); cf. v. 113, n.

1406–11. Luquiens questions the authenticity of these six lines, on linguistic and artistic grounds; it is certain that Ganelon is not hanged (v. 1409), although that was the usual punishment for traitors, and v. 1411 has no support at all in the other versions. — "The poet comforts his hearers in the midst of the slaughter by a reference to the trial and death of Ganelon," observes Walter Morris Hart (p. 255).

1411. Line found only in O; *nen ourent esperance,* a false assonance here. For the reading adopted cf. *Eneas,* v. 670: De cele [nef] n'orent mais atente.

1421. O: *lor peres ne lor parenz.* Ebeling suggests the omission of the second *lor,* but *pers* may mean 'wives'; cf. v. 1402.

1421–22, and above, vv. 1401–03. "Remarquez cet attendrissement du

En France en aṭ molt merveillos torment:
Orez i aṭ de toneiḍre e de vent,
Pluie e gresilz desmesureḍement;
Chieḍent i foildres e menuṭ e sovent,
E terremoete, ço i aṭ veirement:
De Saint Michiel de·l Peril josqu'as Senz,
Des Besençon tresque as porz de Guitsant,
Nen aṭ recét dont de·l mur ne cravent.
Contre midi tenebres i aṭ granz,
Clartéṭ n'i aṭ se li ciels nen i fent,
Home ne·l veit ki molt ne s'espoënt.
Diënt plusor: 'Ço'st li definemenz,
La fin de·l siecle ki nos est en present.'
Icil ne·l sevent, ne diënt veir niënt:
Ço'st li granz duels por la mort de Roḍlant!

poète sur tant de braves gens qui ne reverront jamais leurs mères, leurs femmes, leurs amis. Cette note émue repose l'âme parmi tant de férocité." — L. Petit de Julleville.

1428. For Mont St. Michel, see vv. 37, 152, nn. As an outstanding point often referred to (*Rou*, I, v. 1101; *Amis et Amiles*, v. 72). — *Senz*, were it not for the article (*as* Senz in O), could be identified with the ancient city of the Senŏnes — Sens. Relying on the erroneous impression that O reads *seinz*, Suchier declared for Xanten, in the duchy of Cleves (ZfRP, IV, p. 583), and was followed by G. Paris (*Rom.* X, p. 304). Settegast favored Heiligenberg, opposite Heidelberg on the lower Neckar (ZfRP, XXXVIII, p. 460).

1429. *Guitsant*, variant Wissant, on the English Channel, was a famous port in the Middle Age. See Du Cange's Dissertation "Du Port Itius ou Iccius" (X, p. 96 ff.). Bertran de Born measured Flanders "de Gan, tro·l port de Guisan."

1430. *recét* translates Lat. CASTRUM; it is the *maison fort*, the stronghold, heavily built. — For *del mur*, Stengel and others read *li murs;* but *terremoete* may be the subject of *cravent*.

1433. *Home* as nom. case is peculiar, but cf. Marie's *Guigemar*, v. 253, and Tobler's note (*Mélanges*, p. 294).

1434. *li definemenz* 'the end of all things.' For the medieval expectation that *Dies illa* might arrive at any time, see *American Journal of Theology*, X (1906), pp. 648–62 (Thompson). In the *Prise de Cordres*, v. 381, the Persians and Turks are so terrified by the valor of the Franks, Dist l'uns a l'autre: Finemons est venus. Michelet and Carducci have written striking pages upon the theme.

1436. *nel sevent* 'do not perceive its true nature' . . . "Ce trouble de

CXI

Turpin praises Charlemagne's men

Franceis de France ont feruț de vigor,
Paien sont mort a milliers eḍ a fols:
De cent milliers n'en poeḍent guarir dous.
Dist l'arcevesques: 'Nostre home sont molt proț:
Soz ciel n'aț rei plus en ait de meillors:
Il est escrit en la geste Francor
Que vassal sont li nostre emperedor.'
Vont par lo champ si requierent les lor,
Plorent des oeilz de doel e de tendror,
Por lor parenz par coer e par amor.
Li reis Marsílies oḍ sa grant ost lor sort. Aoi.

la nature est une des plus belles inspirations de notre épopée; elle paraît appartenir au dernier rédacteur de notre poème." — G. Paris. It is clear that the author took most of the features of his "great mourning" from the New Testament: A sexta autem hora tenebræ factæ sunt super universam terram usque ad horam nonam . . . Et ecce . . . terra mota est; viso terræ motu . . . timuerunt valde (*Matth.*, xxvii: 45 ff., *Luke*, xxiii: 44 ff., and *Apoc.*, viii: 5 and xvi: 18, 21). Raoul of Caen relates that when a boy, in the year 1098, a flaming sky was interpreted in Normandy as a sign of sanguinary combats in the East: "Oriens pugnat," cried the people.

Although the French have been victors in the First Encounter, the author here destroys our sense of security and our hopes of a happy outcome by announcing impressively that Roland is to be slain. The curve is now descending rapidly.

1440. That the first pagan army numbered about 100,000 is forementioned at vv. 588, 991 and 1041 — *dous*, i.e. *dous milliers*.

1444. 'That our Emperor's men are heroes.' For this, and the preceding line, see my discussion, MP, XVI (1919), p. 131 ff. The author refers to some of the numerous histories loosely entitled *Gesta Francorum* (or *Historia Francorum*); of these, the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, written in the first decade of the XIIth century by the Monk Robert of Reims, contains a passage closely similar in meaning to these lines. Robert ascribes to Pope Urban II, at the Council of Clermont, a eulogy of the Franks and an appeal to them to remember the heroic deeds of Charlemagne, Louis his son, and other Frankish kings. — *li* is here, preferably, the demonstrative pronoun, as in v. 3145; cf. Sp. *los de Valencia, los de mio Cid*, the preposition being often absent in OF.

CXII

THE MAIN ARMY OF SARACENS ARRIVES ON THE FIELD —ROLAND, CONVINCED OF THE TREASON, APPEALS TO OLIVER'S PRIDE

Marsílies vient parmi une valeḍe,
Oḍ sa grant ost queḍ il out asembleḍe.
Eschieles .xx. aṭ li reis anombreḍes.
Luisent cil elme as pieḍres d'or gemeḍes,
E cil escuṭ e cez brónies saffreḍes;
VII. mílie graisles i sonent la meneḍe,
Grant est la noise par tote la contreḍe.
Ço dist Roḍlanz: 'Oliviers, compaign freḍre,
Guenles li fel aṭ nostre mort jureḍe:
La traḍison ne poet estre celeḍe,
Molt grant venjance en prendraṭ l'emperedre.
Bataille avrom e fort eḍ aureḍe,
Onches mais hom tel ne vit ajosteḍe.

1449. *Marsílies vient.* This ushers in the Second Encounter, the "altre bataille" which Ganelon had planned (v. 592), in order to make it doubly sure that Roland should not escape. Are we to suppose that this second pagan army consisted of 300,000 men? Cf. vv. 565, 588, 851, 1041, and especially 1187, nn.

1451. The archaic post-position of the numeral has been regularly suppressed by the scribe of O, in spite of the metrical confusion resulting; cf. vv. 3035, 3192, 3217, 3237. Examples of post-position may be found in the older epics *Rainouart*, *Guillaume* (v. 659: U jo li fis batailles trente treis), and even as late as Crestien de Troyes (*Erec*, v. 1987). No doubt post-position conveyed something of the same poetic effect as does Kipling's "soldiers three."

1452. *Luisent.* O's *Lacent* is corrected from V^4, 1424. The poet delights in depicting the "pomp and circumstance of war"; cf. vv. 1003 ff. Similar passages are to be found in the histories of the First Crusade, notably in those of Guibert of Nogent and of Robert the Monk; for the latter, cf. *Rec.* III, p. 828, where the author is describing the Christian host issuing from Antioch: "Sol vero super hamatas loricas et lanceas radios inferens, oculos intuentium reverberabat . . ."; also pp. 741, 757.

1454. *menede.* Originally, this was the way along which a hunted animal led the hunters and the dogs. *Aiol*, v. 901, mentions "le cerf que on cache a la menee." See Foerster's note, and cf. Du Cange, MENĒTUM.

Jo i ferrai de Durendal m'espeḍe,
E vos, compaign, ferreiz de Halteclere.
En tantes teres les avom nos porteḍes,
Tantes batailles en avom afineḍes,
Male chançon n'en deit estre chanteḍe.' Aoi.

CXIII

Marsile and the main army advance — Abisme, a black and cruel Saracen, attracts the eye of Turpin

Marsílies veit de sa gent lo martírie,
Si fait soner ses corz e ses buisines;
(1630) Puis si chevalcheṭ oḍ sa grant ost baniḍe.
Devant chevalcheṭ uns Sarrazins, Abismes;

1464. O reads: *En tanz lius*. The correction is from V^4: *Por tant tere;* but the original reading may well have been *Tantes liuees*, the latter word being often used of time as well as of space.

1466. *male chançon*. Cf. Roland's words, v. 1014, and note. Reminiscences of these two verses may be seen in *Guillaume le Mareschal*, v. 12,567, Orderic Vital, IV, p. 254. For "bad songs" composed during the First Crusade, see Raimon d'Aguilers, in *Rec.*, III, p. 302.

1467 ff. The next 43 lines, forming laisses CXIII, and CXIV, in the β-group of versions were transferred and placed after v. 1660; moreover, vv. 1633–60 forming here laisse CXXIV, were divided, and vv. 1661–70 (here laisse CXXV) were inserted between. Müller, Gautier, and Stengel adopted the transposed order, but here the order of O is kept intact, the transposed numeration of lines being given on the left, in parentheses. For a defense of the order as it is in O, see F. B. Luquiens, *Reconstruction*, pp. 134–35. The motives for the transposition of laisses CXIII and CXIV seem to have been: (1) *sa gent* of v. 1467 was thought to apply better to Marsile's second army than to the first; (2) the conflict of Turpin with Abisme (vv. 1487–1509) seemed to belong later in the second battle and just before laisse CXXVI (here vv. 1671 ff.), in which Roland compliments Turpin and with Oliver goes to the archbishop's aid.

1470. *Abisme*. This fierce Saracen is introduced in much the same way as Vergil's Mezentius (*Æn.*, VII, 647 ff.). Mezentius also is cruel (*asper, acer*); he also advances first to the war (*primus init bellum*); he also believes not in God (*contemptor divum*); he is of incredible hardihood (*Æn.*, X, 833 ff.), as is Abisme (v. 1478); he also has stained his name

Plus fel de lui n'est en sa compaignie:
Teches aţ males e molt granz felonies,
Ne creit en Deu lo filz sainte Marie.
(1635) Issi est neirs come peiz k'est demise;
Plus aimeţ il traḍison e mordrie 1475
Qu'il ne fesist trestot l'or de Galice.
Onches nuls hom ne·l vit joër ne riḍre.
Vasselage aţ e molt grant estoltie,
(1640) Por ço est druz a·l felon rei Marsílie,
Son dragon porteţ a qui sa gent s'aliënt. 1480
Li arcevesques ne·l ameraţ ja mie,
Com il lo vit, a ferir lo desiḍreţ.
Molt qoiḍement lo dit a sei meḍisme:
(1645) 'Cil Sarrazins me sembleţ molt herite,
Mielz est il molt que jo·l algë ociḍre: 1485
Onques n'amai coḍart ne coḍardie.' Aoi.

CXIV

Turpin's famous horse — the Archbishop assails Abisme — death of Abisme

Li arcevesques comenceţ la bataille,
Siét e·l cheval qu'il toliţ Agrossaille:

with crime (cf. v. 1475). Is it a further coincidence that Vergil makes much of Mezentius' horse Rhœbus (X, 858–61) while the poet of *Rol.* delays to describe Turpin's steed in great detail? — As V⁴ (vv. 1675 and 1705) favors the form *Albisme*, the author may have intended a facetious nickname (Albissimus?) for this jet-black Saracen.

1471. O: *n'out*, but cf. V⁴ 1676: no e in soa compagnie.

1476. *l'or de Galice.* "Not to be taken literally," warns L. Gautier. It is true that the gold deposits in Galicia (La Coruña) are unimportant but the great wealth, and (literally) the gold of the shrine of Saint James of Compostela were world-famous, even in the eleventh century; see Bédier, III, pp. 46, 72–4. The *Codex of St. James of Compostela* speaks of Galicia as "auro et argento felix" (ed. Fita, p. 20).

1486. Turpin is not ascribing cowardice to Abisme; the archbishop is communing with himself, and is perhaps not unaffected by the look of the fell Saracen.

1488. Some read *a Grossaille*,

(1650) Ço ert uns reis qu'ocist en Denemarche.
Li destriers est e coranz eḍ aḍates,
Piez aṭ copez e les gambes aṭ plates,
Corte la quisse e la crope bien large,
Lons les costez e l'eschine aṭ bien halte,
(1655) Blanche la coḍe e la crignete jalne,
Petite oreille, la teste tote falve:
Beste n'est nule ki encontre lui algeṭ.
Li arcevesques brocheṭ par vasselage,
Ne laisseraṭ qu'Abisme nen asailleṭ:
(1660) Vait lo ferir en l'escuṭ, a miracle.
Pieḍres i aṭ, matistes e topazes,
Esterminals e carboncles ki ardent;

but there is no division in the MS, and, for the construction, cf. *Aspremont* (ed. Brandin), v. 6006: Desor Morel que Namlon ot tolu.

1490 ff. The poet indulges in an elaborate description of a destrier, a favorite theme of medieval poets; cf. the steed "Whitecloud" of King Eteocles, *Roman de Thèbes*, vv. 6555 ff., Fabur's famous horse, *Ch. d'Antioche*, I, p. 222 ff., and str. 50–52 in the Latin poem of *Phyllis and Flora* (ed. Bœmer, ZfDA, LVI (1919), p. 233). For *piez copez* (*copiez* in O erroneously, due no doubt to the preceding *Piez*) 'hollow-footed,' see *Rom.* XI, p. 509, n., XXXI, p. 128, XLI, p. 480; ZFSL, XLIII, p. 270 (Spitzer). The meaning is rendered certain by two passages in the Bestiary of Philippe of Thaün (vv. 39, 73) which the author explains allegorically, as first noted by Tobler, *Sitz. Preuss. Akad.*, 1903, p. 965. A synonym is *piez encavez*, as noticed by Weeks, RR, X (1919), p. 312.

1499. *a miracle* has made difficulty for editors, but the poet means that Turpin dealt a *superhuman* blow upon Abisme's shield; *a miracle* with an active verb is equivalent to *a merveille*, and has not disappeared from mod. Fr. (Cf. Nyrop, IV, p. 110). Church writers transcribe the expression by *ad miraculum* (*scribere ad m.*, etc.)

1500. "On ne saurait douter que les Croisades n'aient développé le luxe des armes, et ce goût immodéré des occidentaux pour la richesse du costume militaire." — Marignan, p. 149, n.

1501. *esterminals*. The reading of O has been questioned (G. Paris, *Mél. ling.*, p. 323, n.); Andresen would read *E cornalines* (ANSL, CXXXVII, p. 266). The word, however, may be a derivative of *exterminium* (REW, 3090), and was possibly a precious stone which was reputed to help in childbirth, like the jet (*gagates*) of the medieval lapidaries. For luminous carbuncles, see also vv. 2633–37.

En Val-Metas li donaṭ uns diables,
Si li tramist li amiralz Galafes.
(1665) Turpins i fiert ki niënt ne·l espargneṭ,
Enprés son colp ne quit qu'un denier vailleṭ, 1505
Lo cors li trencheṭ tres l'un costéṭ a·l altre,
Que mort l'abat en une voide place.
Diënt Franceis: 'Ci aṭ grant vasselage;
(1670) En l'arcevesque est bien la croce salve.'

CXV

The French begin to fear the worst — Turpin admits they are doomed, but promises them Paradise

Veiḍent Franceis que paiens i aṭ tant: 1510
De totes parz en sont covert li champ;
Sovent regretent Olivier e Roḍlant,

1502–03. These two lines are wanting in V^4 and in **n**. and are far from satisfactory. Müller and Gautier intervert them; also Chamard: "L'Emir Galafre au paien fit ce don, | Au Val-Metas l'ayant eu d'un demon." Perhaps the demon was the maker of the shield and *dona* is a corrupted reading. — For *Metas*, Boissonnade (p. 195) suggests *Mecas*, *i.e.*, Mecca.

1512. *regretent*. The meaning of OF *regreter*, according to Nyrop (IV, p. 113) was: "pousser sur quelqu'un la lamentation funèbre qui était due d'après l'usage à tout mort chéri." But this definition does not suit the present passage, nor a host of others in OF, where the meaning is rather 'to invoke,' 'to call upon a person loudly and repeatedly by name.' Marie de France and Wace use the fuller expression "regreter par son nom" (*Chaitivel*, v. 146, *St. Nicholas*, v. 187); "la grace Deu" is *regretê* in *Brendan* (ed. Suchier, v. 230), and "sainte Marie" in *Aliscans*, v. 3387. Froissart's sentence is typical: "Il regretta son fils moult grandement et dist: Ha! Gaston, Gaston . . ." the son being just announced as dead (l. III, c. xiii). The etymon seems to be not OE *greotan* 'weep' 'weep for,' but rather OE *grētan* 'greet' 'salute,' or better 'call upon'; the stem-vowel is (ę̄), cf. the Eastern form *regrater*, discussed by Foerster (ZfRP, XXXV, p. 480). There is no need, therefore, to replace *regretent* here by *reclaiment* (from V^4), as Gautier and Stengel have done, much to the detriment of the passage.

Les doze pers, qu'il lor seient guarant;
Li arcevesques lor dist de son semblant:
'Seignor baron, nen alez mespensant:
Por Deu vos pri que ne seiez fuiant,
Que nuls prozdome malvaisement n'en chant.
Asez est mielz que moerjom combatant.
Pramis nos est fin prendrom aḍitant:
Oltre cest jorn ne serom plus vivant.
Mais d'une chose vos soi jo bien guaranţ:
Sainz pareḍis vos est abandonant,
As Innocenz vos enz serez seḍant.'
Aḍ icest mot si s'esbaldissent Franc
Cel nen i aţ Monjoie ne demant. Aoi.

CXVI

Climborin of Saragossa slays Engelier

Un Sarrazin i out de Sarragoce;
De la citéţ l'une meitiéţ est soe;
Ço'st Climborins ki pas ne fuţ prozdome.
Fiḍance prist de Guenelon lo conte,
Par amistiéţ l'en baisaţ en la boche,
Si l'en donaţ son helme e son carboncle:

1522. *abandonant* 'at your disposal'; for these participles, see Tobler, *Mélanges*, p. 50 ff.

1523. For the position of *enz* (a conjecture for O's *en*), cf. *Vie St.-Alexis*, v. 78.

1524–25. Stengel, by inserting a verse from V^4 between these two lines spoils the effect; the sentence is paratactic, *si* . . . (*que*) . . . After v. 1525, Gautier and Stengel insert three laisses from the other versions; these, because found in **c**, G. Paris considered authentic (*Rom.* XI, p. 508, n.).

1528. For the ancient forms of *prodome*, see Tobler, *Mélanges*, p. 173. The usual emendation *fuit* (for O's *fut*) is banality itself, in spite of V^4: che ne fuçi ancor par home.

1531. Probably *ses carboncles* is the right reading, for a helmet might be decorated with many precious stones; cf. v. 1326. But V^4 has the sg. For this gift to Ganelon, see v. 629. O: *sespee*, but V^4 *son elmo*.

Tere maior, ço dist, metraṭ a honte,
L'empereḍor si toldraṭ la corone.
Siét e·l cheval qu'il claimeṭ Barbamosche,
Plus est isnels queḍ esperviers n'aronde.
Brocheṭ lo bien, lo frein li abandoneṭ,
Si vait ferir Engelier de Guascoigne.
Ne·l poet guarir ses escuz ne sa brónie,
De son espiéṭ e·l cors li met la more,
Empeint lo bien, tot lo fer li mist oltre,
Pleine sa hanste e·l champ mort lo trestorneṭ;
Aprés escriḍeṭ: 'Cist sont bon a confondre.
Ferez, paien, por la presse derompre.'
Diënt Franceis: 'Deus! quel doel de prodome.' Aoi.

CXVII

Oliver slays Climborin and others

Li quens Roḍlanz apeleṭ Olivier:
'Sire compaing, ja est morz Engeliers:
Nos n'aviom plus vaillant chevalier.'
Respont li quens: 'Deus lo me doinst vengier!'
Son cheval brocheṭ des esporons d'ormier,
Tient Halteclere, sanglenz en est l'aciers,
Par grant vertuṭ vait ferir lo paien,
Brandist son colp, et li Sarrazins chiét;
L'anme de lui en portent aversier.
Puis aṭ ocis lo duc Alphaïen,
Escababi i aṭ lo chief trenchiéṭ,

1533. For the construction (obl. case in function of dat.) cf. v. 1488, note.

1537 ff. The Twelve Peers are now to be slain, one by one. They are avenged by the survivors, Oliver, Walter, Turpin and Roland, who then fall, in that order.

VII Arrabiz i aţ deschevalchiéţ:
Cil ne sont proţ ja mais por guerreier.
Ço dist Roḍlanz: 'Mis compaing est iriez,
Encontre mei fait asez a preisier.
Por itels cols nos aţ Charles plus chiers.'
A voiz escriḍeţ: 'Ferez i, chevalier!' Aoi.

CXVIII

Valdabron, a sea captain, slays duke Sanson

D'altre part est uns paiens Valdabrons,
Icil levaţ lo rei Marsilion,
Sire est par mer de .iiii. c. drodmonz:
Nen aţ eschipre qui·s claimt se par lui non;
Jerusalem prist ja par traḍison,

1556. *Arrabiz.* Not, as might be supposed, equivalent to "Arabs," but quite a different word: they were a mounted militia, professionally trained, who might be either Berbers or Arabs; see Dozy, *Recherches*, II³, pp. 376, 390; Boissonnade, pp. 194–95. Latin historians call them *Moabitæ* = Moabites, the Biblical enemies of the chosen people.

1557. 'These Arrabites are never valiant fighters,' an opinion which conflicts with that of the author of Turpin's *Chronicle* (c. III) who mentions "milites (= chevaliers) fortissimi, qui vulgo dicuntur Arabites." Others (Gautier, Geddes, Chamard, Bédier) translate: "These (seven) will never again be good for fighting," but it is difficult to find any future idea in the line (V⁴ *fo;* V⁷ *sunt*).

1559. *Encontre mei.* Several translators understand *encontre* as merely locative (Gautier: 'à mes côtés,' cf. v. 793), but the meaning is rather 'as compared with me,' as plainly in vv. 376, 926, 1496. Roland keenly enjoys the feats of his brother-in-arms, but is by no means ready to admit Oliver as a serious rival to himself. It is a bit of good-humored boasting. Or, have we here the *orgueil* of which Ganelon complained so bitterly (v. 389)?

1561. *a voiz,* 'with a shout.'

1564. *drodmonz.* The large sailing dromonds (galleys) of the Greeks seem to have been little known in western Europe before the Crusades. Albert of Aix needs to define the word: "navis immanissima" (*Rec.*, IV, p. 638). They transported men, horses and weapons in large quantities: some, it is said, could carry as many as 1500 men (Boissonnade, p. 260).

1566. Adhemar of Chabannes, under the year 1010, relates that the

Si violaṭ lo temple Salomon,
Lo patriarche ocist devant les fonz.
Cil ot fiḍance de·l conte Guenelon,
Il li donaṭ s'espeḍe e mil mangons.
Siet e·l cheval qu'il claimeṭ Gramimont,
Plus est isnels que nen est uns falcons.
Brocheṭ lo bien des aguz esporons,
Si vait ferir lo riche duc Sanson,
L'escuṭ li fraint e l'osberc li deronpt,
E·l cors li met les panz de·l gonfanon,
Pleine sa hanste l'abat mort des arçons.
'Ferez, paien, car tres bien les veintrom!'
Diënt Franceis: 'Deus! quel doel de baron.' Aoi.

CXIX

Valdabron, in turn, is slain by Roland

Li quens Roḍlanz quant il veit Sanson mort
Poḍez saveir que molt grant doel en out.
Son cheval brocheṭ, si li cort aḍ esforz.
Tient Durendal qui plus valt que fins ors,
Vait lo ferir li ber quant queḍ il pout

Holy Sepulchre was violated (*confractum*) by the Jews and Saracens, the Church destroyed, and the patriarch slain with various tortures (III, c. 47). This refers to the destruction wrought by the half-mad Caliph el-Hakem in that year. Are vv. 1566–68 a reminiscence of these sensational events? It is unlikely, for (1) it was not the Temple of Solomon (the El Aksa mosque) which the Caliph destroyed; (2) the author is writing of events supposed to happen in the time of Charlemagne. That passages like the one quoted above from Adhemar may have served as basis or model for what is related here of Valdabron is, of course, quite possible.

1569. For these events, see vv. 619–22.

1579. 'Heavens! how great our grief for this hero!' Here *de* = 'au sujet de.' Cf. v. 1544.

Desor son elme, ki gemez fuţ aḍ or,
Trencheţ la teste e la brónie e lo cors,
La bone sele ki est gemeḍe aḍ or,
Eḍ a·l cheval parfondement e·l dos;
Amboḍre ocit ki que·l blast ne qui·l lot.
Diënt paien: 'Cist cols nos est molt forz.'
Respont Roḍlanz: 'Ne pois amer les voz:
Devers vos est li orgoeilz e li torz.' Aoi.

CXX

Malquidant of Africa slays Anseïs

D'Affrike i aţ un African venuţ,
Ço'st Malquiḍant lo filz a·l rei Malcud.
Si guarnement sont tuit aḍ or batuţ:
Contre·l soleil sor toz les altres luist;
Siét e·l cheval qu'il claimeţ Saltperduţ,
Beste nen est qui poisseţ corre a lui;
Il vait ferir Anseïs en l'escuţ,
Tot li trenchaţ lo vermeill e l'azur,
De son osberc li aţ les pans rompuz,

1585, 1587. The repetition of the phrase *est* (*fut*) *gemêt ad or* in these two lines is awkward. V⁴ has a different reading for v. 1585. Valdabron's death at the hands of Roland reminds one of that of Chernuble, in the First encounter, vv. 1325 ff., but the poet is at some pains to vary his details.

1591. For the intensive feudal meaning of OF *amer* and *n'amer*, see v. 306, note.

1593. No doubt "Africa propria" (Tunis and Tripoli) is meant, the region of which Medina Ifrikîya (Kairouan) was the capital. Cf. v. 3208.

1596. O: *Cuntre le ciel*, but V⁴: *Contra lo sol.*

1597. *Saltperdut* 'Lostleap'; the significance of the name may probably be sought among the active meanings of Lat. SALIRE. The troubadour Marcabrun's earlier nickname was *Panperdut*, which Crescini renders by "cencio smarrito." Both names are facetious.

1598. *corre a lui.* For this use of the preposition *à*, see ANSL, XCI, p. 112 (Tobler).

E·l cors li met e lo fer e lo fust.
Morz est li quens, de son tens n'i aṭ plus.
Diënt baron franceis: 'Tant mare fus!'

CXXI

Malquidant, in turn, is slain by Turpin

Par lo champ vait Turpins li arcevesques;
Tels coronez ne chantaṭ onches messe
Ki de son cors feïst tantes proḍeces.
Dist a·l paien: 'Deus tot mal te trametteṭ!
Tel m'as ocis dont a·l coer mei regretteṭ.'
Son bon cheval i aṭ fait esdemetre,
Si·l aṭ feruṭ sor l'escuṭ de Tolette
Que mort l'abat desore l'herbe verte.

CXXII

Grandoine, prince of Cappadocia, slays Gerin, Gerier, Berengier, Guion, and Austoire

De·l altre part est uns paiens Grandónies,
Filz Capuël lo rei de Capadoce.

1605 ff. Members of the clergy were present in medieval armies to assist the dying, read the service of the dead, and to act sometimes as surgeons or as messengers. At Antioch, however, in 1098, we find Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy at the head of the fourth division on the field of battle, replacing Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who was ill. If the warriors held the monks in light esteem (v. 1881, and cf. *Cour. Loois*, vv. 90-98), the secular clergy, as represented by Turpin, were more to their liking.

1609. O: *Tel ad ocis*, but V^4 1586: *Tal matu mort*, and cf. v. 1633.

1612. We miss the usual shout of applause after Turpin's prowess. V^4 adds an acceptable line which may be restored: Diënt Franceis: 'Bien fiert nostre arcevesques.'

1614. *Capadoce*. Baist noticed that this is the only Oriental geographical name (except *Suatilie*, v. 90, which is not identified) used in

Siét e·l cheval queḍ il claimeṭ Marmórie,
Plus est isnels que n'est oisels ki voleṭ.
Lascheṭ la reḍne, des esporons lo brocheṭ,
(1575) Si vait ferir Gerin par sa grant force.
L'escuṭ vermeill li fraint, de·l col li porteṭ;
Tote sa brónie apruef li aṭ desclose,
E·l cors li met tote l'enseigne bloie
Que mort l'abat en une halte roche.
(1580) Son compaignon Gerier ocit oncore,
E Berengier, Guiḍon de Saint Antónie,
Puis vait ferir un riche duc Austórie,
Ki tint Valérie e Viviers sor lo Rosne:

Rol., outside of the *Baligant* episode. Both Cappadocia major and Cappadocia minor had been parts of the Eastern Empire, and were united in a province called Armeniacum; but, about 1090, Ibn Danishmend had founded a lordship in a district which roughly corresponds to ancient Cappadocia. It was this Turkish prince who was the captor of Bohemond. The poet would then be right in making this a pagan kingdom in the year 1100; but in the year 800? The name was very well known in the west through the legend of Saint George, for which see PMLA, XVII (Matzke).

1624. O has *et guiun de seint antonie* (hypermetric); probably the correct reading is *e Guidon de Saintónie, i.e.*, of Saintonge, the "pagus Santŏnĭcus," as suggested by Böhmer and by L. Petit de Julleville; cf. *Sanitun* in **n**, and *Guascoigne* in other versions. Against this is the open quality of the assonance vowel (*o*), which should be close; cf. *mónie, chanónie, Astrimónie*, v. 3258, etc. But even more serious difficulty exists in the case of *Antonie*, which in Lat. has (ŏ). *Saintónie* with open *o* may be bookish; we do not know the source of the na e *Grandónie*, v. 1613. For another explanation, see ZFSL, XXXVIII[1], p. 125 (Tavernier) and Boissonnade, p. 377. These argue for the hospital of Saint-Antoine de Viennois, at 40 kilometers from Grenoble. But this became a celebrated place of pilgrimage only after 1083, date of the acquisition of the relics of St. Anthony. Before this, the place had been known as *La Mothe*, and Turoldus is writing a poem of Charlemagne's time.

1625. Duke Austórie was mentioned in O as *Astors*, at v. 796, where the other MSS, however, favor another reading (*Sanson*). No original for this personage has been discovered. Four or five troubadours bore the name Austorc, and it was frequent in Dauphiné, but it seems to have been rare in North France (cf. Boissonnade, pp. 372–74).

1626. *Viviers*. All editors have thought it necessary to emend O's *et enuers sur le rosne*. Starting from the termination *-uers* in *enuers*,

Il l'abat mort, paien en ont grant joie.
Diënt Franceis: 'Molt dechieḍent li nostre.'

CXXIII

Roland, hearing the sad outcry of the Franks, attacks Grandoine

Li quens Roḍlanz tint s'espeḍe sanglente,
Bien aṭ oḍiṭ que Franceis se dementent,
Si grant doel aṭ que par mi quideṭ fendre.
Dist a·l paien: 'Deus tot mal te consenteṭ!
Tel as ocis que molt chier te quiṭ vendre.'
Son cheval brocheṭ, cui tardeṭ la contence;
Ki que·l compert, venuṭ en sont ensemble.

-uers is evidently the AN reduction of *-uiers* (or *-viers*); seeking then for a town or city "on the Rhône" which terminates in *-viers*, we are confronted at once with the ancient *Viviers*. When written in MSS as *uiuiers*, or *uuuers*, one might say the word was certain to be misunderstood by copyists; here first as *inviers*, then as *enviers*. Similarly, the Acart de Viviers of *Garin le Loherain* becomes Acart de *Niviers*, de *Nevers*, de *Riviers;* cf. ZFSL, XXXVIII[1], p. 127 (Tavernier). Almost in sight of Viviers is the district of *la Valloire* (Drôme), on the east bank of the Rhône, with St.-Vallier (named after an early Bishop of Viviers?) as its chief town. The *ualeri* of O therefore suggests *Valêrie*, Lat. VALERIA, = *vallis S. Valerii* of the charters. The form *Valeire* is bookish, cf. *Dial. Gregoire lo Pape*, p. 155, where is mentioned "la contreie de Valeire" (= *Valeria provincia* in the original). V[4] substituted *Valence*, a city much better known than St.-Vallier, and most editors have followed suit. *Valérie* was also identified by Boissonnade, p. 373. — For a supposed journey of Turoldus down the Rhône valley on his way to Rome, see ZFSL[1], XXXVIII, p. 1:0 (Tavernier).

1634. *tardet*, a conjecture, O being partly illegible (*oit? del contence*). As *contence* is certainly fem., we may substitute *la*, and take *-de* as part of the preceding word (verb). Cf. Crestien de Troies, *Erec*, v. 607: Erec tarda mout la bataille, and *Cligès*, 4015: Cligés cui la bataille tarde. . . V[4] gives no aid here. Stengel: *ki de corre n'alente* (=CV[7]), while Gautier: *ki de curre cuntencet.*

CXXIV

GRANDOINE TRIES IN VAIN TO ESCAPE — ROLAND'S PRODIGIOUS BLOW — THE SARACENS, IN ONE PART OF THE FIELD, ARE TURNED AND DRIVEN

Grandónies fuț e prozdome e vaillanz,
E vertuḍos e vassals combatanz;
En mi sa veie aț encontrétț Roḍlant,
Anceis ne·l vit si·l conuț veirement
A·l fier visage eḍ a·l cors qu'il aț gent,
Eḍ a·l reguart eḍ a·l contenement:
Ne poet muḍer qu'il ne s'en espoënt,
Foïr s'en voelt mais ne li valt niënt,
Li quens lo fiert tant vertuḍosement
Tresqu'a·l nasel tot lo helme li fent,
Trencheț lo nes e la boche e les denz,
Trestot lo cors e l'osberc jazerenc,
De·l órie sele les dous alves d'argent,
Eḍ a·l cheval lo dos parfondement.
Amboḍre ocist senz nul recoevrement,
E cil d'Espaigne s'en claiment tuit dolent.
Diënt Franceis: 'Bien fiert nostre guaranz.'

1639. As Hector at the sight of Achilles (*Il.* xxii, 136) so was Grandónie at the mere aspect of Roland; tremors seized him and he fled. This is the valiant pagan prince who had just slain three of the Peers and two other knights. The poet understands his art: he conveys a vivid impression of Roland's presence by setting forth the instant and terrifying effect it has upon a noble paynim in the first flush of victory. After v. 1641, V⁴ inserts an effective line, which Stengel restores thus: De Durendal vit tot l'acier sanglent.

1644. For this prodigious blow, not impossible, if we may judge by the exploits credibly recorded of Godfrey of Bouillon, cf. v. 1327, note. Later authors will compare their heroes with Roland; thus Tydeus in the *Roman de Thèbes:* Cui il consiut, par mi le fent: Cous done merveillos e granz: Onc ne dona meillors Rollanz (vv. 1676 ff.).

1652. After this line, most edi-

(1620) La bataille est e merveillose e grant,
Franceis i fierent des espiez brunissanz.
La veḍissiez si grant dolor de gent,
Tant home mort e naffréṭ e sanglent:
L'uns gist sor l'altre eḍ envers eḍ adenz.
(1625) Li Sarrazin ne·l poeḍent soffrir tant,
Voelent o non si guerpissent lo champ;
Par vive force les enchalcierent Franc. Aoi.

CXXV

They call on Marsile for reinforcements

(1610) La bataille est merveillose e hastive,
Franceis i fierent par vigor e par ire,
Trenchent cez poinz, cez costez, cez eschines,
Cez vestemenz entresqueḍ as charz vives,
Sor l'herbe verte li clers sans s'en afileṭ.
(1615) [Diënt paien: 'Nos ne·l sofrirons mie.]
Tere maior, Mahomet te maldie!
Sor tote gent est la toe hardiḍe.'
Cel nen i aṭ ki ne criḍeṭ Marsílie:
'Chevalche, reis, bosoign avom d'aïḍe.'

tors insert laisse CXXV, following the order of the other versions; see note to v. 1467. But we need not understand that *all* the Saracens decamp, v. 1659; were this the case, there would be no call for Roland and Oliver to go to the assistance of Turpin, v. 1676. Bédier (III, p. 437) supposes that a third pagan army arrives at v. 1661, but this is by no means clear.

1658 (cf. v. 1666). Is *lo* neuter, or is it personal here, as at v. 1774? Cf. Benoît's expression, *Chronique*, vv. 39015 ff.: De jeüner ne de veillier | Ne de ferir del brant d'acier | Nel pout sofrir nus en son tens | Ne Sarrazins ne Crestiens. If *lo* = 'him,' Roland must be in the author's mind.

1666. Line supplied by all editors, from V⁴ 1644: Dist li pain nu noi sofriron mie.

1670. It is surprising not to have the plural of respect used towards a king, but the reading is confirmed by V⁴, and see Introd., p. cxxix.

CXXVI

Roland and Oliver go to the aid of Turpin — All but sixty of the French are killed

Li quens Roḍlanz apeleṭ Olivier:
'Sire compaign, se·l volez otreier,
Li arcevesques est molt bons chevaliers,
Nen aṭ meillor en tere ne soz ciel,
Bien set ferir e de lance e d'espiéṭ.'
Respont li quens: 'Kar li alons aidier.'
Aḍ icest mot l'ont Franc recomenciéṭ.
Dur sont li colp e li chaples est griés,
Molt grant dolor i aṭ de chrestiëns.
Ki puis veḍist Roḍlant eḍ Olivier
De lor espeḍes ferir e chapleier!
Li arcevesques i fiert de son espiéṭ,
Cels qu'il ont mort bien les poet hom preisier:
Il est escrit es chartres eḍ es briés,
Ço dist la geste, plus de .iiii. milliers.
As quatre torz lor est avenuṭ bien;
Li quinz aprés lor est pesanz e griés:
Tuit sont ocis cist Franceis chevalier
Ne mais seisante que Deus aṭ esparmiez;
Ainz queḍ il moergent se vendront il molt chier. (Aoi.)

1680–81. The protasis only is expressed, as at v. 1341; if supplied, the apodosis would be similar to that in vv. 1182, 1972. — 1681. O: *e ferir e capler* (a false assonance); see Introd., p. xlix, note.

1684. The poet alleges that sober, written history will confirm his assertion that his three heroes slew their thousands, but these documents have never been found. To later epic poets, the words "ce raconte li briés" become a mere tag (as *Aspremont*, v. 2057). For the protests of jongleurs as to the "historicity" of their repertory, see L. Gautier, *Les Epopées françaises*, II², pp. 240–43.

1689. The last Sixty are mentioned again, with praise, at v. 1849.

1690. The *Aoi* placed in O after

CXXVII

Roland now regrets that Charles was not recalled

Li quens Roḍlanz des soens i veit grant perte,
Son compaignon Olivier en apeleṭ:
'Sire compaign, por Deu, que vos en haiteṭ?
Tanz bons vassals veḍez gesir par tere!
Plaindre poḍoms France dolce, la bele,
De tels barons com or remaint deserte.
E! reis amis, que vos ici nen estes!
Oliviers, freḍre, com lo poḍrom nos faire?
Comfaitement li manderom noveles?'

v. 1691 probably belongs here, as this line is distinctly climactic.

1693. *que . . . haitet?* G. Paris translated: Quel effet cela vous fait-il? But *haitet* is a synonym of *plaist*, and the ordinary meaning of *haitier* is 'make glad.' 'What is your pleasure?' would seem to be the correct translation. Cf. *Troie*, v. 3712, where King Priam, after making a proposition, says to his councillors: Or me dites que vos en haite? (cf. v. 19,580). 'What do *you* think we had better do?' would be a colloquial equivalent. Bédier: 'que vous semble?'

At first, while the Saracen Peers were being slain, Roland is serenity and confidence itself; during the Second Encounter (vv. 1448 ff.) the tide runs strong against him, and he boasts no longer (vv. 1466, 1560, 1592). Now, seeing but sixty of his chevaliers left alive, he is in distress, he suffers, and his first instinct is to turn to his brother-in-arms. Notice that Oliver does not answer immediately: he also is at a loss what to do.

1698. The correction of the original *com* into *coment* in O is by a later hand, *com* with direct questions being archaic; cf. v. 2292, and *Adam*, v. 82: "Cum ad nun? Paradis." For the development of *com*, *come* from VL QUOMO, CL QUOMODO, see *Festschrift für Vollmöller* (1908) p. 61 ff. (Pirson).

The expression *faire lo* (with *bien*, or other adverb or adverbial group) has frequently the meaning of 'put up a good fight'; cf. vv. 807, 1723, 1876, 3400, and Crestien's *Yvain*, v. 3233; at the tournaments, the victors were known as *les mieulx faisans*. It is uncertain whether, in this line, we should understand 'how shall we manage this piece of business?' (cf. v. 699) or, 'how is it possible for us to continue the fight?' Perhaps the two ideas were identical in Roland's mind.

Dist Oliviers: 'Jo ne·l sai coment quere:
Mielz voeill morir que honte seit retraite.' Aoi.

CXXVIII

Roland proposes to blow his horn, but Oliver objects

Ço dist Roḍlanz: 'Cornerai l'olifant,
Si·l oḍraṭ Charles ki est as porz passant,
Jo vos plevis ja retorneront Franc.'
Dist Oliviers: 'Vergoigne sereit grant
E reproviers a trestoz voz parenz:
Iceste honte durreit a·l lor vivant.
Quant jo·l vos dis nen feïstes niënt,
Mais ne·l fereiz par lo mien loḍement.
Se vos cornez, n'iert mie hardemenz.
Ja avez vos ambsdous les braz sanglanz.'
Respont li quens: 'Cols i ai fait molt genz.' Aoi.

1701. Thus Oliver ironically repeats Roland's own former words, v. 1091. In the *Chanson d'Antioche* (II, p. 207) Hugo of Vermandois declares: Qui plus crient mort que honte n'a droit en seignorie. — Unless we elide (*qu'onte*), there seems no way of keeping the hypermetric *nos* of O (*nos seit retraite*); nor does it seem possible to introduce *me* (as v. 1091). Stengel: que hunte ja en aie.

1702. Roland now brings himself to pronounce the word, and to take the step which he had so obstinately refused to take at vv. 1053, 1062, 1072. Oliver's instant objection shows him true to the feudal code. Among many instances one may cite Erard de Syverney's words to Joinville, who was surrounded by the Saracens in Egypt: "Sire, se vous cuidiés que je ne mi hoir n'eussiens reprovier, je vous iroie querre secours au conte d'Anjou" (§ 226). Cf. v. 1053, n.

1711. "Not from wounds received, but from wounds inflicted" (G. Paris). Oliver, who disagrees with Roland most unwillingly, softens his emphatic objections with a compliment; cf. vv. 1377, 1395, and also the explanation proposed of v. 1723. For a different interpretation of v. 1711, see Bédier, III, p. 438.

CXXIX

Roland's second proposal to recall Charles — Oliver is angered

Ço dist Roḍlanz: 'Forz est nostre bataille,
Jo cornerai si·l oḍraṭ li reis Charles.'
Dist Oliviers: 'Ne sereit vasselages.
Quant jo·l vos dis, compaign, vos ne deignastes.
S'i fust li reis, n'i oüssom damage.
Cil ki la sont nen deivent aveir blasme.'
Dist Oliviers: 'Par ceste meie barbe,
Se puis veḍeir ma gente soror Alde,
Vos ne jerreiz ja mais entre sa brace.' Aoi.

1719. For the words *Dist Oliviers*, Stengel substitutes *Mais jo vos jur*, the difficulty being that the poet has placed two speeches of Oliver in close succession. There is no MS warrant for Stengel's conjecture; V^4 has: *Par ceste main*. If O is right, in v. 1719, it is barely possible that the two preceding lines are spoken by Roland: 'If only the King were here, we should be safe (cf. v. 1697); yonder chevaliers (the Last Sixty) are doing fairly well.' Roland, in fact, might be supposed to cling even yet to a forlorn hope of victory: 'We have a few good knights left, and these *might* hold out until Charles' arrival.' But, as this involves the sounding of the olifant, Oliver will have none of it: irritated by Roland's unreasonable persistence, he makes an angry reply, and a quarrel begins.

For v. 1718, cf. v. 1346, where the meaning is plain; on the other hand, the phrase *Cil qui là sont* at v. 1174 apparently means the main army under Charles, and it is so usually understood here. The copyists early were aware of a difficulty here, and all but O omit this verse.

1720. First mention of Alda, Oliver's sister, the nearest approach to a heroine in the poem. Whence her name and legend? The name is possibly G. *Hilda;* Tavernier sees in it an anagram (or variant) of *Aḍẽla*, daughter of the Conqueror and wife of Stephen of Blois. The later epic *Girart de Viane* introduces Alde as the prize of a gigantic duel between Roland and Oliver, when both were youths (see also V. Hugo's poem, *Le Mariage de Roland*). P. Boissonnade (p. 412) sees in the name a complimentary reference to Ada of Roucy, wife of Thierry of Avesnes, aunt of Alfonso VI of Aragon. For various sepultures of Bele Aude, see Bédier, II², p. 313; III, p. 352. "Her mention here, in the storm and stress of battle, is like a ray of sunshine breaking through heavy clouds" (Tavernier).

1721. V^4 has: *Vos non caseris;* O: *Ne ierreiez.* In Wace's *Rou* (I, p. 72) a Count of Poitiers "jure les braz s'amie."

CXXX

Oliver praises Roland's heroism, but reproaches him for foolhardiness

Ço dist Roḍlanz: 'Por quei me portez ire?'
E cil respont: 'Com proz vos lo feïstes,
Kar vasselages par sens nen est folie:
Mielz valt mesure que ne fait estoltie.
Franceis sont mort par vostre legerie,

1723. *Com proz.* That *cumpainz* in O is an early error for *cum proz* is highly probable: (1) it is very difficult to justify in OF *faire lo* in the sense of 'to be responsible for it' (= 'C'est votre faute'), while *faire lo*, with *bien* or other adverb, is frequent in *Rol.*, as it is elsewhere (see v. 1698, note); (2) where *Rol.* uses *faire* with *lo* in other meanings (as vv. 1709, 2000, 2361), the meaning of *lo* is always clear from the context; (3) *compaing* is the correct nom. form for *Rol.*, but the copyist generally adds the later *-s* of flexion, cf. v. 1693, where the word *cumpainz* is superfluous, having been erroneously inserted; (4) the original of O probably read *pz* for *proz*, as in vv. 2916, 3509, 3546, and this abbreviation with *cum* could easily be misread *cumpainz*. For the expression, cf. *Partonopeus de Blois*, ed. Pfeiffer, v. 7950: Cist dui l'ont fait come prodome; *Guill. de Palerne* v. 6130: Faire le vuelent sagement, Comme preudome; also *Aeneas* v. 7141. A still better reading here would be: *Come proz lo fesistes:* cf. v. 1853, n.

Note that Oliver's attitude towards Roland is ever one of deep respect; here, even though angry, he is constrained first to compliment his brother-in-arms for the incredible deeds of valor the other has just performed. "Tout en blâmant la folle témérité de son ami, Olivier rend à sa valeur le plus magnifique hommage," said G. Paris, apropos of v. 1733, which is conceived in the same spirit. The error was probably ancient, for V^4 has: Dist Oliuer compaignon euos la forfaisse; but two of the MSS of n. favor the idea of a compliment to Roland (see Koschwitz's translation, p. 334).

1724. Oliver means that the spirit of mad adventure is something very different from courage coupled with good sense. Years later, Eustache Deschamps ascribes the whole disaster of Roncesvaux to "folie," the same folly which prompted Eve and Adam; he declares that Charlemagne lived but three years more to deplore the loss of his nephew and of his barony (*Œuvres*, IX, p. 356).

1725. Scores of passages of OF poets recommend *mesure* as a virtue; thus Wace: En hardement qui n'a mesure | Puet tost aveir mesaventure (*Rou*, III, vv. 2639–40); cf. *Thèbes*, v. 8411.

1726. A *legerie* is an imprudent action, inspired at times by arrogance, at others by mere vivacity of spirits; cf. vv. 206, 300, 513. The monk Guibert of Nogent criticises the

Jamais reis Charles de nos n'avraț servísie,
Se·m creḍissiez venuz i fust mis sire,
Ceste bataille oüssom faite e prise,
O pris o morz i fust li reis Marsílies.
Vostre proḍece, Roḍlanz, mar la veḍimes,
Charles li magnes de vos n'avraț aïḍe;
N'iert mais tels hom desiqu'a·l Deu juḍísie,
Vos i morreiz e France en iert honiḍe.
'Oi nos defalt la leial compaignie,
Ainz la vespreḍe iert grief la departiḍe.' Aoi.

CXXXI

Archbishop Turpin intercedes — He would recall Charles, but for a different reason

Li arcevesques les ot contrariier,
Lo cheval brocheț des esporons d'ormier,

French for this very fault, and there is reason to think that such criticism is clerical in its source, here in *Rol.*, as elsewhere (remark of Louis Cons).

1727. O's reading, *Jamais Karlon*, is emended from V⁴: *Camai roi çarle*.

1731 ff. 'Your prowess, Roland, alas! we have seen the last of it; Charles the Great will get no more help from you; — you, the man without peer to the end of the world, you will die here, and France will become thereby a prey to dishonor.' I follow G. Paris in taking v. 1733 to apply to Roland; see Roland's return compliment to Oliver, vv. 1983–4, while Gautier, Bédier and others would understand it of Charlemagne. In v. 1732, O, it is true, reads *nos*, but the two words (*nos* and *vos*) are easily confused and this may have been taken from v. 1727. The line is unfortunately wanting in V⁴ and in **n**.

1735–36. *compaignie*, the bond between Roland and Oliver as brothers-in-arms; see v. 324, note. The change of tone here is well expressed by Bédier: "Et, comme s'il s'attendrissait à nouveau, malgré lui."

1736. Note that Roland makes no answer. "A ces reproches, les plus durs qu'il puisse entendre, où tant de tendresse se mêle à tant de cruauté . . . que répondra-t-il? Va-t-il réfuter Olivier? ou bien confesser son erreur, son remords? Il se tait et ce silence est la chose la plus sublime de la *Chanson de Roland*." — Bédier. Roland can answer only by acts, not words; he is submissive under Turpin's later reproof (v. 1752), and until death does not spare himself an instant.

1737 ff. This capital scene inspired

Vint tresqu'aḍ els si's prist a chastiier:
'Sire Roḍlanz, e vos sire Oliviers,
Por Deu vos pri, ne vos contraliiez.
Ja li corners ne nos avreit mestier,
Mais neporquant si est il asez mielz:
Veigneṭ li reis si nos poḍraṭ vengier.
Ja cil d'Espaigne n'en deivent torner liéṭ.
Nostre Franceis i descendront a piéṭ,
Troveront nos e morz e detrenchiez,
Leveront nos en bieres sor somiers,
Si nos plorront de doel e de pitiéṭ,
Enfoḍiront en aitres de mostiers,
N'en mangeront ne lou ne porc ne chien.'
Respont Roḍlanz: 'Sire, molt dites bien.' Aoi.

the Brindisi mosaic which is fully described by Bédier, II², pp. 267–68, and by P. Rajna, *Rom*., XXVI (1897), pp. 56–61. Cf. Introd., p. xxxi.

1739. *chastiër* (CASTIGARE); this verb in OF is merely 'to remonstrate with.'

1742. After this line, G. Paris and Stengel add a line from V⁴: Charles est loinz, tart est d'i repairier. — The archbishop perceives that to call for Charles would be quite useless: it is too late now.

1747. After this verse, Paris added from V⁴: Si recoldront e noz bus e noz chiés.

1750. *en aitres*. As a highly honorable burial-place is no doubt intended, like that of Alda "alongside the altar," v. 3732, the right reading here may be *en aistres*, 'the space, covered with slabs of stone, between the principal entrance and the altar.' For this word, Greek OSTRAKON, see ML, REW, 6118. Lat. ATRIUM appears in OF as *aire;* thus, William of St. Paier, v. 3517: Il ne fu pas mis enmé l'aire | Anciez fu mis enz el chancel. On the other hand, it results from a passage in the *Miracles Nostre Dame* of Jean le Marchant that a person of low degree might not be buried in the *estre;* Qu'il distrent que tex menestrex | En leur | estre ja ne gerroit (p. 241). No doubt *aitre* and *aistre* were early confused; add to these *estres* (from VL EXTERAS) used in the *Passion* (v. 180) to translate *in atrio* of *Matth.* 26:69. Wace records that William Rufus was buried in the choir and Richard of Normandy behind the main altar: Turpin would hardly predict less dignity of burial for the paladins, and for himself. The word *astre, aistre,* in the closely related sense of 'hearth,' is still well known in the Picard-Norman region.

CXXXII

Roland's miraculous triple blast — Charles hears the first blast

Roḷlanz aṭ mis l'olifant a sa boche,
Empeint lo bien, par grant vertuṭ lo soneṭ.
Halt sont li pui e la voiz est molt longe,
Granz .xxx. liwes l'oḍirent il respondre.
Charles l'oḍiṭ e ses compaignes totes.
Ço dist li reis: 'Bataille font nostre home.'
E li quens Guenles li respondiéṭ encontre:
'S'altre'l desist, ja semblast grant mençonge.' Aoi.

CXXXIII

The second blast is also heard — Ganelon ridicules Charles' anxiety

Li quens Roḷlanz par peine e par ahans,
Par grant dolor soneṭ son olifant.
Par mi la boche en salt fors li clers sans,

1753 ff. Another capital scene, become famous. The "thirty great leagues" of O is not supported by V^4 or by **n**.; they are satisfied with fifteen leagues. Turpin's *Chronicle* has but eight, and this, as G. Paris remarked, is sufficiently miraculous. Dante imagined a horn-blast even more terrible, that of the giant Nimrod in the frozen depths of Hell:

Dopo la dolorosa rotta, quando
Carlo Magno perdè la santa gesta,
non sonò sì terribilmente Orlando.
— *Inf.* xxxi, 16 ff.

1762. *grant dolor.* "Cet instant où enfin il apparaît que Roland souffre, achève de le justifier" (Bédier). The hero has forgotten his pride, regrets his temerity, and feels his defeat bitterly; he will make what desperate effort is still possible to save the fortunes of the rear-guard. "Le poète a fait descendre son héros de marche en marche, toujours plus bas, vers plus de détresse, jusqu'à l'instant où il sonne l'olifant; mais voici qu'à partir de cet instant, la courbe remonte . . . remonte de la détresse vers l'espoir, vers la joie, vers la sérénité" (Bédier). To the poet, Roland's death is not a defeat, but a victory: the paladin dies a conqueror (v. 2183), for he has given his life for his faith

De son cervel li temples est rompant.
De·l corn qu'il tient l'oḍiḍe en est molt grant,
Charles l'entent ki est as porz passant,
Naimes l'oḍiṭ si·l escoltent li Franc.
Ço dist li reis: 'Jo oi lo corn Roḍlant!
Onc ne·l sonast se ne fust combatant.'
Guenles respont: 'De bataille est niënt.
Ja estes vos vieilz e floriz e blans,
Par tels paroles vos resemblez enfant.
Asez savez lo grant orgoeill Roḍlant:
Ço est merveille que Deus lo soefreṭ tant.
Ja prist il Noples senz lo vostre comant,
Fors s'en eissirent li Sarrazin de denz,
Si·s combatiéṭ li bons vassals Roḍlanz,
Puis oḍ les ewes lavaṭ les prez de·l sanc:
Por cel lo fist, ne fust aparissant.
Por un sol lievre vait tote jorn cornant:
Devant ses pers vait il ore gabant;
Soz ciel n'aṭ gent l'osast requerre en champ.

1769. Alfred de Vigny's fine lines, in *Le Cor*, are true to Roland's state of mind. Charlemagne cries:

> Malheur! car, si Roland
> Appelle à son secours, ce doit être en mourant.

1770. *De bataille*. For this use of *de*, see Tobler, *Mélanges*, p. 6.

1772. Ganelon's words seem to us incredibly insolent (cf. v. 1760), but such latitude of speech may be quite in character for the French kings and nobles of the XIth century. At this moment, the traitor is tasting whatever sweetness there may be in the success of his elaborately-plotted revenge.

1775–79. These five lines seemed to G. Paris dispensable, but they have excellent MS support. For the incident, which is told at length in the *Karlamagnus-Saga* and elsewhere, see HPC, p. 263; and cf. v. 198, note.

1777. I have not retained O's *combatirent* (V^4 *combate*) because the subject of *lavat* (1778) must appear in the preceding line. Stengel avoids the difficulty by inserting a line from V^4 (wanting in O and n.): Il les ocist od Durendal son brant.

1780. *tote jorn*. Formed on the analogy of VL TOTA DIE (cf. Pr. *tota dia*); see MLN, XVIII, p. 38 (Johnston).

Car chevalchiez, por qu'alez arestant?
Tere maior molt est loinz ça devant.' Aoi.

CXXXIV

The third blast convinces Naimon that the rear-guard has been attacked

Li quens Roḍlanz aṭ la boche sanglente,
De son cervel rompuz en est li temples,
L'olifant soneṭ a dolor eḍ a peine.
Charles l'oḍiṭ e si Franceis l'entendent.
Ço dist li reis: 'Cil corz aṭ longe aleine.'
Respont dux Naimes: 'Baron i fait la peinte,
Bataille i aṭ, par lo mien esciëntre;
Cil l'aṭ traḍiṭ ki vos en roeveṭ feindre.
Adobez vos si criḍez vostre enseigne,
Si socorez vostre maisnieḍe gente,
Asez oḍez que Roḍlanz se dementeṭ.'

1790. 'Answers duke Naimon: (Yes, and it is) because it is the blast of a hero (Roland).' The end of the line in O is illegible. Stengel: Car ber le sone en peine. G. Paris: Car bons vassals i peinet. The reading adopted here rests upon the Norse translation: "the reason is, because a hero is blowing it"; cf. *empeint lo bien*, v. 1754. As participial substantive of *peindre, paindre* (-PINGĔRE), *peinte, painte* is instanced (Munich *Brut*, v. 1397; *Yvain*, v. 4486, var.) but it is rare; *empeinte* is the common word with *faire* (*Brendan*, ed. Suchier, v. 1237; Jean le Marchant, p. 62; Wace). Possibly *i fait l'empeinte* is the right reading, and Naimon means 'Roland must be attacking'; cf. *Ch. de Jerusalem*, ed. Hippeau, v. 6116. In eastern texts, the expression *faire la* (*une*) *pointe* (<Lat. PĬNGĬTA and PŬNCTA) is extremely common, and may support, to some extent, a Western *faire la peinte*. For *Baron*, cf. v. 1443, n.

1792. *s'en feindre* is to "hang back" in time of battle, for discreditable reasons; to Naimon's mind, to act upon Ganelon's advice would be a disgrace. In Charles' army, this is the first public accusation of Ganelon, and it is followed by swift action, vv. 1816 ff.

CXXXV

CHARLEMAGNE RIDES IN HOT HASTE THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS — HE WILL BE TOO LATE

Li emperedre at fait soner ses corz,
Franceis descendent si adobent lor cors
D'osbers e d'elmes e d'espedes ad or.
Escuz ont genz ed espiez granz e forz,
E gonfanons blans e vermeilz e blois.
Es destriers montent tuit li baron de·l ost,
Brochent ad ait tant com durent li port.
Nen i at cel a·l altre ne parolt:
'Se vedissom Rodlant, ainz qu'il fust morz,
Ensembl'od lui i donrioms granz cols.'
De ço qui chalt? car demoret ont trop.

CXXXVI

HE CAUSES GANELON TO BE SEIZED, AND THE TRAITOR IS CHAINED AND BEATEN

Esclargiz est li vespres e li jorz:
Contre·l soleil reluisent cil adob,
Osberc e helme i gietent grant flambor,
E cil escut ki bien sont peint a flors,
E cil espiét, cil orét gonfanon.
Li emperedre chevalchet par iror,
E li Franceis dolent e coroços.

1807. The line is not clear. To understand *li jorz* as 'the following dawn' (Gautier) is straining matters; *com li jorz* (Müller) has no MS basis; *Declinè est li vespre* of V^4 anticipates too much, for it is not until v. 2447 that evening comes on, and the miracle of prolonging the day occurs. Much is to happen before night sets in.

1813, 1835. O has *curius* in both passages, but a later hand has erased part of the older reading *curucus*; cf. v. 2164.

Nen i aţ cel ki durement ne plort,
E de Roḍlant sont en molt grant poör.
Li reis fait prendre lo conte Guenelon,
Si·l comandaţ as cous de sa maison:
Tot lo plus maistre en apeleţ, Besgon:
'Bien lo me guarde si come tel felon;
De ma maisnieḍe aţ faite traḍison.'
Cil lo receit, si met .c. compaignons
De la quisine des mielz e des peiors.
Icil li peilent la barbe e les gernons,
Chascuns lo fiert .iiii. cols de son poign,
Bien lo batierent a fuz eḍ a bastons,
E si li metent e·l col un chaḍeignon,
Si·l enchaḍeinent altresi comë ors.
Sor un somier l'ont mis a deshonor,
Tant l'ont guardéţ que·l rendent a Charlon.

CXXXVII

Charles' trumpets answer Roland's horn — but the French will be too late

Halt sont li pui e tenebros e grant, Aoi
Li val parfont e les ewes coranz.

1815. *molt* is supplied from V⁴ 1919.

1816 ff. "Seul passage de notre poème où il y ait quelque intention d'exciter le rire par le spectacle du grotesque. La scène est grossière, et c'est une de celles qui laissent voir que l'action du poème se passe dans un état social encore à demi barbare" (L. Petit de Julleville). The general elevation of tone throughout the *Rol.* is indeed remarkable: "There is not a base thought in the whole poem" (Clark).

1820. This is exactly Charles' accusation at Ganelon's trial; see vv. 3750 ff.

1823. After this line there follows in O a verse which is properly v. 2242. The scribe, intending to add this verse at the bottom of folio 40 b, placed it here at the bottom of folio 33a by mistake, the assonance being, as it happened, the same. The right place for the misplaced line is easily ascertained by a reference to V⁴, 2389–91.

1830–31. Charlemagne, returning

Sonent cil graisle e deriedre e devant,
E tuit rachatent encontre l'olifant.
Li emperedre chevalche iriedement,
E li Franceis coroços e dolent,
Nen i at cel n'i plort e se dement,
E priënt Deu qu'il guarisset Rodlant
Josqued il veignent e·l champ comunement;
Ensembl'od lui i ferront veirement.
De ço qui chalt? car ne lor valt niënt:
Demorent trop, n'i poedent estre a tens. Aoi.

CXXXVIII

Charles' furious ride — the sixty brave French are still alive

Par grant iror chevalchet Charlemagnes,
Desor sa brónie li gist sa barbe blanche.
Poignent ad ait tuit li baron de France,
Nen at icel ki ne demeint irance
Qued il ne sont a Rodlant lo chataigne,
Ki sei combat as Sarrazins d'Espaigne:
'Si est bleciez ne quit qu'anme i remaignet.'

across the mountains from St. Jean Pied-de-Port, Arneguy and the valley of the Nive, would be viewing for the third time "the high, shadowy hills, deep ravines and swift streams."

1833. 'And all racket a reply to the olifant.' This rare verb recurs at v. 3194. For the etymology, see REW, 7013; cf. *Partonopeus de Blois*, 1814 ff., where the hero, taking a shapely horn, Passe les prés et s'en racate | La noise a la contree emplie | Dis liues en respont l'oïe.

1834. The elision of *-et* being suspicious, we may read, without change of meaning: Li emperedre iriez va chevalchant, the relation with v. 1835 being thereby also improved.

1839. *veirement* here is decidedly weak; perhaps *vistement* 'promptly,' 'energetically.'

1842. False assonance in O (*li reis Charles*); corrected from V^4, 1934,

1843. For the beard worn outside. see v. 829 *a*, note.

1848. Line rejected by Stengel (wanting in V^4); it may be taken as a typical speech or reflexion of one

Deus! quels seisante i aṭ en sa compaigne:
Onches meillors nen out reis ne chataignes. Aoi. 1850

CXXXIX

ROLAND, LOOKING ABOUT HIM, WEEPS AT THE SIGHT OF THE DEAD — WITH OLIVER, HE RETURNS TO THE FIGHT

Roḍlanz reguardeṭ es monz eḍ es lariz,
De cels de France i veit tanz morz gesir,
Eḍ il les ploreṭ com chevaliers gentilz:
'Seignors barons, de vos ait Deus merciṭ,
Totes voz anmes otreit il pareḍis, 1855
En saintes flors il les faceṭ gesir!
Meillors vassals de vos onkes ne vi;
Si longement toz tens m'avez serviṭ,
Aḍ oés Charlon si granz païs conquis!
Li empereḍre tant mare vos noḍriṭ. 1860
'Tere de France, molt estes dolz païs,
Ui desertéṭ a tant rubeste exill!
Barons franceis, por mei vos vei morir,

of the "barons of France": 'So distressed is he, I do not believe any life can be left in him' (else, why would he recall us?) Cf. the expression "jeter fors l'anme," 'to slay' (v. 1202), and v. 1769.

1851. Has Roland ridden to one side to survey the dead? At v. 1869 he comes back to the field of battle.

1853. As *come* rather than *com* should stand before a noun, the reading of C may be noted: comme vassaus gentilz; cf. v. 1870.

1856. *saintes flors*. Paradise is imagined as a garden of flowers. Cf. vv. 2197, 2898. So also among the Arabs and Moors.

1860. 'Your stay in the Emperor's household, alas! is a thing of the past.' Cf. v. 350, note.

1861–62. 'O pleasant land of France, sweet native land: Wasted this day by such a cruel ravage!' Roland's grief is genuine, and the poet's expression of it is at once simple and touching.

1863. *por mei* 'because of me' 'thru my fault'; not 'for my sake' (as Tavernier, Chamard, Moncrieff). Cf. vv. 1090, 2937. Like Hector before

Jo ne vos pois tenser ne guarantir:
Aït vos Deus ki onkes ne mentiṭ.
Oliviers freḍre, vos ne dei jo faillir,
De doel morrai s'altre ne mei ocit.
'Sire compaign, alom i referir.'

CXL

Roland slays twenty-five Saracens — Turpin compliments him

Li quens Roḍlanz e·l champ est repaiḍriez,
Tient Durendal, come vassals i fiert,
Faldrun de Pui i aṭ par mi trenchiéṭ,
E .xxiiii. de toz les mielz preisiez;
Ja mais n'iert hom plus se voeilleṭ vengier.
Si com li cers s'en vait devant les chiens,
Devant Roḍlant si s'en fuient paien.
Dist l'arcevesques: 'Asez lo faites bien:

Troy, Roland bitterly reproaches himself, because, "by trusting his own might, he undid the host." Oliver's charge (v. 1726) is then true, and Roland, stung intolerably by the realization of its truth, can find relief only in violent action, and in the hope that he may yet be of use to his brother-in-arms. The poet's psychology rings true.

1867. *altre* 'nothing else.'

1874–75. Often noted as the sole formal simile in *Rol.*, as compared with 180 in the *Iliad* and about 40 in the *Odyssey*. W. P. Ker, *Essays in Medieval Art* (1905) sees in the rarity of similes in medieval vernacular literature a proof of its independence of classic models. In *Gormunt* we find: Si cum li cers se fuit la lande | Si s'enfoïrent cil d'Irlande (609). Much more elaborate than either of these is AGF, XVIII, 5: "qualiter leo, perpessus famem per III aut IV dies, qui exiens a suis cavernis, rugiens ac sitiens sanguinem pecudum, sicut improvide ruit ille [Robert fitz Girard, constable of Bohemond, at Antioch, in 1098] inter agmina gregum, dilanians oves fugientes huc et illuc, ita agebat iste inter agmina Turcorum. . ."

1876. 'You are fighting extremely well!' It is such passages as these that Crestien de Troyes, two generations later, remembers with enthusiasm: Onque ne fist de Durandart | Rolanz des Turs si grant essart | An

Itel valor deit aveir chevaliers.
Ki armes porteț eḍ en bon cheval siét
Deit en bataille estrë e forz e fiers,
O altrement ne valt .iiii. deniers;
Deit mónies estre en un de cez mostiers,
Si preieraț toz jorz por noz pecchiez.'
Respont Roḍlanz: 'Ferez, ne·s espargniez!'
Aḍ icest mot l'ont Franc recomenciéț:
Molt grant damage i out de chrestiëns.

CXLI

MARSILE SLAYS BEVON, LORD OF BEAUNE AND OF DIJON, ALSO THREE OTHER FRENCH KNIGHTS — ROLAND ATTACKS MARSILE AND CUTS OFF HIS RIGHT HAND, THEN DECAPITATES JURFALEU, MARSILE'S SON — THE REMNANT OF MARSILE'S DIVISION TAKES TO FLIGHT

Hom ki ço set que ja n'avraț prison
En tel bataille fait grant defension:
Por ço sont Franc si fier come leon.
As vos Marsílie en guise de baron,
Siét e·l cheval qu'il apeleț Gaignon,

Roncevaus ne an Espaigne (*Yvain*, vv. 3235 ff.).

1881. Tavernier points out that this judgment necessarily implies no scorn of the monk, as such: each is useful, nay indispensable, in his own field. Feudal society viewed itself as divided by function into "defensores, oradores, labradores," to use the terms of the Spanish *Siete Partidas;* during the Crusades, abbot and bishop were more than the equals of the chevaliers in authority.

1885. For *de chrestiëns*, W. Foerster would read *de cez paiens*, but this would be the opposite of what the poet wishes to say, for the last Sixty are now to be slain, and he cannot call them all by name.

1886. *ja n'avrat prison* "Après la victoire, on massacre les prisonniers, ne reservant que les riches barons qui peuvent payer rançon. C'est l'usage constant de tout le moyen âge" (P. Meyer).

1890. *Gaignon*. 'Watch-dog,' or 'Growler.' The *gaignon* was a sort of mastiff, strong and fierce.

Brocheț lo bien si vait ferir Bevon,
Icil ert sire de Belne e de Digon;
L'escuț li fraint e l'osberc li deronpt,
Que mort l'abat senz altre desfison.
Puis aț ocis Yvórie eḍ Ivon,
Ensembl'oḍ els Gerart de Rossillon.
Li quens Roḍlanz ne li est guaires loign,
Dist a·l paien: 'Damnesdeus mal te doinst!
A si grant tort m'ociz mes compaignons,
Colp en avras ainz que nos departom,
E de m'espeḍe enquoi savras lo nom.'
Vait lo ferir en guise de baron,
Trenchiéț li aț li quens lo destre poign,
Puis prent la teste de Jurfaleu lo blont,
Icil ert filz a·l rei Marsilion.
Paien escriḍent: 'Aïḍe nos, Mahom!
Li nostre deu, vengiez nos de Charlon,
En ceste tere nos aț mis tels felons
Ja por morir lo champ ne guerpiront.'
Dist l'uns a·l altre: 'E car nos en fuioms!'
Aḍ icest mot tel .c. mílie s'en vont,
Ki que·s rapelt ja n'en retorneront. Aoi.

1894. *desfison* from *desfire*, as *plorison* from *plorer*, etc. (Cf. Nyrop, III, § 274). O: *descunfison* with one plus-syllable, the copyist failing to recognize the word. Formations like *caplison, arestison* are especially frequent in Picard texts. The poet means that Bevon's resistance was brief.

1902. A facile verse, destined to be all-too frequent in later epics.

1903. The conflict of Roland with Marsile surprises by its brevity. That the pagan King would lose his right hand was foretold to Charlemagne, in a vision (v. 732). The fate of Marsile and his son strongly resembles that of the twins, Larides and Thymber, in Vergil (*Æn.*, X, vv. 394–95). Cf. *Introd.*, p. xlviii.

1907. *li nostre deu* have been named (vv. 8, 611, 1392). For the def. art. in direct address, see Tobler, *Beiträge*, III, pp. 127–28.

1911. *tel* 'about,' 'some.'

CXLII

THE CALIPH, LORD OF CARTHAGE AND ETHIOPIA, WITH FIFTY THOUSAND MEN, NOW RIDES FORWARD — ROLAND PERCEIVES THAT THE FRENCH ARE DOOMED, BUT HE IS UNDAUNTED

De ço qui chalt? Se foïz s'est Marsílies,
Remés i est sis oncles l'algalifes,
Ki tint Kartágene, Alferne e Garmalie,
Eḍ Ethiope une tere maldite:
La neire gent en aṭ en sa baillie.
Granz ont les nes e leḍes les orilles,
E sont ensemble plus de cinquante mílie.
Icil chevalchent fierement eḍ aḍ ire,
Puis escriḍent l'enseigne paienisme.

1913 ff. Between this laisse and the preceding, the other versions offer a laisse of seven or eight lines, in which Marsile's flight is described. A. Salmon (*Rom.* XXII, p. 529) argued for its genuineness, pointing out that it has rapidity and simplicity, that it is not a repetition, and that it forms a small and complete picture. It cannot be argued, however, that it is indispensable, and it may be an early addition. Stengel (p. 205) admits it.

1914. For the Algalife, see vv. 453, 680, and notes. The Third — and last — Encounter begins here. Cf. v. 1187, n., and Introd., p. lxxxiii.

1915. Excepting Ethiopia (= eastern Africa from Egypt to the equator), the Algalife's territories are not easy to identify. *Kartágene* probably means the old Roman province of Carthage, which, as late as the time of Gregory VII, had Christian bishops; these were afterwards driven out by the Almoravides. *Alferne* (reading from V⁴, *Aluerne;* O *al frere*) may represent, according to Scheludko (*Zeitschrift für Französische Spr. u. Litt.* LI, 1928, p. 278) *al-Fârema*, Lat. *Pharamia*, a town in Egypt, near the Nile. As to *Garmalie* (V⁴, *Galiçe;* **n**. *Gamaria*) this may well be the country of the *Gamara*, another federation of Berbers, mountain tribes of the Riff, who are known to have been present at Zalaca (1086) and to have helped decide the victory in favor of Yûsuf. Identification due to Boissonnade, p. 162; probably we should read *Gamarie* with **n**.

1921. For *paienisme* as adj., see *Rom.* XII, p. 588 ff. *Paganismus* properly = 'religio paganorum,' but under the influence of superlatives in *-isme* ("paganissimum" occurs in medieval texts), and also through analogy with *paienor*, the noun is used adjectively; cf. English 'paynim' and v. 3367.

Ço dist Roḍlanz: 'Ci recevroms martýrie,
Eḍ or sai bien n'avons guaires a vivre,
Mais toz seit fel chier ne se vendeṭ primes!
Ferez, seignors, des espeḍes forbiḍes,
Si chalengiez e voz morz e voz viḍes,
Que dolce France par nos ne seit honiḍe.
Quant en cest champ vendraṭ Charles mis sire,
De Sarrazins veḍraṭ tel discipline,
Contre un des noz en troveraṭ morz .xv.,
Ne laisseraṭ que nos ne beneḍisseṭ.' Aoi.

CXLIII

The French attack the infidel blacks

Quant Roḍlanz veit la contredite gent,
Ki plus sont neir que nen est aḍremenz,
Ne n'ont de blanc ne mais que sol les denz,
Ço dist li quens: 'Or sai jo veirement
Queḍ hui morrom par lo mien esciënt.
Ferez, Franceis, car jo·l vos recomenz.'
Dist Oliviers: 'Dehéṭ ait li plus lenz.'
Aḍ iceṣt mot Franceis se fierent enz.

CXLIV

The Caliph, from behind, deals Oliver a mortal blow

Quant paien viḍrent que Franceis i out poi,
Entr'els en ont eḍ orgoeil e confort.

1929. *discipline*. At first = 'military discipline,' the word comes to mean 'punishment' (here 'slaughter'); no doubt a clerical term.

1931. If Charles, the priest-king, does not blame them but gives them his blessing, all will be well. The curve is rising (Bédier, III, p. 442).

1932. *contredit* = 'contredisant' = 'mescreant'; for these past participles with active meaning, see Tobler, *Mélanges*, p. 189.

Dist l'uns a·l altre: 'Li emperedre at tort.'
Li algalifes sist sor un cheval sor,
Brochet lo bien des esporons ad or,
Fiert Olivier deriedre en mi lo dos,
Lo blanc osberc li at descos de·l cors,
Par mi lo piz son espiét li mist fors;
E dist aprés: 'Un colp avez pris fort.
Charles li magnes mar vos laissat as porz.
Tort nos at fait, nen est dreiz qu'il s'en lot,
Kar de vos sol ai bien vengiét les noz.'

CXLV

Oliver, turning, slays his antagonist

Oliviers sent qued a mort est feruz,
Tient Halteclere dont li aciers fut bruns,
Fiert l'algalife sor l'elme ad or agut,
Flors e cristals en acraventet jus,
Trenchet la teste d'ici qu'as denz menuz,
Brandist son colp si·l at mort abatut:
E dist aprés: 'Paiens, mal aies tu!
Içо ne di Charles n'i ait perdut;
Ne a moillier n'a dame qu'as vedut
N'en vanteras e·l regne dont tu fus
Vaillant denier que mei aies tolut,

1946. *descos*. The peculiar reading of O, *descust*, was first correctly explained by Bédier, *Comm.*, 1927, p. 220; Müller had preferred *desclos*, in accord with vv. 1199, 1620.

1948. *fort* in the sense of Fr. 'pénible,' 'funeste'; cf. v. 1590. The author of *Eructavit* speaks of "cele fort hore | Que la mere a quant ele enfante" (v. 1920). V⁴ substitutes *mortel*. Cf. Vergil's account of the slaying of Aulestes (*Æn.*, XII, 289–96).

1960–62. Oliver, in thus forestalling a possible vaunt of the Algalife, resembles Waltharius, who, awaiting an attack from a band of Franks (vv. 560 ff.), himself boasts that he

Ne fait damage ne de mei ne d'altrui.'
Aprés escriḍeṭ Roḍlant qu'il li aiut. Aoi.

CXLVI

Oliver, although mortally wounded, fights on heroically

Oliviers sent qu'il est a mort naffrez,
De lui vengier ja mais ne li iert sez:
En la grant presse or i fiert come ber,
Trencheṭ cez hanstes e cez escuz boclers,
E piez e poinz, aisseles e costez.
Ki lui veḍist Sarrazins desmembrer,
Un mort sor altre trebuchier e geter,
De bon vassal li poḍust remembrer.
L'enseigne Charle n'i volt mie obliḍer:
Monjoie escriḍeṭ e haltement e cler,
Roḍlant apeleṭ, son ami e son per:
'Sire compaign, a mei car vos jostez,
A grant dolor ermes hui desevréṭ.' Aoi.

CXLVII

Roland, daunted by Oliver's terrible plight, faints upon his horse

Roḍlanz reguardeṭ Olivier a·l visage,
Teinz fuṭ e pers, descolorez e pales,

will forestall a vaunt: "No Frank, returning from this fight, shall say to his wife: 'I, unscathed, have taken valuables from Walther.'" For *mei* (O: *mi*) Stengel reads *li* (Charles); but V⁴ supports rather *que tu m'aies tolut*.

1969. *aisseles*. O has *et seles* 'saddles,' which is entirely out of place here. Stengel: *espalles*, also a conjecture.

1971. O's line has only seven syllables in all. *trebuchier* is supplied by V⁴ 2090: *uer tere trabucer*.

1979. *pales*. Possibly *pâledes* should be read; cf. *palide* in V⁴.

Li sans toz clers par mi lo cors li raieț,
Encontre tere en chieḍent les esclaces.
'Deus!' dist li quens, 'or ne sai jo que face.
Sire compaign, mar fuț vostre barnages,
Ja mais n'iert hom vostre cors contrevailleț.
E! France dolce, con hui remandras guaste
De bons vassals, confonduḍe e desfaite;
Li emperedre en avraț grant damage.'
Aḍ icest mot sor son cheval se pasmeț. Aoi.

CXLVIII

OLIVER, BLINDED BY HIS OWN BLOOD, STRIKES ROLAND BY MISTAKE — ROLAND PARDONS HIM THE BLOW

As vos Roḍlant sor son cheval pasmét,
Eḍ Olivier ki est a mort naffrez:
Tant aț saigniéț li oeil li sont troblét,
Ne loinz ne pres ne poet veḍeir si cler
Que reconoistre poisseț home mortel;
Son compaignon com il l'aț encontréț
Si·l fiert a mont sor l'elme aḍ or gemét,
Tot li detrencheț d'ici josqu'a·l nasel;
Mais en la teste ne·l aț mie adeséț.
Aḍ icel colp l'aț Roḍlanz reguardét,
Si li demandeț dolcement e soëf:
'Sire compaign, faites lo vos de greț?

1981. *esclaces* is perhaps better referred to *cors* than to *sanc*. Cf. *Troie*, v. 14,234, *esclaz de la cervele*, 'shreds of brain.'

1986. *desfaite* is from V⁴ 2105; O has *chaiete* (from *chaeir*) which seems unusable in the assonance.

1982–84. The once invincible Count Roland, more by the sight of Oliver than by his own plight, is here reduced to an agony of helplessness. 'Sir companion, your heroism, alas! is a thing of the past.' Cf. the parallel tribute of Oliver to Roland, vv. 1731–33.

2000. *de grét* 'intentionally.' Ro-

Ja'st ço Roḍlanz ki tant vos soelt amer;
Par nule guise ne m'avez desfiḍéṭ.'
Dist Oliviers: 'Or vos oi jo parler.
Jo ne vos vei, veieṭ vos Damnesdeus!
Feruṭ vos ai? car lo me pardonez.'
Roḍlanz respont: 'Jo n'ai niënt de mel,
Jo·l vos pardoins ici e devant Deu.'
Aḍ icel mot l'uns a·l altre aṭ clinéṭ.
Par tel amor as les vos desevrez.

CXLIX

The death of Oliver

Oliviers sent que la mort molt l'angoisseṭ,
Andui li oeil en la teste li tornent,
L'oḍiḍe pert e la veḍuḍe tote.
Descent a piéṭ, a la tere se colcheṭ,
D'ores en altres si reclaimeṭ sa colpe,
Encontre·l ciel ambesdous ses mains jointes,
Si prïeṭ Deu que pareḍis li dongeṭ
E beneḍist Charlon e France dolce,
Son compagnon Roḍlant sor toz les homes.

land remembers Oliver's anger during the quarrel; can it be that his friend's anger has revived? But Oliver soon reassures his companion. "To my mind, this is one of the most piercingly pathetic incidents in literature" (Clark).

2009. *desevrez.* The friendship of the two paladins is dissevered only by death; cf. vv. 1735–36, 1977. The close "amicitia" of Godfrey of Bouillon and Hugo Magnus, during the First Crusade, met with no such tragic end; see the mention of it by Robert the Monk (*Rec.*, III, p. 831), *anno* 1098.

2014. *D'ores en altres* 'from time to time,' a phrase often used by Wace, Villehardouin, and others, but evidently unfamiliar to the copyist of O; cf., in addition to this verse with its hypermetric *Durement en halt* (!), vv. 2843 and 3371.

2018. O: *sur tuz humes.* For the addition of *les*, cf. v. 3962. Stengel: *Desur tuz humes.*

Falt li li coers, li helmes li embroncheț,
Trestoz li cors a la tere li josteț:
Morz est li quens que plus ne se demoreț.
Roḍlanz li ber lo ploreț si·l doloseț:
Ja mais en tere n'oḍreiz plus dolent home.

CL

Roland laments for Oliver and faints a second time

Li quens Roḍlanz, quant mort vit son ami
Gesir adenz, a la tere son vis,
Molt dolcement a regreter lo prist:
'Sire compaign, tant mar fustes hardiz!
Ensemble avom estéț eḍ anz e dis,
Ne·m fesis mal ne jo ne·l te forsfis.
Quant tu es morz dolor est que jo vif.'
Aḍ icest mot se pasmeț li marchis
Sor son cheval que claimeț Veillantif;
Afermez est a ses estreus d'or fin,
Quel part qu'il alt, ne poet mie chaḍir.

CLI

Gautier du Hum appears and calls to Roland for help — hearing his voice, Roland revives

Ainz que Roḍlanz se seit aperceüz,
De pasmeisons guariz ne revenuz,
Molt granz damages li est apareüz:
Mort sont Franceis, toz les i aț perduz
Senz l'arcevesque e senz Gualtier de·l Hum:

2024. Reading from V⁴; O: *que mort est sun ami.* — 2034. *alt* = 'leans.' 2039. For Count Gualtier of the Hum, see v. 800, n.

Repaiḍriez est de cez montaignes jus,
A cels d'Espaigne molt s'i est combatuz,
Mort sont si home si·s ont paien vencuz,
Voeilleţ o non, desoz cez vals s'en fuit,
E si reclaimeţ Roḍlant qu'il li aiut:
'E! gentilz quens, vaillanz hom, o iés tu?
Onkes nen oi poör la o tu fus.
Ço est Gualtiers ki conquist Maëlgut,
Li niés Droön, a·l vieill eḍ a·l chanuţ,
Por vasselage soleie estre tis druz.
Ma hanste est fraite e perciez mis escuz,
E mis osbers desmailliez e rompuz,
Par mi lo cors oḍ lance sui feruz,
Sempres morrai, mais chier me sui venduz.'
Aḍ icel mot l'aţ Roḍlanz entenduţ;
Lo cheval brocheţ si vient poignant vers lui. Aoi.

CLII

Together the three attack again, with great slaughter

Roḍlanz aţ doel si fuţ maltalentis,
En la grant presse comenceţ a ferir,
De cels d'Espaigne en aţ geteţ mort .xx.

2040. *de cez* for *des* in O; V⁴ has: *de la montagne*.

2044. *E* supplied from V⁴ 2160.

2047. *Maëlgut*. In form, this name answers closely to G. Madalgudis, which occurs frequently in the early period, as a woman's name. If a man is meant, we may note Tavernier's suggestion that a legendary Mailgwyn (also the name of a Welsh prince of the XIth century) may have furnished the name (ZFSL, XXXVII, p. 709, n.). More probably, *Maëlgut* is the corrupted form of some place-name (Spanish?); Boissonnade suggests *Montagut*, a fortress in the district of Tudela (p. 125). For this line mistaken for an echo of an older epic, see Bédier, III, p. 278.

2052. Reading from V⁴: *de lance son feru;* O is partly illegible. Stengel: *o lances sui feruz*.

E Gualtiers .vi. e l'arcevesques .v.
Diënt paien: 'Felons homes aţ ci.
Guardez, seignors, qu'il ne s'en algent vif.
Toz par seit fel ki ne·s vait envaḍir,
E recreḍanz ki·s laisseraţ guarir.'
Donc recomencent e lo hu e lo criţ,
De totes parz les revont envaḍir. Aoi.

CLIII

Gautier du Hum is slain; Turpin is wounded and unhorsed

Li quens Roḍlanz fuţ nobles guerreiers,
Gualtiers de·l Hum est bien bons chevaliers,
Li arcevesques prozdome eḍ essaiez:
Li uns ne volt l'altre niënt laissier.
En la grant presse i fierent as paiens.
Mil Sarrazin i descendent a piéţ,
Eḍ a cheval sont .xl. millier:
Mien esciëntre, ne·s osent aproismier.
Lancent lor lances e lor trenchanz espiez,
Wigres e darz e múseraz eḍ agiers.
As premiers cols i ont ocis Gualtier,
Turpin de Reins tot son escuţ perciéţ,
Quasséţ son elme si·l ont naffréţ e·l chief,
E son osberc rompuţ e desmailiéţ,

2073. Cf. Bertrand de Bar's "Cornelian" couplet:

Cent dehez ait qui archiers fu premier:
Il fu coarz, si n'osa aprochier!
— *Girart de Viane.*

2074. O's defective reading is corrected from V⁴, 2217: *Lancent lor* ('at them') *lances e lor* ('their') *trencent espler*. This line in *Rol.* was copied almost literatim by the author of the *Chanson de Guillaume*, v. 1812.

2077. As *tot* appears in no other version, we should probably read *ont* with Lyons; or else *at* with V⁴, making *Turpins* (= O) the subject.

Par mi lo cors naffrẽţ de .iv. espiez,
Dedesoz lui ociḍent son destrier.
Or est granz doels, quant l'arcevesques chiét. Aoi.

CLIV

Turpin fights marvelously on foot

Turpins de Reins quant se sent abatuz,
De .iiii. espiez par mi lo cors feruz,
Isnelement li ber resailiţ sus,
Roḍlant reguardeţ puis si li est coruz,
É dist un mot: 'Ne sui mie vencuz.
Ja bons vassals nen iert vis recreḍuz.'
Il trait Almace s'espeḍe d'acier brun,
En la grant presse mil cols i fiert e plus:
Puis lo dist Charles qu'il nen espargnaţ nul,
Tels .iiii. cenz i troveţ entorn lui,
Alquanz nafrez, alquanz par mi feruz,
Si out d'icels ki les chiés ont perduz; —
Ço dist la geste e cil ki e'l champ fuţ,

2080. *naffrẽt.* Stengel substitutes *ferut* (from V⁴,); cf. v. 2084.

2082. O's reading is rather weak and colorless; Stengel: E Deus, quels doels . . . V⁴ C: *Oï l quel doel . . .*

2089. *Almace.* Meaning unknown. Other versions favor the form *Almice* (so Stengel).

2091. *lo = ço,* but the line is unsatisfactory; if we followed V⁴, we should have: Ço dist Rodlanz 'Nen esparmiez nesun.' In v. 2092, Stengel reads *trovat* (V⁴: *inceta = en jeta*).

The author of *Rol.* had Biblical precedent for these prodigies of valor: did not Abishai slay three hundred with his spear (2 *Sam.* xxiii: 18)? and Saul and David their thousands? As to Abishai, the translator of the *Four Books of the Kings* states explicitly: "il ocist a une feiz de sa lance treis cenz cunbaturs" (p. 213). — G. Paris pointed out that Turpin did not die on the spot where he slew these four hundred, as the words *entorn lui* might lead us to think; see below, vv. 2130, 2169, and especially vv. 2175, 2230, 2236.

2095–98. "The geste" again cited as authority; cf. v. 1684, note. In addition, St. Giles (Ægidius) will confirm the truth of these statements, says the poet, "he who was on the field of battle." For a discussion of

Li ber sainz Gílies, por qui Deus fait vertuz
E fist la chartre e·l mostier de Loḍum.
Ki tant ne set ne·l aṭ proṭ entenduṭ.

CLV

Charles' reply to Roland's feeble blast warns the Saracens of the approach of the Franks

Li quens Roḍlanz gentement se combat,
Mais lo cors aṭ tressuḍéṭ e molt chalt,
En la teste aṭ e dolor e grant mal,
Roz est li temples por ço queḍ il cornaṭ.
Mais saveir voelt se Charles i vendraṭ,
Trait l'olifant, fieblement lo sonaṭ.
Li empereḍre s'estut si·l escoltaṭ;
'Seignors,' dist il, 'molt malement nos vat,
Roḍlanz mis niés hui cest jorn nos defalt,

these four lines, which some regard as an interpolation, see G. Paris, *La Vie de Saint Gilles*, by Guillaume de Berneville (1881), pp. lxxviii–lxxxii; for the legend of Ægidius, and the connection of his church with the pilgrim routes, see Bédier, III, pp. 354–60. Probably St. Giles was upon the battlefield in spirit only; at least he has not been mentioned, nor has any narrative of the battle by him been discovered. It is a question whether it was the saint who "made the charter in the church of Laon," or whether *Deus* is the subject of both verbs. In the latter case, G. Paris was inclined to find in this passage an allusion to the legend of the incest of Charlemagne with his sister Gisla, a sin which received the Divine pardon by means of a document sent from Heaven to St. Giles. — It is noticeable that *sainz* is wanting in O, but not in V^4, or in the other versions (excepting the original of the Dutch fragments); it is barely possible that some older form of the name was used by the poet, such as * Egilie, but such a form has not been attested.

2096. *vertuz* 'miracles,' as at vv. 2458, 2716.

2100. *tressudét* = *tressudant*; see Tobler, *Mélanges*, p. 202.

2102. *Roz*, Lat. RŬPTUS, the older past participle, is frequent in OF; restored from V^4, 2245: *Roto a li temple*. O: *Rumput*.

2104. *Trait* 'takes out of its case'; cf. *Aucassin et Nicolete*, § 39, 12, and note (Suchier).

Oi a·l corner que guaires ne vivraṭ.
Ki estre i voelt isnelement chevalzt.
Sonez voz graisles tant queḍ en ceste ost aṭ.'
Seisante mílie en i cornent si halt
Sonent li mont e respondent li val.
Paien l'entendent, ne·l tindrent mie en gab;
Dist l'uns a·l altre: 'Charlon avrom nos ja.' Aoi.

CLVI

Some four hundred Saracens surround Roland

Diënt paien: 'L'emperedre repaiḍreṭ,
De cels de France oḍez soner les graisles;
Se Charles vient de nos i avraṭ perte,
Se Roḍlanz vit nostre guerre noveleṭ,
Perduṭ avons Espaigne nostre tere.'
Tel .iiii. cent s'en asemblent a helmes,
E des meillors ki e·l champ quiḍent estre,
A Roḍlant rendent un estorm fort e pesme:
Or aṭ li quens endreit sei sez que faire. Aoi.

2109. Charles' words bear a close resemblance to the message of Bohemond at Dorylæum, in 1097. Godfrey, Hugo Magnus and the Count of St. Gilles being at a distance, Bohemond sends them word, "Et si hodie luctari volunt, viriliter veniant." (AGF, IX, 6.) Cf. v. 3340, and Introduction, p. lxxxii.

2114. *Charlon . . . ja.* 'We shall have (= see) Charles face to face in a moment.' For this "pregnant" meaning of *aveir*, see Tobler, ANSL, CII, p. 171; *Beiträge*, V, p. 386.

2119. *nostre* and *vostre* are sometimes indistinguishable in O, but *nostre* seems called for here (so V^4). — *novelet.* Present tense for the future; cf. vv. 577, 3513.

2120. "About four hundred" attacking one man is the opposite of sportsmanlike, but the contemporary Baudri of Bourgueil, apropos of a conflict near Jerusalem, notes that these are the usual Saracen tactics: multi paucos circumcinxerunt, Sarracenis enim is modus est pugnandi (*Rec.* IV, p. 98). Anna Comnena makes a similar statement.

2121. These are "picked knights."

CLVII

Roland and Turpin, the latter on foot, charge, side by side, into the press

Li quens Roḍlanz quant il les veit venir
Tant se fait forz e fiers e maneviz!
Ne lor leraṭ tant com il seraṭ vis.
Siét e·l cheval qu'om claimeṭ Veillantif,
Brocheṭ lo bien des esporons d'or fin,
En la grant presse les vait toz envaḍir,
Ensembl'oḍ lui l'arcevesques Turpins.
Dist l'uns a·l altre: 'Ça vos traiez, amis.
De cels de France les corz avons oḍiṭ,
Charles repaiḍreṭ, li reis poḍesteḍis.'

CLVIII

At bay, they take a final stand together

Li quens Roḍlanz onkes n'amaṭ coḍart,
Ne orgoillos n'ome de male part,
Ne chevalier se ne fust bons vassals.
E l'arcevesque Turpin en apelaṭ:
'Sire, a piéṭ estes e jo sui a cheval,
Por vostre amor ici prendrai estal,
Ensemble avrons e lo bien e lo mal:
Ne vos lerrai por nul home de charn.
Encui savront paien a cest asalt

2126. *Ne (le) lor lerat*, the object being a neuter idea, as in mod. Fr. "il ne le cède à personne en courage."

2141. 'No man of flesh shall make me leave you.' Cf. v. 2177, n.

2142–43 are taken verbatim from V⁴, the readings of O being evidently corrupt; cf. Roland's previous words, v. 1901. O: Encui rendruns apaiens cest asalt | Les colps des mielz cels sunt de durendal. Stengel, 2143: Les noms d'Almice et cels de Durendal.

Lo nom d'Almace e cel de Durendal.'
Dist l'arcevesques: 'Fel seit ki n'i ferraṭ!
Charles repaiḍreṭ ki bien vos vengeraṭ.'

CLIX

THE SARACENS, AFRAID TO DRAW NEAR, THROW DARTS AND LANCES — THEY KILL VEILLANTIF, BUT DECAMP AT CHARLES' APPROACH

Diënt paien: 'Si mare fumes neṭ!
Com pesmes jorz nos est hui ajornez!
Perduṭ avom noz seignors e noz pers,
Charles repaiḍreṭ oḍ sa grant ost, li ber;
De cels de France oḍom les graisles clers,
Grant est la noise de Monjoie escriḍer.
Li quens Roḍlanz est de tant grant fiertéṭ
Ja n'iert vencuz por nul home charnel.
Lançons a lui puis si·l laissoms ester.'
Eḍ il si firent darz e wigres asez,
Espiez e lances e múseraz empennez.
L'escuṭ Roḍlant ont frait eḍ estroëṭ,
E son osberc rompuṭ e desmailéṭ
Mais enz e·l cors ne·l ont mie adeséṭ.
Veillantif ont en .xxx. lius nafréṭ,
Desoz lo conte si·l i ont mort getéṭ.

2145. *uus* in O; but V⁴ *nos*.

2154. *Lançons a lui*. Cf. v. 2073, note.

2158. *Desmailéṭ*. This verb occurs in (*ie*) assonance at v. 3387; here apparently in (*e*) assonance. Unless we substitute *desaffrét* (so Stengel; cf. v. 3426) we must suppose two forms of the verb. Are we dealing with a double formation from *esmal* and *esmail* 'enamel'?

2160. Instead of omitting *Mais*, Wilmotte would emend O by reading XX in place of XXX; the reading adopted is that of V⁴. O: Mais ueillantif unt . . .

2161. O's *laisset* (false assonance) is not borne out by V⁴PLT, who have

Paien s'en fuient puis si·l laissent ester:
Li quens Roḍlanz i est a piét remés. Aoi.

CLX

Count Roland goes to the aid of Turpin

Paien s'en fuient coroços eḍ iriét,
Envers Espaigne tendent de·l espleitier.
Li quens Roḍlanz ne·s aṭ dont enchalcier:
Perduṭ i aṭ Veillantif son destrier,
Voeileṭ o non remés i est a piéṭ.
A·l arcevesque Turpin alaṭ aidier,
Son elme aḍ or li deslaçaṭ de·l chief,
Si li toliṭ lo blanc osberc legier:
E son bliḍalt li aṭ tot detrenchiéṭ,
En ses granz plaies les panz li aṭ leiéṭ,
Contre son piz puis si·l aṭ enbraciéṭ,
Sor l'erbe verte puis l'aṭ soëf colchiéṭ;
Molt dolcement li aṭ Roḍlanz preiéṭ:
'E! gentilz hom, car me donez congiéṭ.
Noz compaignons, que oümes tant chiers,

getê. Cf. v. 3530. For the expression *geter mort*, cf. vv. 1971, 3530.

2165. *tendent*. The syllable *-dent* is written by a later hand in O. Todd (*RR*, I, p. 87) argued for the commoner expression "pensent de l'exploitier," but *tendre de* with infin., or *à* with nouns, is sufficiently attested; cf. *Cligès*, v. 253, var. So A. Chartier, *Quatre Dames*, p. 667: Mais les failliz couardz fendirent | Les rencz, quant a fuite tendirent.

2173. *En* 'on.' For *leiét* (*ligé* in V⁴), O has *butét*, a false assonance; see Introduction, p. xlix, note.

2177. *car . . . congiét* 'Pray, allow me to leave you.' "La politesse, dans l'ancienne épopée, est rigoureuse et souvent cérémonieuse. On ne se quitte jamais sans demander expressément congé" (G. Paris). Or, has Roland in mind that, at v. 2141, he had promised formally not to leave Turpin alone? May the Saracens not return? Is there not still some danger? Cf. vv. 2274 ff.

Or sont il mort, ne·s i devons laissier;
Jo·s voeill aler e querre eḍ entercier,
Dedevant vos joster eḍ enrengier.'
Dist l'arcevesques: 'Alez e repaiḍriez:
Cist chams est vostre, la merciṭ Deu, e miens.'

CLXI

ROLAND SEEKS THE DEAD BODIES OF HIS COMPANIONS — RANGES THEM AT THE KNEES OF TURPIN — TURPIN BLESSES THEM

Roḍlanz s'en torneṭ, par lo champ vait toz sols,
Cercheṭ les vals e si cercheṭ les monz.
Trovaṭ Gerin, Gerier son compaignon,
E si trovaṭ Berengier eḍ Aton;
Iloec trovaṭ Anseïs e Sanson;
Trovaṭ Gerart lo vieill de Rossillon.
Par uns eḍ uns les aṭ pris, les barons,
A·l arcevesque en est venuz atot,
Si·s mist en reng dedevant ses genoilz.
Li arcevesques ne poet muḍer n'en plort,
Lieveṭ sa main, fait sa beneḍiçon.
Aprés aṭ dit: 'Mare fustes, seignors.
Totes voz anmes ait Deus li glorios,
En pareḍis meteṭ en saintes flors!
'La meie mort me rent si angoissos
Ja ne veḍrai lo riche empereḍor.'

2185. After this line, V⁴ has a line providing for the finding of Ivoire and Ivon, and after v. 2186 another, which mentions Engelier the Gascon. Stengel and G. Paris accept both lines.

2190. *Par uns ed uns.* 'By twos,' or 'pair after pair.' Not necessarily bearing two at one time.

CLXII

Roland brings in Oliver's body — Roland laments for Oliver

Roḍlanz s'en torneṭ, lo champ vait recerchier,
Son compaignon aṭ trovéṭ, Olivier;
Contre son piz estreit l'aṭ enbraciéṭ,
Si com il poet, a·l arcevesque en vient,
Sor un escuṭ l'aṭ as altres colchiéṭ;
E l'arcevesques l'aṭ asols e seigniéṭ.
Idonc agriegeṭ li doels e la pitiéṭ.
Ço dist Roḍlanz: 'Bels compaign Oliviers,
Vos fustes filz a·l riche duc Reinier
Ki tint la marche de la val de Runiers.
Por hanste fraindre, por escuz peceier,
Por orgoillos veintrë eḍ esmaier,
E por prozdomes tenir e conseillier,
E por gloton veintrë eḍ esmaier,
En nule tere n'aṭ meillor chevalier.'

2208. The adj. *riche*, wanting in O, is suggested by **n**; V⁴ *al pro cont(e) Ranier*.

2209. *Runiers*. O has *runers*, but as *-un-* and *-iui-* might easily be confused, this seems to be the *val de Riviers* mentioned repeatedly in later epics (*Raoul de Cambrai*, *Aymeri de Narbonne*). P. Meyer suggested the "pagus Ripuariensis," that part of the diocese of Cologne on this side of the Rhine. Tavernier, finding in *Girart de Viane* a mention of *la val de Viviers* (cf. also *Aym. de Narb.*, 1492) suggested the reading *Viviers* (on the Rhône; cf. v. 1583, note). A third possibility is *Vihiers*, for which see Introd., p. lxxxvii. This town, in the valley of the Lys, and in the march of Poitou, is a short distance southwest from Gennes, on the Loire. Note that Oliver's father was known as Renier de Gennes, but whether this was Orleans (Genăbum), or Geneva, or finally Genoa, has never been settled. It is a coincidence that in this part of the country the word *val* is fem., and that the names *Olivier* and *Reiner* (René) have been and continue common.

2211. *Por orgoillos veintre*. Probably a reminiscence of Vergil's "debellare superbos" (*Æn.*, vi, 853). It is noteworthy that Baudri of Dol also quotes the phrase (*Rec.*, IV, p. 104).

2213. Line of doubtful authenticity; without MS support, it seems to be a repetition of v. 2211.

2214. *n'at*. Stengel reads *n'out;*

CLXIII

Roland faints away

Li quens Roḍlanz quant il veit morz ses pers,
Eḍ Olivier qu'il tant poḍeit amer,
Tendror en out, comenceṭ a plorer;
En son visage fuṭ molt descolorez;
Si grant doel out que mais ne pout ester,
Voeilleṭ o non, a tere chiéṭ pasmez.
Dist l'arcevesques: 'Tant mare fustes, ber!'

CLXIV

Turpin, in fetching water, falls dead

Li arcevesques quant vit pasmer Roḍlant
Donc out tel doel onkes mais n'out si grant.
Tendiéṭ sa main si aṭ pris l'olifant.
En Rencesvals aṭ une ewe corant,
Aler i voelt si'n donraṭ a Roḍlant:

V⁴ *ne fu*. In n, we find the future tense, which may rest upon a misunderstanding of *n'ert* (=Imperfect).

2216. 'whom he had such good reason to love.' For this use of *podeir*, see ANSL, XCI, p. 107 (Tobler). Similarly, of Adam excluded from Paradise it is said (*Sermon en Vers*, 3): Mult par pout plorer | Quant ne pout entrer | La dum il esteit: 'He had very good cause to weep' . . . Cf. vv. 537, 1182 and, for a different opinion, G. Paris, *Extraits*, n. 81.

2225. *une ewe corant*. This 'swift stream' is either the Urrobi (Arrobi) which rises at the foot of the heights of Ibañeta, and flows through the plain of Roncesvalles to Burguete, or the Erro, further to the west. There is also a spring in the present village.

2226. Roland is suffering the acute thirst of those who have lost much blood. G. Paris suggested that this line might be the source of the later legend that the cause of Roland's death was thirst, instead of the bursting of his temples (v. 2260). "Mourir de la mort Rollant," meaning 'to die of thirst,' occurs in the *Testament Pathelin* (ed. Jacob, p. 189) and in Book II of Rabelais (c. vi); cf. also Deschamps, VII, p. 237. — After this line, G. Paris and Stengel admit a verse from V⁴: Tant s'esforçat qu'il se mist en estant.

Son petit pas s'en torneț chancelant,
Il est si fiebles qu'il ne poet en avant,
Nen aț vertuț, trop aț perduț de sanc.
Ainz qu'om alast un sol arpent de champ
Falt li li coers si est chaḍeiz avant.
La soe mort li vait molt angoissant.

CLXV

Roland, recovering, hears the dying words of Turpin

Li quens Roḍlanz revient de pasmeisons,
Sor piez se dreceț mais il aț grant dolor;
Guardeț aval e si guardeț amont,
Sor l'erbe verte oltre ses compaignons
La veit gesir lo nobílie baron,
Ço'st l'arcevesque que Deus mist en son nom:
Claimeț sa colpe si reguardeț amont,
Contre lo ciel amsdous ses mains aț joinz,
Si priëț Deu que pareḍis li doinst.
Morz est Turpins li guerreiers Charlon;
Par granz batailles e par molt bels sermons
Contre paiens fuț toz tens champions.
Deus li otreit sainte beneḍiçon! Aoi.

2233 ff. Longfellow's translation, "Death of Archbishop Turpin" begins here, but the Cambridge poet used not O but the diluted rimed redaction, or "Roman de Roncevaux."

2240. *joinz*, as in O; Stengel *joint*, possibly correctly.

2242. For this verse, misplaced in O, see v. 1823, note. For *li guerreiers*, Stengel substitutes *el servise* from V^4, but the motive for the suppression of O's phrase is obvious: the later redactor thought *el servise* a more seemly expression to use of a high church dignitary.

CLXVI

Roland laments the death of the archbishop Turpin

Li quens Roḍlanz veit l'arcevesque a tere,
Defors son cors veit gesir la boḍele,
Desoz lo front li boillist la cervele;
Desor son piz, entre les dous forceles,
Croisieḍes aṭ ses blanches mains les beles.
Fortment lo plaint a la lei de sa tere:
'E! gentilz hom, chevaliers de bon aire,
Hui te comant a·l glorios celeste.
Ja mais n'iert hom plus volentiers lo servᵉṭ,
Des les apósteles ne fuṭ hom tel prophete
Por lei tenir e por homes atraire.
Ja la vostre anme nen ait doel ne sofraite:
De pareḍis li seit la porte overte!'

CLXVII

Roland tries to preserve Durendal and the olifant from his enemies

Ço sent Roḍlanz que la mort li est pres;
Par les oreilles fors s'en ist li cervels.

2247. Notable is *gessir* 'gush' in V⁴ 2402, instead of *gesir;* cf. v. 1342, note.

2249–50. As prescribed by the Roman Ritual: "Parva crux super pectus inter manus defuncti ponatur, aut ubi crux desit, manus in modum crucis componantur." (Tavernier.)

*2252 ff. The plaint of Roland for Turpin is remarkable for its elevation of tone, and for its high conception of the churchman's calling.

2255. *hom.* G. Paris replaced *hom* by *mais*, from V⁴ P; but *hom* is supported by the reading of n.

2256. The 'law' is the "lei de Rome," the Christian religion, or "la lei escrite," the Bible.

2258. Similar phrases are found in the liturgies: "Portas cœlestis Hierusalem apertas reperiat."

2260. Thus Roland dies, not from the blows of his enemies nor from

De ses pers priëţ Damnedeu que·s apelt,
E puis de lui a·l ángele Gabriël.
Prist l'olifant, que reproece nen ait,
E Durendal en l'altre main estait:
Plus qu'arcbaleste ne poet traire un quaḍrel
Devers Espaigne en vait en un guarét:
Amont un tertre desoz .ii. arbres bels
Quatre peḍrons i aţ de marbre fait:
Sor l'erbe verte la est chaḍeiz envers,
La s'est pasmez, car la mort li est pres.

CLXVIII

Halt sont li pui e molt halt sont li arbre,
Quatre peḍrons i aţ luisanz de marbre;
Sor l'erbe verte li quens Roḍlanz se pasmeţ.
Uns Sarrazins tote veie l'esguardeţ:

thirst, but from the superhuman effort he made in sounding the Olifant.

2262. For the rôle of the archangel Gabriel in *Rol.*, see v. 37, note; also vv. 3611, 3993, and cf. *Poema del Cid*, v. 406.

2264. The doubtful assonance *en laltre main* is against keeping the reading of O, although supported by V⁴; the redundant *s'espee* is also suspicious. For *estait* (Lat. STAT) cf. v. 2465, where the scribe of O seems to have eliminated it as unfamiliar (V⁴ *stait*); the old form *estait* is used by Philippe de Thaon, the authors of *Thèbes* and *Troie*, Marie de France, and by other western writers. Müller proposed: E Durendal qu'a altre ne la laist. O: E durendal sespee en laltre main.

2265. Similarly Robert the Monk (*Rec.*, III, p. 831): "ad jactum sagittæ appropinquarunt"; cf. also v. 2868.

2267. *dous arbres*. In O, *un arbre bele;* the original . *ii* . was misread *u*, which with the overstroke became *un*. But there were two trees in question, as appears clearly at vv. 2271, 2874.

2271–96. "Cet épisode paraît avoir été inventé pour expliquer comment le cor de Roland qu'on montrait à Bordeaux était fendu par le milieu; d'après le faux Turpin, c'est Roland qui l'avait fait éclater par la violence de son souffle" (G. Paris). In fact, if the Olifant is here badly shattered, how can it, later on, sound louder than all the others? This later passage, however, is within the "Baligant" episode (vv. 3017, 3119).

Cil se feinst mort si gist entre les altres,
De·l sanc loḍaṭ son cors e son visage.
Met sei en piez e de corre se hasteṭ,
Bels fuṭ e forz e de grant vasselage,
Par son orgoeil comenceṭ mortel rage:
Roḍlant saisiṭ e son cors e ses armes,
E dist un mot: 'Vencuz est li niés Charle,
Iceste espeḍe porterai en Arábie.'
En cel tirer, li quens s'aperçuṭ alques.

CLXIX

Ço sent Roḍlanz que s'espeḍe li tolt,
Ovriṭ les oeilz si li aṭ dit un mot:
'Mien esciëntre, tu n'iés mie des noz.'
Tient l'olifant qu'onques perdre ne volt
Si·l fiert en l'elme ki gemez fuṭ aḍ or,
Froisseṭ l'acier e la teste e les os,
Amsdous les oeilz de·l chief li aṭ mis fors,

2275. *Cil.* V⁴ *Il se fait mort;* O: *Si.*

2276. *lodat,* Lat. *lutavit* 'smeared'; cf. Phelippe de Thaon's *Bestiaire,* v. 646, and an AN *Lapidary,* Ed. Studer-Evans, p. 400.

2282. After this line, G. Paris and Stengel insert a line from V⁴: Prist l'a ses poinz, Rodlant tirat la barbe, a reading supported also by n. It seems impossible to decide as to its authenticity. While the poet was sparing in burlesque or comic effects (cf. v. 1816, note) the copyist of O was certainly not averse to them (cf. v. 761, note) and would hardly have omitted so striking a detail.

2283. *En cel tirer.* 'During this pulling' [with reference to *saisit* of v. 2280, or to the supplementary line mentioned in the preceding note] 'the Count revived somewhat.' For *tirer,* O has *tireres:* possibly this reading hides the common OF expression *en cel termine,* 'at this juncture.' None of the other versions suggests a reading *tirer* in this verse: at this point they speak merely of a recovery from fainting. — In OF, the dem. adj. *cel* or *cest* with a substantive infinitive occurs, but is not common; cf. *Escoufle* 3775: *De pitié en cel departir* (= *departie*).

2287. *Tient l'olifant.* The translator of n apparently understood *son cors* above (v. 2280) as *son corn,* but this verse shows that Roland had not laid aside the Olifant.

Jus a ses piez si·l aţ trestornéţ mort;
Aprés li dist: 'Culverz, com fus si os
Que me saisis ne a dreit ne a tort?
Ne·l oḍraţ hom ne t'en tiengeţ por fol.
Fenduz en est mis olifanz e·l gros,
Chaḍeiz en est li cristals e li ors.'

CLXX

Roland tries to break Durendal

Ço sent Roḍlanz que la mort fort l'arguḍeţ,
Met sei en piez, quant qu'il puet s'esvertuḍeţ;
En son visage sa color aţ perduḍe.
[Tient Durendal s'espeḍe tote nuḍe:]
Dedevant lui aţ une pieḍre byse,
.x. cols i fiert par doel e par rancune:
Croist li aciers, ne fraint ne ne s'esgruigneţ.
'E!' dist li quens, 'sainte Marie, aiuḍe!
E! Durendal bone si mare fustes!

2292. *com fus si os* may be understood as an exclamatory sentence, as well as a question; the line between the two is sometimes hard to draw. In v. 2293, some would read *Qui me saisis*, with V⁴ T.

2295. *el gros*. Pakscher translated this by "ganz und gar," but Geddes' "le gros bout" has better support. The false Turpin says (ed. Fita, p. 43): "tubam sonando oris sui vento *per medium* divisit."

2297. All editors (except Th. Müller) abandon O here, and adopt the reading of V⁴: *che la mort fort l'argue*. To keep O's *la ueue ad perdue* would involve the repetition, with but one line between, of the assonance-word *perdue*, not to mention other objections.

2299 *a*. From V⁴, 2455. All editors, except Th. Müller.

2300. *byse*. At v. 2338, O has *une piedre bise*, but it may be possible to reconcile the two forms (*bys* and *bis*) in a common antecedent * *buis*, Lat. BŪTEO. An archaic *buse* or *buise* may, in fact, be intended here; cf. Ælfric's gloss *busius: fealu*, 79, cited by Du Cange. At any rate, something is lost by inserting *brune*, from V⁴.

2304. For post-position of *bon*, in affectionate apostrophe, see ML, III, § 731; cf. also *Thèbes*, v. 1646: Car reliques bones i a (in a sword-handle).

Quant jo mei pert, de vos nen ai mais cure.
Tantes batailles en champ en ai vencuḍes,
E tantes teres larges escombatuḍes
Que Charles tient ki la barbe aṭ chanuḍe,
Ne vos ait hom ki por altre s'en fuieṭ!
Molt bons vassals vos aṭ lonc tens tenuḍe:
Jamais n'iert tel en France l'asoluḍe.'

CLXXI

Roland's farewell to Durendal

Roḍlanz feriṭ e·l peḍron de sardaigne,
Croist li aciers ne briseṭ ne n'esgraineṭ.

2305. 'Seeing that my life is over, my duty as your custodian also comes to an end.' For a different interpretation, see G. Paris, *Extraits*, n. 95.

2308. After this line, G. Paris and Stengel insert a line from V⁴: A mon vivant ne me serez (Stengel: *fustes*, as in V⁴) tolude.

2311. Critics are divided as to reading here *tel* (*espede*) with O, or *tels* (*vassals*) with V⁴, V⁷. G. Paris, in adopting the latter, remarked: "L'orgueil manifesté par ces vers est excusable en ce moment suprême." In the earlier stages of the battle, Roland does indeed indulge in self-praise (v. 1559 is the latest instance), but it seems unlikely that, after such expressions as vv. 1863–67 and 2215 ff., he would now be in the mood for self-laudation. Note also that the idea continually uppermost in the dying hero's mind is the safety and the fame of the miracle-working Durendal. — *l'asolude* 'the holy,' 'the sacred,' evidently a clerical term, like OF *juesdi assolu* 'Thursday of Holy Week,' and *la terre absolue* applied by Rustebuef (ed. Kressner, p. 23) to the Holy Land won from the Saracens during the Crusades. Müller defended the exact reading of O (*la solue*) and regarded the expression as equivalent to *Ffance la sauvée*. Later epics keep the epithet, as *Les Nerbonois*, v. 4943: "Charles de France l'asolue." Bédier (III, p. 452) returns to the older interpretation 'la libre,' against which G. Paris protested, *Poésie du Moyen-Age*[5] (1903), p. 257.

2312. As *sardonie* in O does not fit the assonance (V⁴ *sardegne*), the poet probably had in mind the sard, OF *sardine* 'reddish cornelian,' which in the medieval lapidaries was said to come from Sardaigne (*Sardinia*). The Cambridge Lapidary (v. 279) shows the same confusion as O: D'une terre, Sardonie ad nun. Several later epics mention "pierres de sartaigne" (cf. T: *cartaine*) and this, argues Schultz-Gora (ZfRP, XXIII, p. 334; cf. *Rom.* XXXVIII, p. 459),

Quant il ço vit que n'en pout mie fraindre,
A sei meḍisme la comenceṭ a plaindre:
'E! Durendal, com iés e clere e blanche,
Contre soleill si reluis e reflambes!
Charles esteit es vals de Moriane,
Quant Deus de·l ciel li mandaṭ par son ángele
Qu'il te donast aḍ un conte chataigne:
Donc la me ceinst li gentilz reis, li magnes.
Jo l'en conquis eḍ Anjou e Bretaigne,
Si l'en conquis e Peitou e lo Maine;
Jo l'en conquis Normendie la franche,
Si l'en conquis Provence eḍ Equitaigne,
E Lombardie e trestote Románie.
Jo l'en conquis Baiviere e tote Flandre,

means Cerdagne = Ceritania, a county in the March of Spain. In the poet's mind, did the situation call for a block of some sort of precious stone? or merely for a very hard stone?

2317. *Contre soleil.* 'In the sunlight.' The phrase suggests Vergil's "mille trahens varios *adverso sole* colores"; cf. what is said of Charlemagne's sword *Joiose*, v. 2502.

2318. The "Vales of Maurienne" formed the ancient diocese of St. Jean de Maurienne; this included three valleys, Maurienne and Briançon on the French side, and the valley of Susa on the Italian. For Charles' connections with this celebrated mountain-pass (now less known because of the Mt. Cenis tunnel) see Bédier, II², p. 157. Another *Moriane* = the Dalmatian coastland, is mentioned in the *Chevalier au Barisel*, v. 607. A popular form, *Moriaigne*, is attested by Guillaume de St. Paier, v. 555.

2319. *son ángele.* Presumably Gabriel, as chief messenger.

2322 ff. The poet would magnify the fame of Roland and of Durendal; he seems not to have feared that he might at the same time minimize the greatness of Charlemagne; but Charles was priest-king, and *hors concours*. — *Namon* in O, a scribal error for *et aniou*.

2326. *Románie* = Romagna, adjoining Lombardy. In Einhard's *Vita Karoli* this conquest may be considered as included in the phrase "Italiam totam . . . usque in Calabriam inferiorem" (c. XV). — After this verse, G. Paris and Stengel insert a line from other versions (wanting OV^4 **n**): Poille et Calabre et la tere d'Espaigne.

2327. For O's *tute flandres*, Stengel prefers *tutes Flandres;* but *Flandria* was used by contemporaries of *Rol.;* it is, for example, the only form used by Suger, *Vie de Louis le Gros*.

E Honguerie e trestote Poillánie,
Costentinnoble dont il out la fiḍance,
Eḍ en Saisónie fait a ço qu'il demandeṭ.
Jo l'en conquis eḍ Escoce eḍ Islande,
Eḍ Engletere queḍ il teneit sa chambre.
Conquis l'en ai païs e teres tantes
Que Charles tient ki aṭ la barbe blanche,
Por ceste espeḍe ai dolor e pesance:
Mielz voeill morir qu'entre paiens remaigneṭ.
'Damnesdeus peḍre, n'en laissier honir France!'

2328. *Honguerie.* The *E burguigne* of O is inacceptable to all editors for metrical and for historical reasons: Burgundy was subdued by the Franks long before the time of Charlemagne. On the other hand, Einhard (cc. XIII, XV) mentions the Huni as conquered by Charles (*Hongrie* in P, *Ungeren* in dR). Müller and Gautier would read *Buguerie* (Bulgaria), for which there is no MS support. The difficulty is not solved by v. 2922, where Charles, now that Roland is no more, predicts that many peoples will rebel against their emperor: among them "Hungre" and "Bugre" are both mentioned. There is also a contingent of "Hums" and "Hungres" in Baligant's army, v. 3254.— *Poillánie.* For the hegemony of the Poliani, lasting until past the middle of the twelfth century, see Rambaud, *La Russie,* p. 74; Lavisse, *Histoire générale,* I, p. 697 (Denis).

2329. For the origin of the legend of Charles' visit to Constantinople, see Bédier, IV, p. 130 ff. The alleged homage of King Hugo the Strong is narrated in full in the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne,* vv. 797, 802.

2330. For *a ço que, a icel que* meaning 'according to what,' see ANS, XCI, p. 114; O: *fait il co.*— Roland's reference to Charles' power in Saxony is complimentary, but hardly true to history; see v. 2921, note.

2331. The *islonde* of O is not supported by the other versions; it can hardly mean Iceland, but is rather an orthographic variant of OF Irlande, Illande; cf. *Islande* as variant to *Irlande* in Crestien's *Charete,* vv. 5650, 5952, *Eructavit,* v. 791. It is known that Charles sent envoys to Ireland, and Einhard relates that "his rich gifts had so attached the kings of the Scots (= Irish) to his favor that they always called him their lord" (c. XVI).

2332. For Charles' alleged conquest of England, see v. 372, note.

2336. For this *que* in double function = 'than that,' see Tobler, *Mélanges,* p. 281, and cf. v. 1701.

2337. *laissier.* O's reading is doubtful (*laiser?*) G. Paris and Stengel read *laissiez;* but it appears that Roland uses the 2d sg. (*tu*) to Deity, vv. 2369, 2384. V^4 has: *no lasser.* This archaic form of the neg. Imper occurred at v. 1113.

CLXXII

Rodlanz ferit en une piedre bise,
Plus en abat que jo ne vos sai dire,
L'espede croist ne froisset ne ne briset:
Encontre ciel amont est resortide.
Quant veit li quens que ne la fraindrat mie
Molt dolcement la plainst a sei medisme:
'E! Durendal, com iés bele e saintisme!
En l'órie pont asez i at reliques,
Un dent saint Piedre e de·l sanc saint Basílie,

2339. *Plus en abat.* 'He fells more of it.' Turpin's *Chronicle* is not satisfied with this reasonable feat: "Into two parts from top to bottom the stone is divided, and the two-edged sword is withdrawn unharmed" (c. XXII). Medallion 19 of the Cathedral window of Chartres shows Durendal midway through the block of stone. Among others, Pulci reports that in his day the cloven stone was still to be seen "in Galizia," at least, all pilgrims so reported (*Morgante*, c. xxvii, str. 108). Here too is the basis of the local legend that Roland's desperate blow opened the gorge in the rocks of Gavarnie, well to the east of Roncesvaux and known as the *Brèche de Roland*.

2344–45. *saintisme.* Durendal is a sacred reliquary, hence Roland's anxiety; cf. also *servie* below (v. 2350) and vv. 2335–36. "Cet usage," remarked G. Paris, "était certainement pratiqué dans la vie réelle." It would seem, however, that the evidence is very scanty, and that references to the usage in other epics may all derive from *Rol.* Thus, in *Thèbes*, v. 1645, Tydeus cries: Ceste espee vos guarira | Car reliques bones i a (with a reference to Roland just below, v. 1678). Cf. A. Schultz, *Höfisches Leben*², II, p. 15 ff.

2346. *Un dent.* O has *La dent*, but the other versions are unanimous against this reading. The word is almost always masc. in OF. If *dent* was fem. to the copyist of O (as in the *Lais* and *Espg.* of Marie de France) he might not write *Une dent*, because of the meter. Note also that the Index of relics at the Abbey of Le Bec, anno 1134, includes: "De s. Petro apostolo unus dens," and, just above, "De Vestimento sanctæ Mariæ"; see Porée, *Hist. de l'Abbaye du Bec* (1901), p. 651.

Sanc saint Basílie. Out of the twenty-eight Saints Basil listed by Chevalier, some critics (so Tavernier, Chamard) select Saint Basil the Great, Bishop of Cæsarea; but the identification is uncertain. There is something to be said in favor of the more popular Saint Blaise, whose martyrdom was particularly bloody; his *Acta* (February 3) state that drops of his blood flowing from wounds made by iron hooks were collected by pious women. Note also that n has *Blasi*, and dR *sente Plasien*. The two

E des chevels mon seignor saint Denísie,
De·l vestement i aţ sainte Marie:
Il nen est dreiz que paien te baillissent,
De chrestiiens devez estre serviḍe.
Ne vos ait hom ki faceţ coḍardie!
Molt larges teres de vos avrai conquises
Que Charles tient ki la barbe aţ floriḍe:
Li emperedre en est e ber e riches.'

CLXXIII

Roland lies down and confesses his sins

Ço sent Roḍlanz que la mort le tresprent,
Devers la teste sor lo quer li descent.
Desoz un pin i est alez corant,
Sor l'erbe verte si est colchiez adenz,
Desoz lui met s'espeḍe e l'olifant;

names, or rather, the two forms of the same name, were often confused; thus, the Letter of the Patriarch of Jerusalem (Jan. 1098) mentions *beatus Blasius* (variant *Balsius*), while Martene's edition of this letter has *Basilius* (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 146, 272). Did the clerical author of *Rol.* take pains to use what to him would seem the only "correct," that is, the Latin form?

2347. Saint Denis is honored with the title 'my lord' as being the Apostle of the Gauls, and first bishop of Paris; possibly also because, in 1082, the kings of France, by becoming Counts of the Vexin, became thereby legal vassals of the Abbey of St. Denis. Epics subsequent to *Rol.* lengthen Charles' war-cry to *Monjoie saint Denis*, for which see Bédier, II², p. 240.

2348. What 'garment' this is, is not specified; cf. the relic at the Abbey of Le Bec, mentioned above, v. 2346, note. It is probably not the same, then, as the famous *camisia* preserved at Chartres and mentioned by Suger, Wace, and others; for this, see *Rom.* IX, p. 36 (G. Paris).

2351. G. Paris inserted this line after v. 2354; he also (with Stengel) adds a line after 2354, from V⁴: Deus, ne laissiez que France en seit honide.

2357. *corant.* The adj. used adverbially, and equivalent to the compounds *corantment, errantment.* Probably it means little more than 'straightway,' 'hastily,' as at v. 2822.

2359. This is the last we hear of Durendal until v. 3017, and v. 3017 is within the Baligant episode. Cf. v. 926, note.

Tornaţ sa teste vers la paiene gent.
Por ço l'aţ fait queḍ il voelt veirement
Que Charles diëţ e trestote sa gent,
Li gentilz quens, qu'il fuţ morz conquerant.
Claimeţ sa colpe e menuţ e sovent,
Por ses pecchiez Deu poroffriţ lo guant. Aoi.

CLXXIV

Ço sent Roḍlanz de son tens n'i aţ plus;
Devers Espaigne gist en un pui aguţ.
A·l une main si aţ son piz batuţ:
'Deus! meie colpe, vers les toes vertuz,
De mes pecchiez des granz e des menuz
Que jo ai fait des l'ore que nez fui
Tresqu'a cest jorn que ci sui consoüz!'

2360. A line often imitated in the later epics. G. Paris was reminded of the last hour of the Chevalier Bayard, who, in the words of the Loyal Serviteur, "se retiroit le beau pas, tousjours le visage droit aux ennemys." Cf. v. 2376.

2361. *Por ço l'at fait.* For Roland's boast, made upon a fête-day at Aix, see vv. 2863–67. For the great development of the same motive in the Cycle of William of Orange — the famous *covent* or *covenant* of Vivien — see Bédier, II², p. 83 ff. Cf. William's words to Vivien: En covenant oüs a Dameldé | Que ne fuiroies en bataille champel | Por Sarrasin pleine lance . . . *Aliscans*, vv. 824 ff.

2365. In the absence of Charlemagne, his feudal lord, Roland surrenders himself *in toto* to God, proffering his glove as a symbol. God as overlord appears also in King Louis' words, at the battle of Cayeux: Ber saint Denise, or m'en aidiez! | Jeo tenc de vus quite mun fieu | De nul autre n'en conois rien | Fors sul de Deu, le veir del ciel (*Gormunt*, vv. 374–77).

2367. *gist.* O has *est*, but V⁴ 2527 *cist.* Cf. v. 2375.

2369. The formula *Mea culpa* from the *Confiteor* is taken over into French: 'I am guilty of sin, against . . . because of' . . . Cf. Dex, moie cupe de peciés criminés (*Chevalerie Ogier*, v. 9176). Tavernier would see in *vertuz* the *virtutes* of *Romans* viii: 38, but the expression in the poet's mind is the usual "pechier vers Dieu."

Son destre guant en aṭ vers Deu tenduṭ:
Angele de·l ciel i descendent a lui. Aoi.

CLXXV

Roland reviews his life, and prays — death of Roland

Li quens Roḍlanz se jut desoz un pin,
Envers Espaigne en aṭ tornéṭ son vis;
De plusors choses a remembrer lui prist:
De tante tere come li ber conquist,
De dolce France, des homes de son lign,
De Charlemagne son seignor ki·l noḍriṭ:
Ne poet muḍer n'en plort e ne sospirt.
Mais lui meḍisme ne voelt mettre en obliṭ:
Claimeṭ sa colpe si priëṭ Deu merciṭ:
'Veire paterne, ki onques ne mentis,

2373–74, 2393–96. In these passages, we are, as Tavernier said, in the atmosphere of the martyrologies, where prayer follows upon prayer, and the supernatural is natural.

2377 ff. Among the "things remembered" in this supreme hour, some have been surprised not to find Alda, Oliver's sister. But it must not be forgotten that earthly ties have no validity as one enters Paradise, nor that we have before us a poem written before the days of "courtly love."

Matthew Arnold (*Introduction* to Ward's *English Poets*) took occasion to quote this laisse, following the prose of Génin, and contrasted it unfavorably with a finely translated passage from the Iliad. For an answer by Lowell, see PMLA, V (1890), p. 14–15.

2379. For *dolce France*, cf. v. 16, note. Many are reminded of the death of Antores, as described by Vergil, *Æn.*, X, 781–2: "he falls in death, and to the sky looks up, and with his dying thought remembers sweet Argos." And there are other similar phrases in Vergil (*Eclog.*, I, 3; *Æn.*, IV, 281) and in *Waltharius* (vv. 60, 600).

2380. *nodrit*. For the *maisniee* of Charles, see note to v. 113. For *nodrir* as a technical term, see Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, p. 186. — After this line, G. Paris and Stengel admit a line from V⁴, 2539: E des Franceis dont il est si cheriz (Stengel: dont il esteit si fiz).

2384. *paterne*. From (*imago*) *paterna;* later equivalent to *Deus*. "On pense à ces colossales images de Dieu

Saint Lazaron de mort resurrexis,
E Daniël des leons guaresis:
Guaris de mei l'anme de toz perilz,
Por les pecchiez queḍ en ma viḍe fis.'
Son destre guant a Deu en poroffriṭ,
Sainz Gabriël de sa main li aṭ pris.
Desor son braz teneit lo chief enclin,
Jointes ses mains est alez a sa fin.
Deus i tramist son ángele Cherubin
E saint Michiel de la Mer de·l Peril,
Ensembl'oḍ els sainz Gabriël i vint:
L'anme de·l conte portent en pareḍis.

le père, à ces 'majestés' en mosaïque, qui remplissent le fond des absides ou les voûtes des coupoles dans les églises byzantines." — G. Paris (*Mélanges linguistiques*, p. 327). The meaning is clear from the O Pr *Boethius*, v. 150: Bos christias, qui cre perfeita ment | Deu la paterna, lo rei omnipotent | Et en Jhesu . . . — Charlemagne's prayer at vv. 3100 ff. is similar to this one: both draw upon the first Oratio in the *Ordo commendationis animæ* of the Rituals, the *Libera, sicut liberasti*. Saint Lazarus is wanting in the Roman Ritual, but is found elsewhere, as in the *Agenda mortuorum* of the Antiphonary of Chartres (Xth century): "Qui Lazarum resuscitasti ad monumentum, tu ei, Domine, dona requiem." It is in order for the dying to repeat this prayer, should no priest be present. In an *Oratio* which follows occurs: "Suscipiat eum sanctus Michael Archangelus Dei . . . Veniant illi obviam sancti Angeli Dei, et perducant eum in civitatem cœlestem Jerusalem."

2393. *Cherubin*. Chamard, relying no doubt upon **n** and dR, thought that Raphael is meant. It is true that Gabriel, Michael, and Raphael often formed a trio (as when Dante, *Par.*, iv, 46–48, notes that the Church represents these three in human form); but it is also true that there was a widespread belief, drawn from *Gen.* iii: 24, that an angel named "saint Cherubin," held the flaming sword at the exit of Paradise. In the *Mystère de la Passion* of Arnould Greban, "Cherubin" and "Seraphin" are among the *dramatis personæ*, along with Gabriel, Michael and Raphael.

2394. The words *de la Mer*, wanting in O, are supplied from V^4: E santo Michael de la mere de perin. Some have thought this a doubtful equivalent for *in periculo maris*. The *Chanson de Guillaume*, v. 2417, mentions: A saint Michel al Peril de la mer.

2396. Charles Kingsley noted that *Aoi* is wanting after this line, but whether this was from choice or accident is hard to say.

Roland (Orlando) is placed in Paradise by Dante, along with Charlemagne, among the *spiriti militanti* who fought for the faith: *Par.* xviii, 43.

CLXXVI

CHARLEMAGNE ARRIVES ON THE SCENE OF BATTLE: HIS BITTER OUTCRIES

Morz est Roḍlanz: Deus en aṭ l'anme es ciels.
Li empereḍre en Rencesvals parvient;
Il nen i aṭ ne veie ne sentier,
Ne voide tere ne alne ne plein piéṭ
Que nen i ait o Franceis o paien.
Charles escriḍeṭ: 'O estes vos, bels niés?
E l'arcevesques e li quens Oliviers?
O est Gerins e sis compaign Geriers?
Ates o est e li quens Berengiers,
Ive eḍ Ivóries que tant aveie chiers?
Qu'est devenuz li Guascoinz Engeliers,
Sanses li dux eḍ Anseïs li fiers?
O est Gerarz de Rossillon, li vieilz,
Li .xii. per qu'aveie ci laissiéṭ?'
De ço qui chielt, quant nuls n'en respondiéṭ?
'Deus!' dist li reis, 'tant me puis esmaier
Que jo ne fui a·l estorm comencier!'

2397. "Roland n'est pas à la fin du poème ce qu'il était au début: l'orgueilleux et colérique baron s'apaise aux approches de la mort; il se dépouille insensiblement de sa basse humanité, et, par une ascension merveilleuse et vraisemblable, il atteint au sommet de l'héroïsme chrétien: son agonie est d'un saint." — G. Lanson.

2399–2401. Cf. a similar scene at Marra, Dec. 1098: "vixque poterat aliquis per vias civitatis ire nisi calcando super Saracenorum cadavera." AGF, XXIII, 7. And the slaughter later at Jerusalem was even more terrible.

2408. For *li fiers*, O has *li bers*, misread no doubt from *li fers* and making a false assonance; cf. vv. 105, (796).

2410. *ci* is added from V^4, 2570.

2412. *tant me puis*. Cf. v. 2216, n.

2413. For the OF word-order, causing the fusion of the article with the preposition which introduces an infin., see ML, III, § 744. Thus, Crestien's *Yvain*, 6734: E metez paine et force et san | A la pais querre et au pardon (querre).

Tiręt sa barbe comë hom k'est iriez,
Plorent des oeilz si baron chevalier,
Encontre tere se pasment .xx. millier;
Naimes li dux en aţ molt grant pitiéţ.

CLXXVII

Naimon recalls Charles to the duty of vengeance

Il nen i aţ chevalier ne baron
Que de pitiéţ molt durement ne plort:
Plorent lor filz, lor freḍres, lor nevoz,
E lor amis e lor liges seignors.
Encontre tere se pasment li plusor.
Naimes li dux d'iço aţ fait que proz,
Toz premerains l'aţ dit l'empereḍor:
'Veḍez avant, de dous liwes de nos,
Veḍeir poḍez les granz chemins poldros
Qu'asez i aţ de la gent paienor:
Car chevalchiez, vengiez ceste dolor!'
'E! Deus,' dist Charles, 'ja sont il ja si loinz,
Consentez mei e dreiture eḍ honor:
De France dolce m'ont toluḍe la flor.'
Li reis comandeţ Geboïn eḍ Oton,

2425. *de dous*. V⁴ has *a dos*.

2428. *vengiez*. Not the first mention of vengeance; cf. vv. 1149, 1459. It has been noticed that Einhard (c. IX) had said of Charles and Roncevaux: "Neque hoc factum ad præsens *vindicari* poterat." — The curve mounts rapidly now.

2429. The second *ia* in O is probably a mistake for *la* (= *là*).

2430. Line defective in O; emended by Stengel from MS P.

2431. *la flor de France;* cf. v. 2455. The expression came down in the schools from classical antiquity. Baudry of Dol employs the expression "flos victoriosæ Franciæ." (Tavernier.)

2432. *Geboïn et Oton*. These names are frequent in OF history; see

Teḍbalt de Reins e lo conte Milon:
'Guardez lo champ e les vals e les monz,
Laissiez les morz tot issi com il sont;
Que n'i adeist ne beste ne lions,
Ne n'i adeist escuḍiers ne garçons;
Jo vos defent que n'i adeist nuls hom
Josque Deus voeilleṭ qu'en cest champ revengom.'
E cil respondent dolcement par amor:
'Dreiz emperedre, chier sire, si ferom.'
Mil chevaliers i retienent des lor. Aoi.

CLXXVIII

THE PURSUIT — MIRACULOUS LENGTHENING OF THE DAY

Li emperedre fait ses graisles soner,
Puis si chevalcheṭ oḍ sa grant ost, li ber,
De cels d'Espaigne ont lor esclos trovez,
Tienent l'enchalz, tuit en sont comunel.
Quant veit li reis lo vespre decliner,
Sor l'erbe verte descent en mi un preṭ,
Colcheṭ s'a tere si priëṭ Damnedeu
Que lo soleil faceṭ por lui ester,

Boissonnade, pp. 380, 382. Oton receives the title of Marquess at vv. 2971, 3058.

2436 ff. The three-fold repetition of the word *adeist* is very natural under the circumstances: Charles' agitation is so great that his orders are querulously explicit.

2445. O's reading, *unt lur les dos turnez* being inadmissible, recourse is had to V^4, 2636: *ont les cobles*(?) *trouer;* PL *les esclos;* T *les clos.*

2450. A repetition of Joshua's miracle (x: 12), and for the same purpose: "Donec ulcisceretur se gens de inimicis suis"; cf. v. 2456. In a continuation of the Chronicle of Moissac (about 1050), we learn of another victory of Charles over the Saracens: "Et de hora nona factus est sol hora secunda;" see MLN, XXIX, p. 3 (Warren). According to the narrative of Hugo of Verdun, immediately after the battle of As-

La nuit targier e lo jorn demorer.
Ais li un ángele ki od lui soelt parler,
Isnelement si li aṭ comandéṭ:
'Charles, chevalche! tei ne faldraṭ clartéṭ.
La flor de France as perduṭ, ço set Deus:
Vengier te poez de la gent criminel.'
Aḍ icel mot l'emperedre est montez. Aoi.

CLXXIX

The Saracens, overtaken, make no resistance, and all are slain or drowned

Por Charlemagne fist Deus vertuz molt granz,
Car li soleilz est remés en estant.
Paien s'en fuient, bien les enchalcent Franc,
El Val-Tenebre la les vont ataignant,
Vers Sarragoce les enchalcent ferant,

calon (Aug. 12, 1099) the northern lights played all night, "lest light should be lacking to the Christians for the defeat of their enemies." (MGH, SS, VIII, p. 481).

2456. *gent criminel.* The early Crusaders certainly used similar injurious expressions: thus, in AGF, we find "excommunicata generatio," "exsecrati," "perfidi," "gens barbara." For their "diabolical" warcries, see v. 3517, note.

2460 ff. The details of this pursuit to the Ebro are similar to those of one of the worst conflicts at Antioch, in 1098. The Turks were driven into the river Ferne (Orontes) and drowned; the water was red with their blood; here perished twelve emirs and fifteen hundred Saracen knights. See the account in AGF, c. XVIII, 5–7, also in a letter of Stephen of Blois, and in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, part V, couplet 37.

2461. *Val-Tenebre.* O has *El .ual tenebrus* (hypermetric) but V⁴ *En ual tenebre.* Is this the same as the "vallée Ténébreuse" mentioned in the Gerona "Office of St. Charlemagne," as being near that town? Cf. HPC, p. 281. Boissonnade (pp. 143–44) argues that as the highways were shut to the Saracens (v. 2464), they retreated through the side valley of the Irati river, the banks of which are still covered with deep woods.

2462. In O *ferant* was erased and *franc* written on the margin; V⁴ 2651 *firant.*

A cols pleniers toz les vont ociḍant,
Tolent lor veies e les chemins plus granz,
L'ewe de Sebre lor estait dedevant;
Molt est parfonde, merveillose e corant,
Nen i aṭ barge ne drodmont ne chalant;
Paien reclaiment un lor deu Tervagant,
Puis saillent enz, mais il n'i ont guarant:
Li adobéṭ en sont li plus pesant,
Envers les fonz s'en tornerent alquant,
Li altre vont encontre val flotant;
Li mielz guariṭ en ont boüṭ itant,
Tuit sont neiéṭ par merveillos ahan.
Franceis escriḍent: 'Mare fustes, Roḍlanz!' Aoi.

2463. Reading from V⁴ 2652: *tot les non* (error for *uon*).

2465. *L'ewe de Sebre.* 'The river Ebro.' Similarly, Wace uses *ewe* of the Humber and of the Thames. — For the suggestion that the Segre and the Ebro combine in the word "Sebre," see ZfRP, XXXIX, p. 141 (Baist); Foerster saw in "Sebre" the older Catalan-Gascon def. art. *s'* (from Lat. IPSE) with *Ebru* = IBERUM (ZfRP, XV, p. 518). Turpin's *Chronicle* (ed. Fita, p. 9) mentions the "aqua ingens nomine *Ebra*." — *lor estait.* The reading of O, *el lur est*, makes difficulty. The well known western *el* for *ele* (Lat. ILLA) may have been intended by the copyist; but, everywhere else, *Rol.* has *ele* and *eles*. Or, is *el* an error for *ez*, *es* (Lat. ECCE), or an assimilated form like *ellez* for *ez les?* An OF *lor* = *là où* was instanced by G. Paris (*Mélanges linguistiques*, p. 247) while OF *es ou* (= ECCE UBI) and *es vos ou* are also known (Tobler, *Beiträge*, III, p. 67). The better reading seems to be furnished by V⁴ 2654: *lur stait dauant;* for *estait*, cf. *estont* v. 2691, and v. 2264, note. The right reading, after all, may be: *es lor estait devant*, 'behold where it stands in front!' Stengel: *i lur est dedevant.*

2466. *merveillose*, as in V⁴ 2655; O: *merueille.*

2475. 'Cry the French: Alas! Roland, that you are no more.' Editors, including Bédier, with the support of the β-versions, have here replaced O's *Mare fustes* by *Mar veïstes*, but the reading of O is defensible and even preferable. It is conceivable that the great tragedy of Roncesvaux — the death of Roland — is still uppermost in the minds of the Franks: 'Alas! Roland that you did not live to see this signal vengeance.' Similarly, at v. 3120, we are told that, in spite of the inspiriting presence of Charlemagne and the loud booming of the Olifant, the Franks still weep "por pitiét de Rodlant." The overthrow of these few Saracens, their total extermination, is to the Franks a small matter

CLXXX

Charles gives thanks to God

Quant Charles veit que tuit sont mort paien,
Alquant ocis e li plusor neiẹt,
Molt grant eschec en ont si chevalier,
Li gentilz reis descenduz est a piẹt,
Colcheṭ s'a tere si·n aṭ Deu graciiẹt;
Quant se redreceṭ li soleilz est colchiez.
Dist l'empereḍre: 'Tens est de·l herbergier;
En Rencesvals est tart de repaiḍrier,
Nostre cheval sont las eḍ ennuiẹt,
Tolez les seles e les freins qu'ont es chiés,
E par cez prez les laissiez refreidier.'
Respondent Franc: 'Sire, vos dites bien.' Aoi.

CLXXXI

Charles camps for the night along the river

Li empereḍre aṭ prise sa herberge,
Franceis descendent en la tere deserte,
A lor chevals ont toleites les seles,
Les freins aḍ or en metent jus des testes,
Livrent lor prez, asez i aṭ fresche herbe:
D'altre conreiṭ ne lor poeḍent plus faire.
Ki molt est las il se dort contre tere;
Icele nuit n'ont onkes escalguaite.

compared with the unspeakable loss of their captain. Cf. also v. 3871, and v. 1009, note.

2478 repeats v. 99 verbatim; V⁴ has: *Grant joie noit* (= *en ont?*) *ses barons cristiens*, which seems preferable to O's line.

2489. *la tere deserte.* The pursuit has led the French into this wilderness, but they find their way next day back to the main road to Tudela and Pamplona (v. 2852).

2491. For O's *ius les testes*, V⁴ has *ius dele teste* (v. 2683).

CLXXXII

He lies down armed — his sword and his lance

Li emperedre s'est colchiez en un pret,
Son grant espiét met a son chief li ber:
Icele nuit ne se voelt desarmer,
Si at vestut son blanc osberc saffrét,
Laciét son elme ki est ad or gemmét,
Ceinte Joiose, onches ne fut sa per,
Ki chascun jorn mudet .xxx. clartez.
Asez savom de la lance parler
Dont nostre Sire fut en la croiz naffrez:
Charles en at la more, merciţ Deu,
En l'orét pont l'at faite manovrer;
Por ceste honor e por ceste bontét
Li noms Joiose l'espede fut donez.

2501. *Joiose.* "Le plus beau nom que puisse porter une épée, le nom que seul un Français pouvait inventer" (Bédier). For the earlier history of Charles' sword, see HPC., p. 374. In the epic *Les Narbonais* (vv. 3167 ff.), Charles presents Joyeuse to Guillaume "au cort nés," with the words: "Onques mellor n'ot hom en son aage | Fors que Rollant . . ." The idea that there was any connection between the words Joyeuse and Monjoie (v. 2510) seems to be the poet's own; see v. 1181, note.

2503–11. *la lance.* For the several Holy Lances, one preserved at Constantinople, one at Jerusalem, and one owned by Charles, see HPC, p. 274, and MLN, XXIX (1913) p. 21, with the references there (A. C. L. Brown). The matter enters upon a new phase with the discovery at Antioch (June 14, 1098) of the "lancea Salvatoris," as narrated at length by the historians of the First Crusade. G. Paris drew from these lines an argument against dating *Rol.* after 1098 (*Rom.* XXXI, p. 141): "il est clair que depuis cette invention généralement acceptée comme vraie on ne pouvait songer à placer la pointe de la sainte lance dans le pommeau de l'épée de Charlemagne." But where there are relics, there are miracles; besides, was there not an ancient legend that Charlemagne had voyaged by land to Jerusalem, no doubt by way of Antioch?

According to the Anonymous (*Gesta Francorum*, XXV, 2), Saint Andrew promised that "quicumque lanceam hanc portaverit in bello, nunquam ab hoste superabitur," and this is exactly the idea of v. 2511.

Baron franceis ne·l deivent obliḍer:
Enseigne en ont de Monjoie criḍer,
Por ço ne·s poet nule gent contrester.

CLXXXIII

Charles is wakeful, but sleeps from weariness

Clere est la nuit e la lune luisant.
Charles se gist mais doel aṭ de Roḍlant,
E d'Olivier lui peiseṭ molt fortment,
Des .xii. pers, de la franceise gent:
En Rencesvals aṭ laissiéṭ morz sanglenz.
Ne poet muḍer n'en plort e ne·s dement,
E priëṭ Deu qu'as anmes seit guaranz.
Las est li reis kar la peine est molt grant,
Endormiz est, ne pout mais en avant.
Par toz les prez or se dorment li Franc.
Cheval n'i aṭ puisseṭ estre en estant;
Ki herbe voelt il la prent en gisant.
Molt aṭ apris ki bien conoist ahan.

CLXXXIV

The angel Gabriel watches at his pillow: Charles' terrifying vision

Charles se dort comë hom travailliez.
Saint Gabriël li aṭ Deus enveiéṭ,

2509. *nel deivent oblider* 'are not going to forget the fact (that),' 'are ever mindful (that),' a frequent meaning of *devoir* (cf. v. 757, and *Yvain*, v. 6).

2516. *les* is to be supplied, as at vv. 2583, 2668. — *sanglenz* is from V⁴, 2707; O: *sangenz*.

2517. As enclisis of *se* is questionable, the poet may have intended *e ne·s demant* 'and (cannot refrain) from calling out for them'; cf. V⁴, *et nen demant*.

2524. 'He has learned much who is acquainted with painful toil.' One of the few "sentences" of the *Rol*.

2525. After this peaceful scene, we expect Charles and his army to

L'emperedor comandet a guaitier.
Li ángeles est tote nuit a son chief,
Par avison ço li at anonciét,
D'une bataille ki encontre lui iert,
Senefiance l'en demostrat molt grief.
Charles guardat amont envers lo ciel,
Veit les toneidres e les venz e les giels,
E les orez, les merveillos tempiers,
E fous e flambes i est apareilliez,

return to Roncesvaux, bury their dead, and return home in sorrow to France; as the poet says, What else would they do? (v. 2961). After going to sleep (vv. 2520 and 2569), Charles in fact awakes in the morning (v. 2845) and sets out in haste toward the field of battle (v. 2851). But here has been intercalated the so-called "Baligant episode" of over 900 verses: a huge fleet and army are on their way from Alexandria, commanded by the Emir Baligant of Babiloine (Cairo), who is Marsile's overlord, and Charles must fight another great battle before he may return in peace to Aix.

The interpolation has been arranged with care and skill, as follows: An angelic vision announces the approach of Baligant (vv. 2525–54).

A second and sinister vision foreshadows the fact that the punishment of Ganelon will be no easy matter (vv. 2555–69).

The condition of King Marsile is described in two laisses (vv. 2570–2608).

"Baligant," Part I (vv. 2608–2844).

Charles at Roncesvaux (vv. 2845–2973).

"Baligant," Part II (vv. 2974–3681).

Charles returns to France. Final episodes (vv. 3682–4002).

For a discussion of the interpolated "Baligant," see Introduction, pp. lxi. "Le poème de *Baligant* ne manque nullement de mérite et se distingue même en plusieurs endroits par un style plus poétique que celui de la chanson à laquelle il est incorporé" (G. Paris).

2527. *a guaitier* by conjecture for O's *aguarder;* cf. v. 3731.

2529. *par avison.* This First Vision announces with considerable detail the final battle; cf. vv. 2984 ff. The Great Lion is, of course, Baligant himself, representing heathen Islam in a gigantic final conflict with the champion of Christendom. Charles is unable in his dream to move to the aid of his chevaliers (v. 2548); so in the battle (vv. 3536–38) he must be urged to greater exertions by Ogier. In this vision, the poet is careful to leave the issue of the final battle in doubt (v. 2553).

2535. *fous et flambes.* Similarly, in *Girart de Rossillon,* vv. 2880 ff.: "The sky is dark and overcast. God showed them a miracle which was a warning: flames descended from the gaping sky, the pennant of Girard was wholly consumed, also that of

Isnelement sor tote sa gent chiét,
Ardent cez hanstes de fraisne e de pomier,
E cist escuț jesqu'as bocles d'ormier,
Froissent cez hanstes de cez trenchanz espiez,
Croissent osberc e cist helme d'acier.
En grant dolor i veit ses chevaliers,
Ors e leupart les voelent puis mangier,
Serpenz e guivres, dragon eḍ aversier;
Grifons i aț, plus de trente milliers,
Nen i aț cel a Franceis ne s'agiét,
E Franceis criḍent: 'Charlemagnes, aidiez!'
Li reis en aț e dolor e pitiét,
Aler i voelt mais il aț destorbier.
Devers un gualt uns granz leons li vient:
Molt par est pesmes eḍ orgoillos e fiers,
Son cors meḍisme i asalt e requiert,
Prenent s'a braz ambedui por loitier:
Mais ço ne set quels abat ne quels chiét.
Li empereḍre ne s'est mie esveilliez.

CLXXXV

Charles' second ominous vision

Aprés icele li vient altre avison:
Qu'il ert en France aḍ Ais aḍ un peḍron,

Charles . . ." P. Meyer thought that in both these passages the poets may be exaggerating the danger from Saint Elmo's fire, which has been known to play about the manes of horses and about the heads of human beings.

2555 ff. The symbolism of the Second Vision is clear: the cub in double chains (cf. vv. 1824–25) is Ganelon, the thirty bears are his relatives who support him at his trial (v. 3766), the hunting-dog is Thierry d'Anjou; the biggest bear (v. 2564) is Pinabel, who is to be Ganelon's champion (vv. 362, and 3782 ff.). Again the vision leaves the outcome in doubt, but note that

En dous chaḍeines si teneit un brohon.
Devers Ardene veḍeit venir .xxx. ors,
Chascuns parlot altresi comë hom,
Diseient li: 'Sire, rendez lo nos:
Il nen est dreiz queḍ il seit mais oḍ vos;
Nostre parent devom estre a socors.'
De son palais vint uns veltres a cors,
Entre les altres asailliṭ lo graignor;
Sor l'erbe verte, oltre ses compaignons,
La vit li reis si merveillos estorm!
Mais ço ne set li quels veint ne quels non.
Li ángeles Deu ço mostreṭ a·l baron.
Charles se dort tresqu'a·l main a·l cler jorn.

CLXXXVI

The fate of king Marsile

Li reis Marsílies s'en fuit en Sarragoce,
Soz une olive est descenduz en l'ombre,
S'espeḍe rent e son elme e sa brónie,
Sor la verte herbe molt laidement se colcheṭ:
La destre main aṭ perduḍe trestote,
De·l sanc qu'en ist se pasmeṭ eḍ angoisseṭ.
Dedevant lui sa moillier Bramimonde

neither dream can terrify the heroic Charles to the extent of waking him; cf. vv. 718–24, n.

2563. The faulty reading of O: *uers les altres acurt*, is emended from V⁴, 2753: *uit un ventre* (for *veutre*) *recors*. For the expression *venir a cors* 'to come at a run,' cf. Wace, *Rou*, II, v. 11,082: De totes parz vindrent a cors. Stengel: *uns veltres i acurt*.

2565. The *erbe verte* foreshadows the 'wide meadow' of v. 3873; *oltre* is 'aside from,' the combat taking place apart from the thirty relatives who are detained as hostages (vv. 3849, 3948).

2574. *la destre main*. See v. 1903, and for a similar happening at the battle of Zalaca (1086), see Introd., p. lxxxiii.

Ploreț e criḍeț, molt fortment se doloseț,
Ensembl'oḍ li plus de .xx. mílië home,
Si malediënt Charlon e France dolce.
Aḍ Apolin corent en une crote,
Tencent a lui, laident e despersonent:
'E! malvais deus, por quei nos fais tel honte?
Cest nostre rei por quei laissas confondre?
Ki molt te sert, malvais loier l'en dones.'
Puis si li tolent lo sceptre e la corone,
Par main lo pendent desore une colombe,
Entre lor piez a tere lo trestornent,
A granz bastons lo batent e defroisent;
E Tervagant tolent son escarboncle,
E Mahomet enz en un fosséț botent,
E porc e chien lo mordent e defolent.

CLXXXVII

The grief and lament of queen Bramimonde

De paśmeisons en est venuz Marsílies,
Fait sei porter en sa chambre voltice:

2582. *E! malvais deus.* Defeated Saracens reproaching or cursing their gods are frequent in both the Latin historians of the Crusades and in the epics. Orderic Vital (IV, pp. 152, 154) relates that the Emir Daliman cursed Mohammed. Robert the Monk places in the mouth of the Emir Clement at Ascalon a long apostrophe beginning "O Machomet! ubi est virtus tua? . . . illi vero vincuntur, qui te venerantur" (cf. v. 2584). For similar passages in the epics, see PMLA, XXI, p. 411 (W. W. Comfort), where it is suggested that v. 2591 may be a reminiscence of the well-known tradition that the body of Mohammed was gnawed by dogs (see Dozy, *Spanish Islam* (1913), pp. 269–70, and cf. *Aiol*, v. 10,092, *Coronement Looïs*, v. 852). See also above, v. 8, note. The poet was perhaps not unmindful of the destruction of the altars and images of Baal.

2585. In O: *sesceptre et sa curune;* V⁴ *li crine & la corone.*

2586. *par main* (*par les mains* in O) is best taken as Lat. PER MANE, 'soon,' 'immediately'; *aparmain, aparmaines* is also frequent in this sense.

Plusors colors aṭ peintes eḍ escrites.
E Bramimonde lo ploreṭ, la reïne,
Trait ses chevels si se claimeṭ chaitive,
A·l altre mot molt haltement s'escriḍeṭ:
'E! Sarragoce, com iés ui desguarniḍe
De·l gentil rei ki t'aveit en baillie!
Li nostre deu i ont fait felonie
Ki en bataille ui matin li faillirent.
Li amirailz i feraṭ coḍardie
S'il ne combat a cele gent hardiḍe
Ki si sont fier n'ont cure de lor viḍes.
Li emperedre oḍ la barbe floriḍe
Vasselage aṭ e molt grant estoltie,
S'il aṭ bataille il ne s'en fuiraṭ mie:
'Molt est granz doels que nen est ki·l ociḍeṭ.'

CLXXXVIII

Baligant, emir of Cairo, had been summoned by Marsile during the first year of the Spanish war

Li emperedre par sa grant poḍestét
.vii. anz toz pleins aṭ en Espaigne estét,

2597. *al altre mot.* Like *a cest mot, al premier mot* (for which see Ebeling, *Auberee,* v. 315, n.) this phrase comes to mean merely 'and thereupon.' A similar expression is *a l'altre voiz,* Alexis, v. 296.

2602. *Li amirailz* is Baligant, Marsile's overlord. See v. 2525, note.

2615. Bramimonde's unwelcome eulogy of Charles and the French (cf. vv. 2737 ff.) is very like the discourses of the Emir Kerbogha's mother at Antioch (AGF, *c.* XXII). The Latin historians of the First Crusade inform us that this dame, later named Kalabra in the *Chanson d'Antioche* and in the epic *Godefroi de Bouillon,* made desperate efforts to dissuade her son from fighting the Franks, giving as her main reason that the Lord always fought on the Christian side.

2609. Here begins "Baligant," Part I. See v. 2525, note. Others (Scholle, Gröber) would begin Part I with v. 2570. Critics are generally agreed that "he who put the last hand

Prent i chastels eḍ alquantes citez.
Li reis Marsílies s'en porchaceṭ asez:
A·l premier an fist ses briés seieler,
En Babilónie Baligant aṭ mandéṭ,
Ço'st l'amirail lo vieil d'antiquitéṭ
(Toz sorvesquiéṭ e Virgílie eḍ Omer):
'En Sarragoce alt socorre li ber,
E s'il ne·l fait, il guerpiraṭ ses deus,
Totes ses ýdeles queḍ il soelt aḍorer,
Si recevraṭ saincte chrestiëntéṭ,
A Charlemagne se voldraṭ acorder.'
E cil est loinz si aṭ molt demoréṭ,
Mandeṭ sa gent de .xl. regnez,
Ses granz drodmonz en aṭ fait aprester,
Eschiez e barges e galies e nes.
Soz Alexándrie aṭ un port joste mer,
Tot son navílie i aṭ fait aprester;
Ço est en mai, a·l premier jorn d'estéṭ,
Totes ses oz aṭ empeintes en mer.

to the poem is the author of Baligant" (Baist). See also Introduction, p. lxi. For "recommencements" (*reprises*) in the epics, see Gautier, *Epopées*, I², p. 383.

2614. "Babylonia," to the historians of the First Crusade, always meant Cairo in Egypt; from 972 onwards it was the seat of the Fatimite Caliphs. The city, one mile to the south of the present Cairo, was a great trade-center, and ruled over northern Africa (cf. v. 3208), Syria and Palestine, as well as Egypt. It is an "admiravisus Babyloniæ", the Emir al-Afdhal, who leads the Fatimite forces against the Christians at Ascalon (1099). Cf. also v. 2980.

2615. *vieil d'antiquitét* 'of very great age.' Similarly, the *Roman des Sept Sages* (p. 43) mentions "Un sage viel de grant aage." One suspects that this great age is intended to make Baligant and Charles a pair, the latter also being credited with a fabulous longevity (v. 524).

2616. A line supported by no other version. Does it mean "He lived to a greater age than either Vergil or Homer" (so Bédier) or, "He lived as long ago as Vergil and Homer, and survived them?" For the latter interpretation, see ZfRP, XXXIX, p. 299 (Settegast).

2618. The first *il* is Baligant, the second is Marsile.

2619. *E tuz ses ýdeles* in O; but the word is fem., cf. v. 3664.

2628. In France, summer is held

CLXXXIX

Baligant and his fleet sail from Alexandria for the coast of Spain

Granz sont les oz de cele gent averse,
Siglent a fort e nagent e governent.
En som cez maz e en cez haltes vernes
Asez i aṭ carboncles e lanternes:
La sus amont pargietent tel luiserne
Par mie nuit la mer en est plus bele;
E come il vienent en Espaigne la tere
Toz li païs en reluist eḍ esclaireṭ.
Josqu'a Marsílie en parvont les noveles. Aoi.

CXC

Baligant's fleet ascends the Ebro

Gent paienor ne voelent cesser onkes:
Issent de mer, vienent as ewes dolces;
Laissent Marbrise e si laissent Marbrose,

to begin about the 10th to the 15th of May. Thus, for Marie de France (*Lanval*, v. 11) Whitsunday is "in summer."

2631. For *a fort*, Foerster proposed to substitute *a force* (as in MS T): *a fort*, however, occurs in the Munich *Brut*, v. 1251, in Berol's *Tristan*, v. 3803, and in Robert of Gretham's *Miroir*, ed. Aitken, p. 155 (with *courir*). Coupled as it is here with the Norse *sigl-er*, appearances strongly favor the OE *a forth* 'aye forth,' 'ever onward'; similarly, Wace pronounced *nort* for *north*, as appears when he explains the origin of the word *Norman*. 'To sail forth' is still the best of English.

2633. In the middle ages it was generally believed that the carbuncle and other precious stones shone in the darkness. Girard of Rossillon boasts that his castle is so illumined, and that at midnight one would believe it was midday (§ 53). See also *Thèbes*, vv. 632, 2955, and the Letter of Prester John.

2635. *Par mie nuit* 'in the very midst of night.' For O's defective *Par la noit*, V^4 reads: *De meca noit*.

2641. Marbrise and Marbrose are not identified. One might expect

Par Sebre amont tot lor navírie tornent.
Asez i aṭ lanternes e carboncles,
Tote la nuit molt grant clartéṭ lor donent:
Aḍ icel jorn vienent a Sarragoce. Aoi. 2645

CXCI

The emir Baligant disembarks, and holds a council of war

Clers est li jorz e li soleilz luisanz;
Li amirailz est eissuz de·l chalant,
Espaneliz fors lo vait adestrant,
Dis e set rei aprés lo vont siwant,
Contes e dux i aṭ bien ne sai quanz. 2650
Soz un lorier, ki est en mi un champ,
Sor l'erbe verte gietent un pálie blanc,
Un faldestoel i ont mis d'olifant:
Desor s'asiét li paiens Baliganz,
Li altre tuit sont remés en estant, 2655
Li sire d'els premiers parlaṭ avant:
'Ore m'oḍez, franc chevalier vaillant!
Charles li reis, l'emperedre des Frans,
Ne deit mangier se jo ne li comant.

Maiorca and Minorca to be in question, but it appears that the two places mentioned are not upon the salt sea (v. 2640).

2645. The Ebro had formerly a much greater volume of water than now; the ancients state that it was navigable even beyond Saragossa, to Logroño. Cf. Boissonnade, p. 261.

2653. Perhaps: Un faldestoel i out, mis ('trimmed') d'olifant; cf. v. 609.

2655. *Li altre tuit.* O has: *Tuit li altre*, and V⁴ *Trestuti li altri*, but post-position of *tot* is instanced, v. 2832, and even as late as Crestien (*Erec*, v. 2309; *Cligés*, v. 5894). The copyist is ruthless in his suppression of archaic (and poetical) expressions; in English, he would not have spared "my merry men all."

2657. For *Oiez ore* in O, Stengel would read *Oiez mei ore*. T. Müller: *Ore m'oiez*.

Par tote Espaigne m'aṭ fait guerre molt grant,
En France dolce lo voeill aler querant,
Ne finerai en trestot mon vivant
Josqu'il seit morz o toz vis recreḍanz.'
Sor son genoill en fiert son destre guant.

CXCII

Baligant informs Marsile of his arrival in Spain

Puis qu'il l'aṭ dit, molt s'en est afichiez
Que ne lairaṭ por tot l'or desoz ciel
Que n'alt aḍ Ais o Charles soelt plaidier:
Si home·l loḍent si li ont conseilliéṭ.
Puis apelaṭ dous de ses chevaliers,
L'un Clarifan e l'altre Clariien:
'Vos estes filz a·l rei Maltraïien
Ki mes messages solt faire volentiers:
Jo vos comant qu'en Sarragoce algiez,
Marsilion de meie part nonciez
Contre Franceis li sui venuz aidier,
Se jo truis o, molt grant bataille i iert;
Si l'en donez cest guant aḍ or pleiéṭ,
E·l destre poign si li faites chalcier;

2667. The reading *Que n'alt* is from CV⁷; cf. *voise* in T. O: *Que il ainz* (!)

2668. O's reading, *Si hume li lo. ent*, Stengel solves as *Si hume l'oënt*, which has less force than *loḍent*, Lat. LAUDANT.

2676. *o*, or *oi* 'chance,' 'occasion'; cf. vv. 3004, 3025. The word appears to be Lat. UBI; cf. *Rom.* IX, p. 118.

2677. 'Give him, folded, this glove ornamented with gold,' as a pledge of fidelity. The custom of presenting folded the object which constituted the gage, is often attested; cf. *Thèbes*, II, p. 335, and Du Cange, s.v. VADIUM PLICARE.

2678. *El destre poign*. There is mordant irony in the fact, known to the reader or hearer but not to Bali-

Si li portez cest bastoncel d'ormier,
Eḍ a mei viengeṭ reconoistre son fieuṭ.
En France irai por Charle guerreier:
S'en ma merciṭ ne se colzt a mes piez
E ne guerpisseṭ la lei de chrestiiens,
Jo li toldrai la corone de·l chief.'
Paien respondent: 'Sire, molt dites bien.'

CXCIII

THE TWO MESSENGERS ARRIVE IN SARAGOSSA

Dist Baliganz: 'Car chevalchiez, baron!
L'uns port lo guant, li altre lo baston.'
E cil respondent: 'Chier sire, si ferom.'
Tant chevalchierent qu'en Sarragoce sont,
Passent .x. portes, traversent .iiii. ponz,
Totes les rues o li borgeis estont.
Com il aproisment en la citéṭ amont
Vers lo palais oḍirent grant fremor;
Asez i aṭ de la gent paienor,
Plorent e criḍent, demeinent grant dolor,
Plaignent lor deus Tervagant e Mahom,
Eḍ Apollin dont il mie nen ont.

gant, that King Marsile had lost his right hand; vv. 1903, 2574. This whole narrative has unusual liveliness and vigor.

2679. *cest bastoncel*. Reading from the other versions; O has: *cestun cel* (!) For the ambassadorial staff, see vv. 247, 765.

2682–83. For *se* 'if' with the Ps. Sbj., a rare construction in OF, see ML, III, § 685. Philippe de Thaün has: "S'el [a lunar period] comenst en janvier . . ."

2690. *dis portes*. Boissonnade, p. 84.

2691. For OF *tot* in the sense of 'along,' 'through,' see RF, XX, p. 691 (Beyer). — *li borgeis*. The oldest occurrence known of this fateful word: it was born, we are told, in the fortified suburbs of the feudal castles. Thus, Elie of St. Gilles asks: "Sont che vilain de vile ou borgois de chité?" (v. 315).

2697. For the expression *n'aveir mie de*, cf. v. 1172, note.

Dist l'uns a·l altre: 'Chaitif, que devendrom?
Sor nos est ui male confusion,
Perduț avom lo rei Marsilion;
Li quens Roḍlanz li trenchaț ier lo poign.
Nos n'avom mie de Jurfaleu lo blont,
Trestote Espaigne iert hui en lor bandon.'
Li dui message descendent a·l peḍron.

CXCIV

Their interview with Marsile and Bramimonde

Lor chevals laissent dedesoz une olive,
Dui Sarrazin par les reḍnes les pristrent,
E li message par les mantels se tindrent,
Puis sont montéț sus e·l palais altisme.
Com il entrerent en la chambre voltice
[Lo rei troverent, devant lui la reïne,]
Par bel' amor malvais saluz li firent:
'Cil Mahomet, ki nos aț en baillie,
E Tervaganz eḍ Apollins mis sire
Salvent lo rei e guardent la reïne!'

2698. O is corrected from V⁴: *Dis lun alaltro.* O: *Dit cascun al altre.*

2699. *Sor nos est venue* O; corrected from v. 3276, but V⁴: *Soura nu e.*

2707. 'The messengers held each other by their cloaks.' If the reading is correct, the purpose of giving this detail can hardly be other than to ridicule the customs of the paynims. The romances, which give so much space to matters of social etiquette, prescribe that the cloak must be laid aside whenever a person of lower degree presents himself before royalty; cf. *G. de Dole*, vv. 970–72, *Cligès*, vv. 314–16, *Du Mantel mautaillié*, v. 124. Note that the salutations of Clarifan and Clariën are also the opposite of graceful (v. 2710).

2709 *a*. This verse, drawn from MS P, is added to supply the antecedent to *li*, v. 2710. For *Par bel amor*, V⁴ has: *Vene al roi* (= *Vienent al rei*); if this were adopted, v. 2709 *a* would be unnecessary. W. P. Ker quoted v. 2710 as a rare specimen of a "turn upon words," probably learned by the poet in grammar-school (*The Dark Ages*, p. 355); the reading, however, is too uncertain to be valuable.

Dist Bramimonde: 'Or oi molt grant folie.
Cist nostre deu sont en recreḍantise,
En Rencesvals malvaises vertuz firent,
Noz chevaliers i ont laissiéṭ ociḍre,
Cest mien seignor en bataille faillirent,
Lo destre poign aṭ perduṭ, n'en aṭ mie,
Si li trenchaṭ li quens Rodlanz li riches.
Trestote Espaigne avraṭ Charles bailliḍe;
Que devendrai, dolorose chaitive?
Lasse que n'ai un home ki m'ociḍeṭ!' Aoi.

CXCV

The queen perversely praises Charles and the French

Dist Clariiens: 'Dame, ne parlez tant.
Message somes a·l paien Baligant.
Marsilion, ço dist, seraṭ guaranz,
Si l'en enveieṭ son baston e son guant.
En Sebre avom .iiii. mílie chalanz,
Eschiez e barges e galees coranz;
Drodmonz i aṭ, ne vos sai dire quanz.
Li amirailz est riches e poissanz,
En France iraṭ Charlemagne querant,
Rendre lo quideṭ o mort o recreḍant.'
Dist Bramimonde: 'Mar en iraṭ itant:
Plus pres d'ici poḍrez trover les Frans,
En ceste tere aṭ estéṭ ja .vii. anz;
Li empereḍre est ber e combatanz,

2716. *vertuz* 'miracles.'
2723. For *un home qui*, Stengel reads *un coltel dont*, from V⁴.
2734. *Mar . . . itant.* 'No need to go so far.' The queen's remarks are certainly vexatious, and merit rebuke (vv. 2724, 2742). Cf. v. 2605, note.

Mieilz voelt morir que ja fuiet de champ,
Soz ciel n'at rei qu'il prist ad un enfant:
Charles ne crient home ki seit vivanz.'

CXCVI

Marsile offers to relinquish his fief to Baligant, if the latter will attack Charles

'Laissiez ester,' dist Marsílies li reis.
Dist as messages: 'Seignors, parlez a mei.
Ja vedez vos qued a mort sui destreiz;
Jo si nen ai filz ne fille ne heir,
Un en aveie, cil fut ocis herseir.
Mon seignor dites qu'il me vienget vedeir:
Li amirailz at en Espaigne dreit,
Quite li claim se il la voelt aveir,
Puis la defendet encontre les Franceis.
Vers Charlemagne li donrai bon conseill:
Conquis l'avrat d'ui cest jorn en un meis.
De Sarragoce les cles li portereiz,
Puis dites li nen irat, s'il me creit.'
E cil respondent: 'Sire, vos dites veir.' Aoi.

CXCVII

The messengers return

Ço dist Marsílies: 'Charles li emperedre
Morz m'at mes homes, ma tere deguastede,

2741. *ço ester* in O, but *ço* is wanting in V^4, 2930.

2750–53. Marsile wishes to encourage Baligant, and predicts that a month will be enough to conquer Charles. He is solicitous lest the Emir of Cairo, on learning of the disastrous rout at the Ebro, should return to Egypt.

2754. A diplomatic comment.

E mes citez fraites e violeḍes.
Il jut anuit sor cele ewe de Sebre;
Jo ai contéṭ, n'aṭ mais que .vii. liweḍes.
L'amirail dites que s'ost i seit meneḍe:
Par vos li mant bataille i seit josteḍe.'
De Sarragoce les cles li aṭ livreḍes,
Li messagier ambedui l'enclinerent,
Prenent congiéṭ, a cel mot s'en tornerent.

CXCVIII

They make report to the emir Baligant

Li dui message es chevals sont montéṭ,
Isnelement issent de la citéṭ,
A·l amiraill en vont tuit esfreḍéṭ,
De Sarragoce li presentent les cles.
Dist Baliganz: 'Queḍ avez vos trovéṭ?
O est Marsílies queḍ aveie mandéṭ?'
Dist Clariiens: 'Il est a mort naffrez.
Li empereḍre fuṭ ier as porz passer,
Si s'en voleit en dolce France aler,
Par grant honor se fist rieḍreguarder:
Li quens Roḍlanz sis niés i fuṭ remés,

2759. The king is giving exact information as to where Charles is to be found.

2762. Has the poet forgotten that, at vv. 654, 677, the keys of the city had been sent to Charlemagne in care of Ganelon? — *li*. P has *lor*.

2772. If *ier*, here and at v. 2791 is literally 'yesterday' and not 'lately,' events are developing rapidly. L. Petit de Julleville, accepting August 15 as the date of the battle, remarks: "L'escadre de Baligant met à la voile au mois de mai. Elle entre dans l'Ebre le 15 août. Cette navigation n'est pas extraordinaire pour l'époque." But the date in August is by no means certain; cf. v. 1002, note.

2774. *par grant honor* 'very honorably,' 'by a fine troop of knights'; similarly, *aprendre honor* is 'to learn chivalry' (Crestien de Troyes).

Eḍ Oliviers e tuit li .xii. per,
De cels de France .xx. mílië adobéṭ;
Li reis Marsílies si·s combatiéṭ, li ber,
Il e Roḍlanz e·l champ furent remés,
De Durendal li donaṭ un colp tel
Lo destre poign li aṭ de·l cors sevréṭ;
Son filz aṭ morṭ qu'il tant soleit amer,
E les barons qu'il i out amenez.
Fuiant s'en vint qu'il n'i pout mais ester,
Li empereḍre l'aṭ enchalciéṭ asez;
Li reis vos mandeṭ que vos lo socorez,
Quite vos claimeṭ d'Espaigne lo regnéṭ.'
E Baliganz comenceṭ a penser,
Si grant doel aṭ por poi qu'il n'est desvez. Aoi.

CXCIX

'Sire amirailz,' ço li dist Clariiens,
'En Rencesvals une bataille out ier,
Morz est Roḍlanz e li quens Oliviers,
Li .xii. per Charles aveit tant chiers,
De lor Franceis i aṭ morz .xx. milliers.
Li reis Marsílies lo poign destre i perdiéṭ,
Li empereḍre asez l'aṭ enchalciéṭ,
En ceste tere n'est remés chevaliers
Ne seit ocis o en Sebre neiez;
Desor la rive sont Franceis herbergiéṭ,
En cest païs nos sont tant aproeciéṭ,
Se vos volez, li repaiḍres iert griés.'
E Baliganz lo reguart en aṭ fier,
En son corage en est joios e liez.

2795. For post-position of *destre*, cf. v. 2809; V⁴ also has *li pung destro*.

De·l faldestoel se redreceț en piez,
Aprés escriḍeț: 'Barons, ne vos targiez!
Eissiez des nes, montez si chevalchiez!
S'or ne s'en fuit Charlemagnes li vieilz,
Li reis Marsílies enqui seraț vengiez:
Por son poign destre l'en liverrai lo chief.'

CC

The emir Baligant himself goes to Saragossa

Paien d'Arábie des nes se sont eissuț,
Puis sont montéț es chevals eḍ es muls,
Si chevalchierent, que fereient il plus?
Li amirailz ki trestoz les esmut
Si·n apelaț Gemalfin un soen druț:
'Jo te comant de tote m'ost l'aḍun,'
Puis est montez en un suen destrier brun,
Ensembl'oḍ lui en meineț .iiii. dux.
Tant chevalchaț qu'en Sarragoce fuț,
Aḍ un peḍron de marbre est descenduz,
E quatre conte l'estreu li ont tenuț.
Par les degrez e·l palais monteț sus,
E Bramimonde vient corant contre lui,
Si li aț dit: 'Dolente, mare fui!
A honte, sire, mon seignor ai perduț.'
Chiét li as piez, l'amirailz la reçut,
Sus en la chambre aḍ doel en sont venuț. Aoi.

2805. *Aprés* is from V⁴ (*Puis* in O).
2815. *l'adun*, deverbal of *aduner*. Reading first suggested by G. Paris (*Rom.* II, p. 101). The scribe of O did not recognize the word; V⁴ *cundu* (= *conduit?*).

CCI

The last interview of Baligant and king Marsile

Li reis Marsílies com il veit Baligant
Donc apelaṭ dous Sarrazins espans:
'Pernez m'as braz, si·m dreciez en seḍant.'
A·l poign senestre aṭ pris un de ses guanz;
Ço dist Marsílies: 'Sire reis amiranz,
Mes teres totes ici quites vos rent,
E Sarragoce e l'onor qu'i apent:
Mei ai perduṭ e trestote ma gent.'
E cil respont: 'Tant sui jo plus dolenz
Ne puis a vos tenir long parlement;
Jo sai asez que Charles ne m'atent,
E neporquant de vos receif lo guant.'
A·l doel qu'il aṭ s'en est tornez plorant,
Par les degrez jus de·l palais descent,
E·l cheval monteṭ, vient a sa gent poignant.
Tant chevalchaṭ qu'il est premiers devant,
D'ores aḍ altres si se vait escriḍant:
'Venez, paien, car ja s'en fuient Franc.' Aoi.

2834. Reading from V^4, 3018: *stretuta mia gent.* O: *et ute ma gent.*

2835–36. For parataxis with *tant*, see PMLA, XXI, p. 527 (Shepard). As there is no need to express the pron. *jo*, a better reading would be: De tant sui plus dolanz; cf. *De ço* in V^4.

2837–38. Baligant means that, as no formal battle has yet been arranged, with formal *défi*, between himself and Charles, Marsile is still the legal holder (and challenger) of the fief; to accept the glove would be to publish abroad Marsile's defeat and humiliation. Thus the poet finds courtesy even in the Emir of Cairo, who would spare Marsile's feelings if he could.

2843. *D'ores.* O: *De uns*(?) Cf. 2014, n.

2844. Here ends Part I of "Baligant"; for the continuation, see vv. 2974 ff. See notes to vv. 2525, 2609.

CCII

Charlemagne, meantime, has returned to Rencesvals

A·l matinet quant apert la clere albe,
Esveilliez est li emperedre Charles.
Sainz Gabriël ki de part Deu lo guardet
Lievet sa main, sor lui fait son signacle.
Li reis descent si at renduz ses armes,
Si se desarment par tote l'ost li altre,
Puis sont montét, par grant vertuz chevalchent
Cez veies longes e cez chemins molt larges,
Si vont vedeir lo merveillos damage
En Rencesvals, la o fut la bataille. Aoi.

CCIII

Charles, weeping, seeks the body of Roland

En Rencesvals en est Charles entrez,
Des morz qu'il troevet comencet a plorer.
Dist as Franceis: 'Seignors, lo pas tenez,
Kar mei medisme estoet avant aler
Por mon nevot que voldreie trover.

2845. *clere* is added from V^4 3028; cf. v. 737.

2849. Stengel: *Li reis se drece* (= V^4); but *descent* may mean merely 'gets out of bed'; cf. the modern 'une descente de lit'; similarly OF has *descendre de mer* 'to disembark.' At vv. 2496–500 also, Charles slept armed. For *descent*, Bédier conjectures *desceint* 'unstraps.'

2852. *chemins larges*. See v. 2489, note.

2854. A resounding line, imitated in later epics. No doubt it acquired, in time, some of the poetic suggestiveness of Wordsworth's "For old, unhappy, far-off things, And battles long ago."

2855. *venuz* (false assonance) in O; V^4, 3048, *intrer*.

'Aḍ Ais esteie, aḍ une feste anoel,
Si se vantoent mi vaillant chevaler
De granz batailles, de forz estors champels;
D'une raison oḍi Roḍlant parler:
Ja ne morreit en estrange regnéṭ
Ne trespassast ses homes e ses pers:
Vers lor païs avreit son chief tornéṭ,
Conquerrantment si finereit li ber.'
Plus qu'em ne poet un bastoncel jeter,
Devant les altres est en un pui montez.

CCIV

Charlemagne finds the body of his nephew, and swoons

Quant l'emperedre vait querre son nevoṭ,
De tantes herbes e·l preṭ trovaṭ les flors
Ki sont vermeilles de·l sanc de noz barons!
Pitéṭ en aṭ, ne poet muḍer n'en plort.
Desoz dous arbres par venuz est amont,
Les cols Roḍlant conut en treis peḍrons,
Sor l'erbe verte veit gesir son nevoṭ;

2860. To understand *anoel* as *a Noel* (Chamard, Petit de Julleville), is inadmissible, on account of the meter; the expression *une feste anuel* is frequent: Wace, Philippe de Thaün, and others.

2861. For *chevaler* (*ciualer* in V⁴, 3044), cf. v. 309, n.

2862. *champels*. From V⁴; O has *pleners* (a false assonance); cf. v. 3147, and *Auc.* § 31, 4.

2863. Roland has literally fulfilled his vow, which, compared with others, seems moderate: cf. vv. 2263–66, and 2359–63. "Por ço l'at fait" of v. 2361 has almost the air of the Scriptural "that it might be fulfilled." — For *parler*, Stengel reads *vanter* (from V⁴).

2871. These "crimson flowers" may still be seen at Roncesvaux.

2874–75. The two fine trees are those mentioned at v. 2267. Four blocks of stone figured at v. 2268, but Roland smote upon only three of them, in the effort to make Durendal useless (vv. 2300, 2312, 2338). — For *amont*, O has *li reis* (false assonance); V⁴, 3008, *amo*.

Nen est merveille se Charles aţ iror,
Descent a piéţ, alez i est plein cors,
Si prent lo conte entre ses mains ansdous,
Sor lui se pasmeţ, tant par est angoissos.

CCV

Charles laments for Roland

Li emperedre de pasmeisons revint,
Naimes li dux e li quens Acelins,
Gefreiz d'Anjou e sis fredre Tiedris
Prenent lo rei si·l drecent soz un pin;
Guardeţ a tere, veit son nevoţ gesir;
Tant dolcement a regreter lo prist:
'Amis Rodlanz, de tei ait Deus merciţ,
Onques nuls hom tel chevalier ne vit
Por granz batailles joster e defenir!
La meie honor est tornede en declin.'
Charles se pasmeţ, ne s'en pout astenir. Aoi.

CCVI

Charles li reis revient de pasmeisons,
Par mains lo tienent .iiii. de ses barons.
Guardeţ a tere, veit gesir son nevolţ:

2879. End of the line illegible in O; reading from V⁴ 3063, adopted also by Müller, Gautier and Stengel.

2883. All editors replace the *Henri* of O by *Thierri* (of Anjou), who later on is Charles' champion against Pinabel. At v. 3818, where the brother of Jeffrey of Anjou is again mentioned, Thierri is certainly the personage intended. All other versions support the reading *Thierri*, in both passages. Did the copyist attempt to introduce a Henry to please the reigning House of Anjou? Cf. ZfRP, XXXVIII, p. 703, note (Tavernier).

2886. *regreter*. For the meaning, see v. 1512, note.

2892. For *revient*, O has *seuint;* but *reuen* V⁴ 3076.

2893. *quatre*, as above, vv. 2882–83. O reads *iii;* V⁴ *quatro*, v. 3077.

Cors aţ gaillart, perdude aţ sa color,
Tornez ses oeilz, molt li sont tenebros.
Charles lo plaint par feiţ e par amor:
'Amis Rodlanz, Deus meteţ t'anme en flors,
En paredis entre les glorios!
Com en Espaigne venis a mal seignor!
Jamais n'iert jorz de tei n'aie dolor.
Com dechadraţ ma force e ma baldor!
Nen avrai ja ki sostiengeţ m'onor;
Soz ciel ne quit aveir ami un sol,
Se ai parenz, nen i aţ nul si proţ.'
Trait ses crignels pleines ses mains amsdous.
Cent mílie Franc en ont si grant dolor
Nen i aţ cel ki durement ne plort. Aoi.

CCVII

'Amis Rodlanz, jo m'en irai en France:
Com jo serai a Lodon en ma chambre,

2896. *Tornez ses oeilz.* Chamard finds that this expression (which Stengel alters) is still used by Voltaire (*Le pauvre Diable*, 1758).

2900. For O's *mal*, V⁴ 3083 has, correctly, *a mal*. As overlord to Roland, Charles looks upon himself as a failure; cf. a similar self-reproach, v. 2937. Girart de Rossillon, in a soliloquy, says: "Pechaires! las! Qu'as fait de tes barons cui amenas!" (vv. 6040–41). H. R. Lang (RR, III, p. 309) would read *venis a mal, Seignor;* but it is inadmissible to use *seignor* as a nom. sg. (= vocative) at this date; see Beyer, *Die Flexion des Vocativs im Altrfz. u. Prov.* (1883), pp. 15–17. Moreover, *mal*, as adj., is frequent in *Rol.*

2901. *jorz.* The word is scarcely legible in O; but V⁴ 3084 *çorno*.

2910. *Lodon.* Laon (Aisne) was the capital of the Carolingians from the reign of Charles the Simple (898–922). "Charlemagne," said G. Paris, "place la scène du tableau qu'il se fait une fois à Aix-la-Chapelle (v. 2917) et l'autre fois à Laon, et ces deux capitales de la royauté carolingienne appartiennent à des époques toutes différentes." There seems little reason, however, to suppose a contradiction here, and still less to ascribe the two laisses to different authors: Charles may hold court anywhere "in France," and people everywhere may ask questions as to Roland's failure to return home.

De plusors regnes vendront li home estrange,
Demanderont: 'O est li quens chataignes?'
Jo lor dirrai qu'il est morz en Espaigne.
A grant dolor tendrai puis mon reialme,
Jamais n'iert jorz que ne plor ne ne·m plaigne.

CCVIII

'Amis Rodlanz, prozdoem, jovente bele,
Com jo serai ad Ais em ma chapele,
Vendront li home, demanderont noveles:
Je·s lor dirrai merveilloses e pesmes —
'Morz est mis niés ki tant me fist conquere.'
Encontre mei reveleront li Saisne,
E Hongre e Bolgre e tante gent averse,
Romain, Poillain, e tuit cil de Palerne,
E cil d'Affrike e cil de Califerne;

2921. *li Saisne.* A true touch, for Charles' Saxon wars lasted from the year 772 to 804; there were four campaigns against these stubborn heathen during the years 772 to 779. Einhard (c. IX) says: "Whilst the war with the Saxons was being prosecuted constantly and almost continuously . . . he attacked Spain . . ." There is no inconsistency when, later on (v. 3700), the Saxons figure among the peoples convoked to carry out the trial of Ganelon, for they more than once "followed the king's standards" (Einhard, c. XII).

2923. *Poillain.* Here, apparently, the Apulians, as they are associated with the Romans and the Sicilians; see vv. 371, 2328, nn. — *cil de Palerne.* Sicily was really subject to the Byzantine Empire in Charlemagne's time, but the Arabs captured it soon afterwards. There was also a *Palerne* on the coast of Epirus; cf. vv. 3220, 3228, nn.

2924. *Califerne.* Not certainly identified, but probably the region of which Aleppo was the chief city. The epics mention a city or region *Oliferne* (var. *Oluferne*, as *Rol.*, v. 3297) which appears to be Aleppo (cf. *Chanson d'Antioche*, I, p. 26; II, pp. 146, 351). As the variants *Chaleb, Calep, Haleb,* and *Alep,* all deriving from Gk. *Chalybon* (country of the *Chalybes*), so are *Olif-, Oluf-, Holif-,* and probably *Califerne.* More exactly, *Califerne* may be a compound of *Chalus,* the river which flows by Aleppo, and *Ferne* (Lat. FERNUM, FERNA), the popular name of the lower Orontes, after it has traversed Antioch. It is at any rate certain that the "Corbaran of Oliferne" of the epics is Kerbogha, whose mother

Puis enterront mes peines e soffraites.
Ki guiḍerat mes oz a tel poḍeste,
Quant cil est morz ki toz jorz nos chadeleṭ?
E! France dolce, com oi remains deserte.
Si grant doel ai que jo ne voldreie estre.'
Sa barbe blanche comenceṭ a detraire,
Aḍ ambes mains les chevels de sa teste;
Cent mílie Franc s'en pasment contre tere.

CCIX

'Amis Roḍlanz, si mare fuṭ ta viḍe,
L'anme de tei en pareḍis seit mise!
Ki tei aṭ mort molt aṭ France honiḍe.

at least, was of Aleppo. The crusaders defeated him at Antioch, in 1098; see the AGF, cc. XXI–XXIX, where he is called Curbaram, and Baist's *Variationen*, p. 223. It is but 55 miles east from Antioch to Aleppo, and Califerne may designate, like *Mesopotamia*, the region included between the two rivers. Only a part of this territory was conquered by Baldwin, in 1121, and it was soon lost. That there is any connection between *Califerne* and the *California* of the Spanish romances, is yet to be shown; for the latter, cf. *California: the Name*, by Putnam, Priestley and Reed (University of California Publications, 1917). Boissonnade (pp. 158–62) sees in the word a compound of Arab. *Calaa* 'place forte,' as in *Alcalá*, and would look in Africa for *Califerne*.

2925. *enterront*. Like Prov. *intrar*, OF *entrer* in the sense of 'commencer'; it is used especially, as here, of the beginning of a season, or period. Stengel: *en trerunt*. — The copyist of O used *mes* before both nouns, but OF dispensed with the repetition; cf. *mon nom et armes*, Rabelais, iii, 9.

2927. O carelessly omits *morz* here, and *dolce* and *oi* in the next line; all supplied from V⁴.

2928. G. Paris omitted this verse, also v. 2932, but both are supported by V⁴ 3112, 3116. O: *remeines*, but V⁴: *reman oi*. Cf. also v. 1985.

2930–32. According to Ribot, men of the Middle Age differed from moderns especially in having a livelier imagination and a more intense and concrete vision of things. G. Paris compared them to children, but these manifestations of grief are certainly looked upon as praiseworthy. Cf. Charles' ready tears, vv. 349, 773, nn.

2933–35. By a distraction, the copyist of O has given the first three lines a masculine assonance; of these, v. 2934 is readily restored by inversion, the other two from V⁴ 3117–18. All editors restore the assonance.

Si grant dol ai que ne voldreie vivre,
De ma maisniedę ki por mei est ocise.
Ço dongeț Deus, li filz saincte Marie,
Ainz que jo vienge as maistres porz de Cízere,
L'anme de·l cors me seit ui departiḍe!
Entre les lor fust aloëḍe e mise,
E ma charn fust delez els enfoḍiḍe.'
Ploreț des oeilz, sa blanche barbe tireț.
'E!' dist dux Naimes, 'or aț Charles grant ire.' Aoi.

CCX

Jeffrey of Anjou recalls Charlemagne to the duty of burying the dead

'Sire emperedre,' ço dist Gefreiz d'Anjou,
'Ceste dolor ne demenez tant fort.
Par tot lo champ faites querre les noz
Que cil d'Espaigne en la bataille ont morz;
En un charnel comandez qu'om les port.'
Ço dist li reis: 'Sonez en vostre corn.' Aoi.

CCXI

Gefreiz d'Anjou aț son graisle sonéț,
Franceis descendent, Charles l'aț comandéț,
Toz lor amis qu'il i ont morz trovez
Aḍ un charnier sempres les ont portez.
Asez i aț evesques eḍ abez,
Mónies, chanónies, proveiḍres coronez,

2937. *por mei* as at v. 1863.
2941. *fust* supplied from V⁴.
2953. The Spanish fragment "Roncesvalles" describes at this point the finding of the bodies of Oliver and of Turpin, while the Pseudo-Turpin has here a long account of Oliver's wounds (c. XXXVI).

Si·s ont asols e seigniez de part Deu.
Mirre e timome i firent alumer,
Gaillardement toz les ont encensez,
A grant honor puis les ont enterrez,
Si·s ont laissiez: qu'en fereient il el? Aoi.

CCXII

The bodies of Roland, Oliver and Turpin receive special honor

Li emperedre fait Rodlant costedir,
Ed Olivier e l'evesque Turpin;
Dedevant sei les at fait toz ovrir,
E toz les quers en pálie recoillir;
En blanc sarcou de marbre sont enz mis,
E puis les cors des barons si ont pris,
En quirs de cerf les treis seignors ont mis;
Bien sont lavét de piment e de vin.
Li reis comandet Tedbalt e Geboïn,
Milon lo conte ed Oton lo marchis,
En .iii. charettes, les guider e·l chemin.
Bien sont covert d'un pálie galazin. Aoi.

2963. Archbishop Turpin is here entitled merely "bishop" (as the meter requires); the medieval archbishop was only a metropolitan bishop, with very limited authority over his suffragans. Thus in Chardry (Miracle XVI), Basille is *arcevesque* at v. 39, but *evesque* at vv. 43, 79. O and V^4 are both hypermetrical; while dR, correctly: *biscof Turpinen*.

2965. *toz les cuers*. A similar usage is described in the *Gesta Roberti Guiscardi* of William of Apulia (MGH, SS, IX, 1., v. 398). After this line, G. Paris and Stengel add, from V^4, 3149: Font une fosse dessoz l'ombre d'un pin.

2966. *En* from V^4 (O: *Vn.*)

2968. *En cuirs de cerf*. "On trouve dans les sépultures, du huitième siècle environ au douzième, plus d'un corps cousu dans un grand sac de cuir" (G. Paris). — *treis*, forgotten by O, is supplied from V^4, 3152: *li tri signur*.

2972. Reading from V^4, 3156: *les guie al çamin*. O: *les guiez . . .* (illegible); so Stengel. G. Paris: *les guident*.

2973. *pálie galazin*. These palls were

CCXIII

Two messengers appear and announce the approach of Baligant and his army

Venir s'en volt li empereḍre Charles,
Quant de paiens li sordent les enguardes.
De cels devant i vindrent dui message,
De·l amirail li noncent la bataille:
'Reis orgoillos, nen est fins que t'en alges;
Veiz Baligant ki aprés tei chevalcheṭ.
Granz sont les oz qu'il ameineṭ d'Arábie:
Encoi veḍrom se tu as vasselage.' Aoi.
Charles li reis en aṭ prise sa barbe,
Si lui remembreṭ de·l doel e de·l damage.
Molt fierement tote sa gent reguardeṭ,

for funerals and other similar purposes; those most frequently mentioned in the twelfth century came from "the Orient," often from Alexandria (so V^4, at this line), from Sulie (Syria), Thessaly, and Constantinople. Several epics mention a *paile galatien* (*galacien, galasien*), which would seem to be Galatian, or possibly 'of Galata,' the suburb of Constantinople, where there was a famous factory of silken stuffs; see Schlumberger, *Epopée byzantine*, II, p. 629. In that case *galazin* would be a Provençal form, like OF *palasin*, var. of *palatin*. F. Michel derived the word from the Cilician Galaza, or Glaza, as mentioned by Marco Polo, now Lajazzo (on the sea, opposite Alexandretta). See Michel, *Etoffes de soie, d'or et d'argent*, I, p. 329; Halberg, *L'Extrême Orient*, p. 307.

2974. Part II of "Baligant" begins here; cf. v. 2844, n.

2976. It appears later (vv. 3131, 3191) that the chief of the two messengers is a "Sulian" (Syrian Arab) This personage was an "explorator," and may not have been among the actual fighters (Baist, *Variationen*, p. 221, n.). For the renegade Christian Syrians during the First Crusade, see Hagenmeyer, AGF, p. 244; and for the Syrian Arabs in Spain, see Dozy, *Spanish Islam* (1913).

2977. It is the custom thus to announce the battle formally; if the date and place are given, it will be called a *bataille aramie*. Cf. *Girart de Rossillon*, § 373, and above, v. 2837.

2978. *nen est fins*. 'It is not creditable (that).' Although the subject is neuter *fins*, like *dreiz*, is inflected. So in *Thèbes*, v. 1123.

2980. *Arâbie*. Evidently, Egypt and Arabia make a political unit; cf. v. 2614. For the enumeration of Baligant's forces, see below, vv. 3220 ff.

Puis si s'escriḍeṭ a sa voiz grant e halte:
'Barons franceis, as chevals eḍ as armes!' Aoi.

CCXIV

Charlemagne arms himself

Li emperedre toz premerains s'adobeṭ,
Isnelement aṭ vestuḍe sa brónie,
Laceṭ son helme si aṭ ceinte Joiose,
Ki por soleil sa clartéṭ nen esconseṭ;
Pent a son col un escuṭ de Bitorne,
Tient son espiéṭ si'n fait brandir la more,
En Tencendor son bon cheval puis monteṭ;
Il lo conquist es guez desoz Marsone,
Si'n getaṭ mort Malpalin de Nerbone.
Lascheṭ la reḍne. molt sovent l'esperoneṭ,
Fait son eslais veḍant cent mílië homes, Aoi.
Reclaimeṭ Deu e l'apóstele de Rome.

CCXV

The Franks make ready

Par tot lo champ cil de France descendent,
Plus de cent mílie s'en adobent ensemble;

2985. The poet exaggerates slightly, for Einhard states (c. XXIII) that Charles' voice "was clear, but hardly so strong as you would have expected." V^4 for *grant* has *clere* (v. 3170).

2990. *esconset* is from V^4 3175: *no asconde;* O has *muet* (a false assonance) which seems a reminiscence of v. 2502.

2991. *Bitorne.* Where? O has *Biterne* = *Viterbo*, which is often mentioned elsewhere, but does not suit the assonance. Stengel adopts V^4: *Gironde.*

2992. *more* a conjecture; O has *la hanste* (false assonance). V^4 omits the line.

2993–95. This legend is otherwise unknown.

2998. *l'apóstele de Rome.* Saint Peter. A favorite adjuration is *par l'apostre de Rome*, while the author

Guarnemenz ont ki bien lor atalentent,
Chevals coranz e lor armes molt gentes,
Puis sont montét e ont grant esciënce;
S'il troevent oi, bataille quident rendre.
Cil gonfanon sor les helmes lor pendent.
Quant Charles veit si beles contenances,
Si'n apelat Jozeran de Provence,
Naimon lo duc, Antelme de Maience:
'En tels vassals deit hom aveir fiḍance:
Asez est fols ki entr'els se dementet.
Se Arrabit de venir ne's repentent,
La mort Roḍlant lor quit chierement rendre.'
Respont dux Naimes: 'E Deus lo nos consenteṭ!' Aoi.

CCXVI

Charles organizes his first two divisions: each of fifteen thousand franks

Charles apeleṭ Rabel e Guineman,
Ço dist li reis: 'Seignors, jo vos comant,
Seiez es lius Olivier e Roḍlant;
L'uns port l'espeḍe e l'altre l'olifant,
Si chevalchiez e'l premier chief devant,

of *Eructavit* (Adam de Perseigne?) makes Peter and Paul "seignor de Rome" (v. 761). This verse seems to be an addition (cf. *Aoi* after v. 2997); but Stengel adds three more lines from V⁴.

3008. *Antelme.* The name is very frequent in Dauphiné; Boissonnade, (p. 375) suggests that *Maience* may be a deformation of some place-name in France; V⁴ *Manence.*

3014. *Rabel.* A name well known in Normandy and Brittany in the twelfth century, and recurring in *Horn, Aymeri,* and probably in the *Chanson de Guillaume.* Is the poet honoring some fellow countryman? For two well known Norman barons of this name, see Boissonnade, p. 414.

3017. *l'espede.* This, no doubt, is Durendal, but there is no mention made of Charles having found either the sword or the horn near the body of Roland, vv. 2870 ff.

Ensembl'oḍ vos .xv. mílie de Frans,
De bachelers, de noz meillors vaillanz.
Aprés icels en avraṭ altretant,
Si's guiḍeraṭ Geboïns e Loḍranz.'
Naimes li dux e li quens Jozeranz
Icez eschieles bien les vont ajostant;
S'il troevent oi, bataille i iert molt grant. Aoi.

CCXVII

The third division: Bavarians

De Franceis sont les premieres eschieles,
Aprés les dous establissent la tierce:

3022. *Lodranz.* O has *Guinemans* erroneously, from v. 3014; but V⁴ has *Lorant.* The name seems assured by v. 3469, where the same pair recur, and O has *lorain,* V⁴ *loterant.* Stengel: *Joranz* (= dK); G. Paris: *Laurenz.* Boissonnade (p. 385) confuses *Lodrant* with *Lodrenc* 'a Lorrainer,' but the two names are quite distinct.

3024. *eschieles.* One may compare the enumeration of the divisions (*acies, turmæ*) at Antioch, in June, 1098: "Deinde stabilitæ sunt VI acies . . . in prima Hugo Magnus cum Francigenis . . . in secunda dux Godefridus cum suo exercitu . . ." L. Gautier (*La Chevalerie,* p. 739 ff.) speaks of the absence of strategy in medieval battles, but this opinion is not borne out, at least by the historians of the First Crusade: more than once, the Christian army was saved from destruction by the skillful generalship of Bohemond.

Charles' army, in ten divisions, numbers 350,000, while his enemy will muster no less than thirty divisions, of which the weakest has 50,000 (vv. 3217, 3219). Such vast numbers would have filled the historic Charlemagne with astonishment. On the First Crusade, however, the united Christian forces have been estimated from 300,000 to 600,000; see Oman, *The Art of War in the Middle Ages* (1905), p. 270. In this "catalogue," precedents for which were at hand in Vergil (*Æn.,* VII, 641), in Lucan (*Phar.,* III, 169), in Valerius Flaccus (*Arg.,* VI) and in Silius Italicus (*Pun.,* III, 222), there are three divisions of Franks: the first two (I, II) are of *bachelers* (cf. v. 113, n.), the last (X) is of the white-bearded veterans (v. 3087). Between are ranged the other contingents of Charles' dominions; of these, the Normans and the Lorrainers should hardly figure here, the former being mentioned by Einhard only as fierce enemies of the Empire, the latter being named after Lothaire II, a descendant of Charles.

3025. *oi* 'an opportunity.'

En cele sont li vassal de Baiviere,
Desqu'a .xx. mílie chevaliers la preisierent.
Ja devers els bataille n'iert laissiẹde,
Soz ciel n'aṭ gent que Charles ait plus chiere,
Fors cels de France, ki les regnes conquierent.
Li quens Ogiers li Daneis, li poigniẹdre,
Els guiḍeraṭ kar la compaigne est fiere. Aoi.

CCXVIII

The fourth division: Alemans

Eschieles treis aṭ l'empereḍre Charles;
Naimes li dux puis establist la quarte
De tels barons qu'asez ont vasselage:
Aleman sont e si sont de la marche.

3029. *Desque* wanting in O and V⁴; for the phrase introduced, cf. Tobler, *Mélanges*, pp. 339–40.

3031. It has been argued from this favorable mention of the Bavarians, and of the Alamanni (vv. 3038 ff.), that these lines must have been written before 1107, when the relations between France and Germany became hostile (Louis VI and Henry V). But it must never be forgotten that the poet is writing an epic of the time of Charlemagne, and that he does his best to be correct in his history; cf. vv. 2921, 2923, 3024, 3995, nn.

3032. This is Norman psychology rather than French. Bohemond, for example, had other objects in mind than the liberation of the Holy Sepulcher; cf. William of Malmesbury (Migne, *PL*, CLXXIX, 1293) and Haskins, *The Normans in European History* (1915), p. 214. Even Benoît de Sainte-More (*Chronique*, v. 36,404 ff.) says, in his eulogy of Bohemond, Des citez vout aveir sa part | Que teneit genz de paienie.

3035. Here, and at vv. 1451, 3192, 3217, 3237, the copyist has changed the archaic post-position of the numerals, of which even the later *Aliscans* has examples (vv. 4111, 4223, 4225, 4231). — *at* 'has now, at his disposal.'

3038. *Aleman*. The poet evidently means the tribe or nation which, at the time of the *Lex Alamannorum*, was independent under national dukes but recognized the sovereignty of the Frankish kings; he distinguishes them from the Bavarians, Lorrainers, and Saxons, and is therefore better informed than the Anonymus and Fulcher of Chartres, both of whom use the terms Alemanni and Alemannia for Germans and Germany in general (cf. Hagenmeyer, AGF, p. 111, n.).

de la marche. To emend O's

Vint mílie sont, ço diënt tuit li altre;
Bien sont guarniţ e de chevals e d'armes,
Ja por morir ne guerpiront bataille,
Si·s guiḍeraţ Hermans li dux de Trace:
Ainz i morraţ que coḍardise i faceţ. Aoi.

CCXIX

The fifth division: Normans

Naimes li dux e li quens Jozeranz
La quinte eschiele ont faite de Normanz;
XX. mílie sont, ço diënt tuit li Franc.
Armes ont beles e bons chevals coranz,
Ja por morir cil n'ierent recreḍant,

d'alemaigne (a false assonance) we have only V⁴, 3227: De alemaine sunt & de la March. The "marches" under Charlemagne were the exposed frontier districts — Brittany, Spain, Friuli, Bavaria — each under a *præfectus*, as could be learned from Einhard. Only the Bavarian Eastmark could be in question here, if neighboring nations march together *in hostem*. For objections to this interpretation, see ZFSL, XLI, p. 52 (Tavernier), and Baist, *Variationen*, p. 230, n. See also Remppis, *Deutschland im altfrz. Heldenepos*, 1911, p. 83.

3042. *Hermans li dux de Trace.* The mention here, first of Bavarians (v. 3028), then of Alemans, the latter being led by a Herman, who is a "duc," suggests that the unintelligible "Trace" of O may be an error either for *Suábie* or for *Alsace*. Alsatia, or northern Alamannia, was a duchy down to the year 739, but the expression *ducatus Helisaciensis* remained long after as a tradition, and is found as late as 829; see Remppis, *op. cit.*, p. 62, quoting Pfister. The form ELISACIA is instanced as early as the VIIIth century; the true reading may therefore be *li dux d'Elsace*. The *Roman de Galerent* mentions "Li ducs de Souaive Hermans" (v. 6071). The other versions give no aid here, and attempts to retain and identify "Trace" (*Traspe* in V⁴) seem hopeless; cf., however, Tavernier (ZFSL, XLI, p. 58) who would understand *Thracia*, because Thracians were among Bohemond's followers. As to the name Herman, four of this name were dukes of Suabia and Alsace during the period 926 to 1030; cf. Mas-Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*, col. 1535, and Boissonnade, pp. 386–88. The OF "popular" form for Lat. ALESATIUM is *Aussai*, but the poet often inclines to the "learned" forms; cf. vv. 269, 1624, 1626, 2346, 4002.

Soz ciel n'aṭ gent ki plus poissent en champ;
Richarz li vielz les guiḍeraṭ devant,
Cil i ferraṭ de son espiéṭ trenchant. Aoi.

CCXX

The sixth division: Bretons

La siste eschiele ont faite de Bretons,
A trente mílie chevaliers oḍ els ont.
Icil chevalchent en guise de baron,
Peintes lor hanstes, fermez lor gonfanons;
Lo seignor d'els l'om apeleṭ Oeḍon,
Icil comandeṭ lo conte Nevelon,
Teḍbalt de Reins e lo marchis Oton:
'Guiḍez ma gent, jo vos en faz lo don.' Aoi.

CCXXI

The seventh division: they of Poitou and Auvergne

Li empereḍre aṭ .vi. eschieles faites,
Naimes li dux puis establist la seḍme
De Peitevins e des barons d'Alvérnie;

3049. A resounding verse; to a Norman audience as pleasing as the invocation of Saint Michael.

3050. For Richard *lo vieil*, see v. 170, note. — *devant* from V⁴: O repeats *el camp* from the preceding verse.

3053. The prep. *A* is wanting in O. This is Cæsar's expression, "ad hominum millia decem"; cf. v. 3029.

3055. For painted lances, see Bédier, *Comm.*, p. 234.

3056. *l'om apelet Oedon.* In O we have *est apelet oedum*, but V⁴: *l'um apella bellum.* For guesses as to an historical original for this personage, see ZfRP, XVIII, p. 272 (Baist); XXXVIII, p. 102, n. (Tavernier); also ZFSL, XLI, p. 83 (Tavernier), and Boissonnade, p. 408.

3057. *conte Nevelon.* The name is found in the region of Valois in crusading times; see Boissonnade, p. 395.

XL. mílie chevaliers poeḍent estre,
Chevals ont bons e les armes molt belcs.
Cil sont par els en un val soz un tertre,
Si·s beneḍist Charles de sa main destre.
Els guiḍeraṭ Jozeranz e Godselmes. Aoi.

CCXXII

The eighth division: Flemings and Frisians

E l'oiḍme eschiele aṭ Naimes establiḍe,
De Flamengs est e des barons de Frísie;
Chevaliers ont plus de .xl. mílie.
Ja devers els n'iert bataille guerpiḍe.
Ço dist li reis: 'Cist feront mon servísie.'
Entre Rembalt e Hamon de Galice
Els guiḍeront tot par chevalerie. Aoi.

CCXXIII

The ninth division: Lorrainers and Burgundians

Entre Naimon e Jozeran lo conte
La noefme eschiele ont faite de prozdomes:
De Loḍerengs e de cels de Borgoigne,
.L. mílie chevaliers ont par conte,

3065. *par els* 'by themselves,' 'apart.' This brigade was apparently held in reserve.

3066. Charlemagne continues, here in "Baligant," to be the priest-king; cf. vv. 340, 1931.

3067. *Jozeranz et Godselmes*. For historical personages bearing these names, see Boissonnade, pp. 365, 370.

3073. *Entre . . . et . . .* The two objects of the preposition are nevertheless subjects of the verb. In OF one may say: "Entre Godefroi et Robin gardoient bestes;" see Tobler, *Mélanges*, p. 342. By supposing that *Hamon = Raimond*, Boissonnade (p. 383) essays an identification with the son-in-law of Alfonso VI.

Helmes laciez e vestuḍes lor brónies,
Espiez ont forz e les hanstes sont cortes.
Se Arrabiṭ de venir ne demorent,
Cil les ferront s'il aḍ els s'abandonent:
Si·s guiḍeraṭ Tieḍris, li dux d'Argone. Aoi.

CCXXIV

The tenth division: Charles' own command

La disme eschiele est des barons de France,
Cent mílie sont de noz meillors chataignes,
Cors ont gaillarz e fieres contenances,
Les chiés floriz e les barbes ont blanches,
Osbers vestuz e lor brónies doblaines,
Ceintes espeḍes franceises e d'Espaigne,
Escuz ont genz, de moltes conoissances.
Puis sont montéṭ, la bataille demandent,
Monjoie escriḍent, oḍ els est Charlemagnes,
Gefreiz d'Anjou i porteṭ l'órieflambe:

3081. *Se Arrabit.* In O *Li arrabiz,* but cf. v. 3011, and V⁴ *Se arabi.*

3083. *Tiedris d'Argone.* The Argonne district was mostly dependent on Champagne. For the name Thierry in this region, see Boissonnade, p. 391.

3090. *conoissances.* At this period, not 'coats-of-arms,' but merely different colors or ornaments. Thus, Albert of Aix (iii, c. 35) speaking of the contingents forming the First Crusade, notes the "splendor clypeorum coloris aurei, viridis, rubei, cujusque generis." What we now call heraldry does not develop until two generations after *Rol.*

3093–95. *órieflambe.* It is known from the *Alexiad* of Anna Comnena (l. X; cf. Migne, *PG,* CXXXI, 740) that the golden standard of the City of Rome was delivered, in 1096, to Hugh of Vermandois, a brother of the king of France, who was on his way to Syria. Hugh thus became *signifer* or *vexillarius* of the Christian forces (Robert the Monk, VI, c. 2). This incident, it seems, would be enough to remind the poet that in the year 796 Pope Leo III had sent to Charlemagne "vexillum Romanæ urbis" (cf. Bédier, II², p. 245). To have Charles bring this standard with him on the Spanish expedition of 778 was, therefore, not a serious anachronism. Here we find it en-

Saint Piedre fut, si aveit nom Romaine,
Mais de Monjoie iloec out pris eschange. Aoi. 3095

CCXXV *a*

Charlemagne prays for victory

Li emperedre de son cheval descent,
Sor l'erbe verte si est colchiez adenz,
Torneț son vis vers lo soleill levant,
Reclaimeț Deu molt escordosement:
'Veire paterne, hui cest jorn me defent! 3100
Ki guaresis Jonas tot veirement
De la baleine ki·l aveit en son flanc,
Eț espargnas lo rei de Niniven,
E Daniël e·l merveillos torment
Enz en la fosse des leons o fut enz, 3105
Les .iii. enfanz tot en un fou ardant,

trusted to the official *gonfanonier*, Jeffrey of Anjou (cf. v. 106); and it was here and now, the poet adds, that its name was changed from "Romaine" to "Monjoie," which is at the same time Charles' war-cry. For *Monjoie*, cf. v. 1181, note, and for the later Capetian oriflamme, and its connection with the Abbey of St. Denis, see Du Cange's Dissertation, *Glossarium*, X, p. 59. — 3093. The word *i* is added from V⁴.

3094. *Saint Piedre fut.* 'It was once Saint Peter's.' The famous mosaic of the Lateran triclinium, dating from a period not long after 800, represents St. Peter conferring upon Charles a banner which is thought to be that of the City of Rome; see A. Vétault, *Charlemagne* (1877), p. 543, n. Similarly, the twelfth-century translator of the Psalm *Eructavit* (v. 761), refers to St. Peter and St. Paul as the two "seignors de Rome"; they wielded, no doubt, the temporal as well as the spiritual arm.

3099. *escordosement.* For this unusual formation, see ZFSL, XLIII², p. 15 (G. Cohn).

3102. *en son flanc.* A conjecture for O's *en son cors* (false assonance). For *laueit* (O) Müller read *l'out enz*; Stengel: *o treis jorns viveit enz*, drawn from dR. V⁴: *qui en son cor lu tint.*

3106. *enfanz.* Although the three are "men" (*viri*) in *Daniel*, c. iii, they were "youths" (*pueri*) in chapter i; cf. the Reichenau Glosses, 498, *pueros: infantes*, and v. 3197.

La toe amor me seit hui en present!
Par ta merciţ, se tei plaist, me consent
Que mon nevoţ poisse vengier, Roḍlant!'

CCXXV *b*

Com aţ oréţ se dreceţ en estant,
Seignaţ son chief de la vertuţ poissant,
Monteţ li reis en son cheval corant.
L'estreu li tindrent Naimes e Joceranz,
Prent son escuţ e son espiéţ trenchant,
Gent aţ lo cors, gaillart e biense̤dant,
Cler lo visage e de bon contenant,
Puis si chevalcheţ molt afichie̤dement.
Sonent cil graisle e derie̤dre e devant,
Sor toz les altres bondist li olifanz.
Plorent Franceis por pitiéţ de Roḍlant.

CCXXVI

Charlemagne's army, the tenth division in the van, enters the march of Spain

Molt gentement l'empere̤dre chevalcheţ,
Desor sa brónie fors aţ mise sa barbe;
Por soe amor altretel font li altre,

3109. The line is awkward with its repetition *mon nevot . . . Rodlant*. Possibly the right assonance-word would be *vengement*.

3110. Large initial in O, as beginning a new tirade, or laisse. The assonance, also, appears to change.

3119. Has the author forgotten that the Olifant was badly cracked at v. 2295, or are the two laisses there (vv. 2271–96) a "later addition"? Cf. vv. 3206, 3302, 3310.

3120. Cf. note to v. 2475.

3123. *li altre*. These are the white-bearded veterans of the tenth Brigade (v. 3087), Charles' own command. Letting the beard go free is a sign of confidence and of defiance to the enemy; cf. vv. 829 *a*, 1843, 3318, 3520. For other *eschieles* of old men in the epics, see note by Constans to *Thèbes*, v. 4595.

Cent mílie Franc en sont reconoissable.
Passent cez puis e cez roches plus haltes,
Cez vals parfonz, cez destreiz angoissables,
Issent des porz e de la tere guaste,
Devers Espaigne sont aléţ en la marche,
En un emplein ont prise lor estage.
A Baligant repaiḍrent ses enguardes,
Uns Sulians li aţ dit son message:
'Veḍuţ avom lo rei orgoillos Charle,
Fier sont si home, n'ont talent qu'il li faillent.
Adobez vos! sempres avrez bataille.'
Dist Baliganz: 'Or oi grant vasselage.
Sonez voz graisles que mi paien lo sachent.'

CCXXVII

The emir Baligant prepares for battle — his portrait

Par tote l'ost font lor tabors soner,
E cez buisines e cez graisles molt cler,
Paien descendent por lor cors adober.
Li amirailz ne se voelt demorer,
Vest une brónie dont li pan sont saffréţ,
Laceţ son elme ki aḍ or est gemmez,
Puis ceint s'espeḍe a·l senestre costéţ;
Par son orgoeill li aţ un nom trovéţ:
Por la Charlon, dont il oḍiţ parler,
La soe fait Preciose clamer,

3131. *li* (*ki* in O) is from V⁴.
3132. The word-order adopted is from V⁴.
3136. *sacet* in O (the overstroke for *n* forgotten).
3146. This line, obviously wanting in O, is supplied from V⁴, 3333: En Preciosa la soa fa clamer. Some editors read *E Preciose*, without interversion, which makes a better line.

Ço ert s'enseigne en bataille champel.
Ses chevaliers en aṭ fait escriḍer,
Pent a son col un soen grant escuṭ leṭ,
D'or est la bocle e de cristal listéṭ,
La guige en est d'un bon pálie roḍéṭ;
Tient son espiéṭ si·l apeleṭ Maltéṭ,
La hanste grosse si comë uns tinels,
De sol lo fer fust uns mulez trossez.
En son destrier Baliganz est montez,
L'estreu li tint Marcules d'oltre mer;
La forcheḍure aṭ asez grant li ber,
Graisles les flans e larges les costez,
Gros aṭ lo piz, belement est moḍlez,
Leḍes espaḍles e lo vis aṭ molt cler,
Fier lo visage, lo chief recercelét:
Tant par ert blans come flor en estéṭ,
De vasselage est sovent esprovez; —
Deus! quel baron, s'oüst crestiëntéṭ.
Lo cheval brocheṭ, li sans en ist toz clers,
Fait son eslais si tressalt un fosséṭ,
Cinquante piez i poet hom mesurer.
Paien escriḍent: 'Cist deit marches tenser.
Franceis n'i aṭ s'a lui vient a joster

Could *Espreciose* be intended? Wace, for example, uses both *Caliborne* and *Escalibor* for Arthur's sword; for other examples, cf. MP, X (1912–13), p. 449 (Jenkins).

3153. One suspects that the size of 'Evil,' Baligant's spear, is modeled upon that of Lachmi of Gath (I *Chron.* xx: 5), "the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam." But Æneas also brandished a spear "huge as a tree" (*Æn.*, XII, 887).

3158. *es flancs* of O might be retained, but V^4, 3343, *le flanche*.

3164. *quel baron* (*ot en lui*)! Similarly, Albert of Aix praises the Emir Suleiman: "vir nobilissimus, sed gentilis." The poet enhances the greatness of Charles by magnifying his opponent. Cf. *G. de Dole* 1206: *Diex! quel vassal a en Doon!*

3169. *u.ent joster* in O; *a* supplied from V^4, 3355: No i e françois se a lu uent a çostrer.

Voeilleț o non n'i perdeț son eḍéț.
'Charles est fols que ne s'en est alez.' Aoi.

CCXXVIII

Baligant's son, Malprimes

Li amirailz bien resembleț baron,
Blanche aț la barbe ensement come flor;
E de sa lei molt par est sávies hom,
Eḍ en bataille est fiers eḍ orgoillos.
Sis filz Malprimes molt est chevaleros,
Granz est e forz e trait as anceissors;
Dist a son peḍre: 'Sire, car chevalchom,
Molt me merveill se ja veḍrom Charlon?'
Dist Baliganz: 'Oïl, car molt est proz,
En plusors gestes de lui sont granz honors.
Il nen aț mie de Roḍlant son nevoț:
N'avraț vertuț que·s tiengeț contre nos.' Aoi.

CCXXIX

Baligant describes, for his son, the French army

'Bels filz Malprimes,' ço li dist Baliganz,
'L'altrier fuț morz li bons vassals Roḍlanz,
Eḍ Oliviers li proz e li vaillanz,

3176. The name of Baligant's son is always spelled *Malpramis* in O, but the meter and the other versions demand *Malprimes*.

3177. *trait* 'takes after'; *traire au lignage, traire à la geste* are expressions frequent in the epics.

3181. 'In many celebrated families (there) are great possessions (which came) from him,' the successful leader being he who enriches his followers with lands; cf. v. 3032, note.

3185. For *morz*, O has erroneously *ocis*; but V^4, *Jer fu mort*

Li .xii. per qui Charles amot tant,
De cels de France .xx. mílie combatant:
Trestoz les altres ne pris jo mie un guant.
Li emperedre repaidret veirement,
Si·l m'at nonciét mis mes li Sulians
Eschieles .X. en at faites molt granz.
Cil est molt proz ki sonet l'olifant,
D'un graisle cler racatet sis compaign,
E si chevalchent e·l premier chief devant,
Ensembl'od els .xv. mílie de Frans,
De bachelers Charles claimet enfanz;
Aprés icels en at bien altretanz,
Cil i ferront molt orgoillosement.'
Ço dist Malprimes: 'Lo colp vos en demant.' Aoi.

CCXXX

Malprimes is promised a kingdom if he will silence the olifant

'Bels filz Malprimes,' Baliganz li at dit,
'Jo vos otri quant que m'avez ci quis:

3187. *amot*. O has *amat* (so Stengel), but V^4, *amaua*, and cf. vv. 2406, 2793.

3190. The reading of O is weak and colorless; V^4 omits the line. Perhaps: est vers nos repaidranz, as in PT.

3192. Reading from V^4, 3378: *na fat molt grant*. O: *en vunt* (?) *mult granz*.

3193 ff. Passage reminiscent of vv. 3014–19. *Cil* is Rabel, *sis compaing* is Guineman, and they ride at the head of the first Brigade of youthful Franks; vv. 3195–96 reproduce vv. 3018–19. Stengel mars the picture by reading *cevalce* and *od lui*.

3197. *enfanz*. Here, apparently, the Carolingian *pueri* (= *viri fortes*) appear as 'infants'; see Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'Origine de la Noblesse en* France (1902), pp. 49–58. They often act as escort to the prince or to the pilgrim band; in *Thèbes*, v. 6578, two 'infants' bring king Eteocles his ivory shield. On the other hand, *enfant* may mean simply 'adolescent,' as in v. 3106.

3198. *altretanz*. These are the second Brigade of youthful Franks, as described at v. 3021 ff.

3200. *lo colp*, i.e., *lo premier colp*, as at v. 866. For similar passages in the epics, particularly the *Chanson d'Antioche*, see Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, p. 748, note.

Contre Franceis sempres irez ferir,
Si i menrez Torleu lo rei persis
E Dapamort un altre rei leutiz.
Lo grant orgoeil se ja poḍez matir
[De·l olifant, que ne sont ne ne crit,]
Jo vos donrai un pan de mon païs,
Des Cheriant entresqu'en Val-Marchis.'
Respont Malprimes: 'Sire, vostre merciṭ.'
Passeṭ avant, lo don en recoilliṭ,
Ço'st de la tere ki fuṭ a·l rei Florit,
A itel ore onques puis ne la vit,
Ne il n'en fuṭ ne vestuz ne saisiz.

3204. *Torleu.* The name appears also in the *Chanson de Guillaume;* it bears a striking resemblance to that of Turlough, the Irish king of Munster in the XIth century; see ZfRP, XXIX, p. 665 (Suchier).

3206 *a*. Mention of the Olifant being made by the other versions, this line is supplied from V⁴, 3393: Quel olifant che no soni e no cri. Stengel: Celui qui sone l'olifant et bondist.

3208. *Cheriant.* Probably Cairawan, the sacred city of Tunisia, in the early days of Islam surnamed *Medina Ifriḳiya* 'capital of Africa'; cf. v. 1593. For this identification, see ZfRP, XXXIX, p. 326, n. (Settegast). Kerouan has long been a celebrated place of pilgrimage, and contains some of the finest treasures of Saracen art. — *Val-Marchis.* Not identified. As we may read *ch* as *k* in *Rol.*, the name suggests Arab. *Marrakesch*, the city of Morocco, founded in the XIth century (1059–1116) in the valley of the Malouia, by the redoubtable Yûsuf. The appearance of Yûsuf in Spain, in 1086, with his army of Almoravides or Berbers (the adj. *Barbarin* occurs vv. 886, 1236) would no doubt spread abroad the name of his capital. May we see in *Val-Marquis* the Arabic *Balad Marraqesh* 'the city, or country, of Morocco'? Cf. also v. 3995, n. For another suggestion, see Boissonnade, p. 214.

3210. *don.* This word is badly written in O, but is clear in V⁴, 3397.

3212. *A itel ore.* 'He accepted this investiture at such an (unlucky) hour, that . . .' Cf. a similar sentence from the *Tristan* of Thomas, vv. 2495 ff: El beivre fud la nostre mort | Nos n'en avrom jamais confort | A tel ore doné nos fu | Nostre mort i avom beü. This use of HORA goes back, apparently, to the belief in birth-hours as determining one's fate: Quar en aital ora fui natz | Qu'a Deu no platz | Que . . . is the complaint of Guiraut de Bornelh (Appel, *Chr.*, 83). That a young prince never entered into possession of so fair a fief was, to the feudal mind, a crushing misfortune indeed. Stengel selects a reading from V⁷: Ai tel oür! 'Alas, what a fate!' For the death of Malprimes, see vv. 3421 ff.

CCXXXI

The thirty divisions of Baligant's Army

Li amirailz chevalcheț par cez oz,
Sis filz lo siut ki molt aț grant lo cors;
Li reis Torleus e li reis Dapamorz
Eschieles trente establissent molt tost,
Chevaliers ont a merveillos esforz,
En la menor .l. mílie en out.
La premiere est de cels de Butentrot,
E l'altre aprés de Mílcenes as chiés gros:
Sor les eschines qu'il ont enmi les dos
Cil sont seiéț ensement come porc. Aoi.

3219. The peoples composing the thirty brigades of Baligant are not all identified; in fact, little real progress has been made since G. Paris, in 1873, announced his agreement with Baron d'Avril, who had said: "Je crois que ces noms se rattachent tous à quelque souvenir et à quelque tradition"; cf. G. Paris, *Mélanges Jing.*, pp. 578–84.

3220. *cels de Butentrot.* Botentrot, now called Bozanta, is a valley in the Cilician Taurus, famous in the story of the First Crusade as the place where Tancred and Baldwin, in 1097, separated from the main host and turned southwards to Tarsus; see AGF, c. X; *Rom.* VII, p. 435 (P. Meyer); *Rom.* IX, p. 27 (G. Paris). This region was peopled by a colony of Slavs who had renounced Christianity and allegiance to Byzantium and become Mohammedans. As renegades, they were particularly detested by the Crusaders. J. Bédier (*Comm.* pp. 44–48) inclines to Butrinto in Epirus, near Corfu, the ancient Buthrotum. In *Aliscans*, Rainouart makes a great slaughter of the "paiens de Botentrot" (ed. Rollin, v. 4719).

3221. *l'altre* 'the second.' — *Mílcenes* is dissyllabic = *Miçnes*. Identified by G. Paris (p. 580) as the Milceni, established, in the ninth and tenth centuries, in upper Lusatia (the Mark of Meissen). Guillaume de Machaut still uses the form *Misse* for this region. To find these people serving under an Emir of Cairo against "the Christian people" is, at first sight, strange enough, but we have already encountered a king of the Wilzes (v. 3205, cf. v. 3360), and below we shall meet with the Sorbs; both of these were pagan peoples on the eastern borders of the Carolingian territories. The poet, says G. Paris, "voulant opposer à Charlemagne, qui guide toute la Chrétienté, toute la *paienie* sous les ordres de Baligant, a énuméré confusément toutes les nations infidèles qu'il connaissait."

3223. *seiét . . . come porc.* For a similar ninth century legend about the Merovingian kings, see Rajna, *Origini*, p. 298, n., and Migne, *PG*, CVIII, 814.

E la tierce est de Nubles e de Blos,
E la quarte est de Bruns e d'Esclavoz, 3225
E la quinte est de Sorbres e de Sorz,
E la siste est d'Ermines e de Mors,
E la seḍme est de cels de Jericho,
L'uitme est de Nigres e la noefme de Gros,

3224. *Nubles.* A place, or country *Nuble* appears also *Ch. d'Antioche*, II, p. 56: "Li rois Hangos de Nuble"; also *Bevon de Hanstone*, v. 16,061. In the latter passage, Stimming does not believe that Nubia is meant, for the form *Nubie* is frequent in OF. In any case, a people, not a country, seems to be intended here. — *Blos.* Possibly (cf. *Bolois* in dK) the barbarian Polovtzes who, in 1091, nearly exterminated the Petchenegs (who are mentioned, v. 3241) and continued to harass the Eastern Empire; see Chalandon, *Essai sur le Règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène* (1900), pp. 132–34. Less probably the Wallachs, known as *Blas* (Latinized, *Blassi*) to the historians of the Fourth Crusade, for whom see Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 61, and below v. 3474, n. The vowel (*a*) seems to be stable in the name of this people, cf. *Blac = Valaque, Mor(v)-lach, Blackamor;* the form *Vlokhs* is, however, instanced EHR, XII (1897), p. 332.

3225. *Bruns.* Are these the "Browns" of Braunschweig (*Brunsevīk*) a part of heathen Saxony under Charlemagne? The Emperor destroyed Brunsberg, on the Weser, near Höxter. G. Paris was inclined to adopt here the reading of V^4, which has *Ros, i.e.*, the Swedes, mentioned as early as 839 (*Annales Bertiniani Francorum*) as *Rhos;* see Rambaud, *Hist. gén.*, I, p. 736. — *Esclavoz* is well supported. The northeastern Slavs, in Charlemagne's day covered all the country east of the Elbe.

3226. *Sorbres.* The Sorbs (*Sorăbi* in Einhard), a Slavonic people subdued by Charlemagne, were located between the Saale and the Elbe. — *Sorz.* Apparently a variant of the preceding.

3227. *Ermines.* The Armenians are frequently mentioned in OF literature. In *Thèbes* (v. 1845) recourse is had to "un Hermine | Qui molt saveit de medecine." Only the small principality of Lesser Armenia, founded in 1080, was friendly to the Crusaders, nor was this friendship always to be relied upon.

3228. *cels de Jericho.* Daniel the Russian, a pilgrim to Jerusalem in 1106–07, reports that Jericho at that time was a mere Saracen village; see the *Itinéraires russes*, Société de l'Orient latin, I, p. 31. Its former inhabitants had been *Chanelius* = Cananæans, who are mentioned below. There was also a *Jericho* in Epirus.

3229. *Nigres.* These are usually taken to be Blacks, like the Ethiopians already met with in Marsile's army (vv. 1914–18). But *Nigres* has no support in the other versions. Baist therefore inclined to the reading of dR, *Walgres* = the Wagri or Wagrians, located on lands between the Elbe and the Baltic and not conquered until 1126. It is to be noted, however, that Pliny mentions the

E la disme est de Balide la fort:
Ço'st une gent ki onques bien ne volt. Aoi.
Li amirailz en jureț quantqu'il pout
De Mahomet les vertuz e lo cors:
'Charles de France chevalcheț come fols,
Bataille i iert, se il ne s'en destolt,
Jamais n'avraț e·l chief corone d'or.'

CCXXXII

Eschieles dis establissent aprés:
La premiere est des Chanelius les laiz,
De Valfoït sont venuț en travers;
L'altre est de Turs e la tierce de Pers,
E la quarte est de Pinceneis engrés,

Nigroe (*Νίγροι*) as "peoples of Africa." — *Gros*. Not yet identified. Possibly the Georgians, whose land was known to the Russians as *Grouzia;* cf. J. Laurent, *L'Arménie* (1919), p. 11, n. Boissonnade (p. 215) suggests the Kurds (*Curti* in AGF, c. XXI, 1), but this word would not suit the assonance here.

3230. *Balide*. Not identified. Possibly Pöhlde near Göttingen, a great assembly-place of the Saxons, written *Palide* (adj. *palidensis*) in mediæval documents; cf. ZfRP, XXXVIII, p. 467 (Settegast). The Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna also mentions (p. 234) a *Belidas* which is somewhere in the Rhine country; the same author records a *Palita civitas* (p. 71), but this is in Armenia. Boissonnade (p. 217) suggest *Balis* (gen. *Balidis?*), east from Aleppo and near the Euphrates.

3238. For the *Chaneliu* = CHANANAEI, see *Rom*. VII, p. 441 (P. Meyer). "Chananæan" is used as an insult by Girard of Rossillon, who applies it to Charlemagne (v. 1500). The name is still known to Rutebuef, who fears lest the "Coramin and Chenillier" may overrun the Holy Land again (*Complainte d'Outre Mer*). Ten of this tribe are introduced below (v. 3269), where they appear as a sort of pagan Levites.

3240. *Turks* and *Persians* are frequently coupled in the histories of the First Crusade, *e.g.*, AGF, c. XXIX, 7. The sultan of Persia, about the year 1100, was the vassal of the Seljuk Turks.

3241. *Pinceneis*. Identified first by G. Paris, in 1873; see his *Mélanges linguistiques*, pp. 581–83, and Chalandon, *Essai sur le Règne d'Alexis Ier* (1900), pp. 2, 103 ff. The Petchenegs, a wild Scythian tribe, were a terror to Byzantium and to the West, in the eleventh century. The Crusaders came in contact with them,

E la quinte est de Soltras e d'Avers,
E la siste est d'Ormaleus e d'Uglez,
E la seḍme est de la gent Samuël,
L'oiḍme est de Bruise, et la noefme d'Esclers, 3245
E la disme est d'Occian a·l desert:

and they are known to many OF writers. The Nibelungennôt also mentions (v. 1340) *die wilden Pescenære*. The adj. *engrês* is a conjecture (O: *& de pers* repeated, accidentally, from the preceding verse).

3242. *Soltras*. Not identified. Only dR's *then sulten* furnishes any sort of a variant, and by these Baist (*Varr.*, p. 222) would understand 'the Soltans' = Sultans, the title being used as a tribe-name. This suggestion did not commend itself to G. Paris (*Rom.* XXXI, p. 418, n.). There was, however, a region and city *Soltania* in Persia; cf. Halberg, *l'Extrême Orient* (1907), pp. 483–85. For the *Stoderanni*, a division of the Wiltzes, cf. Boissonnade, p. 176.

3243. *Ormaleus* (cf. *Ormaleis*, v. 3284). Not identified. G. Paris pointed out that the Slavic Ermland is called *Ormaland* in some Scandinavian texts. — *Uglez* (O: *eugiez*). For the Ugleci, a Slavic tribe, see Zeuss, *Die Deutschen u. die Nachbarstämme*, p. 622.

3244. *la gent Samuël*. "The people of Samuel" are no doubt the Bulgarians who, under the leadership of their czar Samuel, invaded the Eastern Roman Empire twenty-six times between 988 and 1014. The Emperor Basil II, in these wars, acquired the surname "Killer of Bulgars." See Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicle*, Book III, c. xxxii, and Schlumberger, *L'Epopée byzantine*, I and II.

3245. *Bruise*. G. Paris, Boissonnade, and others would understand Prussia (Borussia) and it was apparently so understood by dR: *thie Prussen*. The *-ss-* of *Prusse*, however, makes difficulty, as it does also for Gautier's suggestion Broussa (Asiatic Turkey). The latter, however, is mentioned by the Geographer of Ravenna (p. 188) as *Brutia* "in Mysia," a form answering exactly to the *Bruise* of *Rol*. The city was a noted place of Christian pilgrimage in honor of a martyred Saint Patrick. — *d'Esclers*. A common name in the epics for the Slavs. In the MS we have *et la noefme Sclauers* (mis-read *de clauers* by Stengel). As *de* seems indispensable, the form in O must be shortened by one syllable; *auers* just above, v. 3242, seems to have been repeated by the copyist.

3246. *Occian al desert*. "Occian" is probably the Theme of Opsicianum, of which the capital was Nicæa; cf. A. Rambaud, *L'Empire grec au douzième siècle* (1870), pp. 192–94. Eustathius of Salonica, in the twelfth century, speaks of this region as a "terra immensa, dives et beata, olim quidem fama percelebris"; he mentions also the great skill of the inhabitants in war (Migne, *PG*, CXXXVI, col. 143 ff), and we are therefore not surprised to find them among the three choice divisions of Baligant, v. 3286; cf. vv. 3474, 3517, 3526. In O we have *Occian la desert* (Sce. *le desert*, with which one may compare

Ço'st une gent ki Damnedeu ne sert,
De plus felons n'oḍrez parler jamais,
Durs ont les quirs ensement come fer,
Por ço n'ont soign de helme ne d'osberc;
En la bataille sont felon eḍ engrés. Aoi.

CCXXXIII

Li amirailz .x. eschieles ajosteṭ:
La premiere est des Jaianz de Malprose,
L'altre est de Hums e la tierce de Hongres,
E la quarte est de Baldise la longe,
E la quinte est de cels de Val-Penose,
E la siste est d'Imance e de Marose,

Babiloine la deserte in the "Anglo-Norman Letter of Prester John," ed. Hilka, ZFSL, XLIII,[1] p. 82), but there seems to be no way to keep the feminine article here. Opsicianum, in fact, bordered on the desert of Lycaonia; cf. expressions like "Cappadocia ad Pontum."

3247. Pope Urban at Clermont, according to Robert the Monk, denounced the Turks in exactly similar language: "gens regni Persarum, gens maledicta, . . . a Deo aliena . . . " (Migne, *PL*, CLV, col. 671).

3249–50. Hides hard enough to serve as armor are met with also in the *Récit de la première Croisade*, II, v. 99: these are the Garamants (mentioned by Isidore of Seville), "a fearsome race, from beyond the land of Nubia."

3253. *Malprose* is well supported by the other versions, but is not identified. Giants among the Cananæans (cf. vv. 3238, 3269) were familiar from the Vulgate (particularly the famous passage, *Num.* xiii: 32–34) and the two names are not infrequently coupled. Thus Gautier of Metz, in his *Image dou Monde*, speaking of countries between Armenia and India: Là sont Gaiant et Quieneleu | Qui tout deveurent come leu; cf. also Adam's *Jeu de saint-Nicolas*, where the pagan King summons "Gaians et Quenelieus" to war against the Christians.

3255. *Baldise* (V^4 *Baldixe*, dK *Galose*) is not identified. Some have thought of *Lalice* (Laodicea), others of *Baudas* = Bagdad, both once cities of great size.

3256. *Val-Penose* (so dR; V^4 *Val-Pense*) is not identified.

3257. *Imance*. There is a blank space in O (V^4 *de Joie*); the name is taken from dR, but is not identified. Stengel prefers *Aiglent* (from CV^7). — *Marose* not identified. In dK we have *Valrose*, and it may be remarked

E la seḍme est de Leus e d'Astrimónies,
L'oiḍme est d'Argóillie, la noefme de Clarbone,
E la disme est des barbez de Val-Fonde: 3260
Ço'st une gent ki Deu nen amaṭ onkes.
Geste Francor .xxx. eschieles i nombrent,
Granz sont les oz o cez buisines sonent;
Paien chevalchent en guise de prodome. Aoi.

that there was a region *Rusa* near Antioch, captured in 1097, for which see AGF, c. XI, 5. Tavernier suggested Marasch, which figures prominently in the narratives of the First Crusade, and which Tudebodus called *Marusis*.

3258. *Leus*. Confirmed by V⁴. G. Paris suggested, with some hesitation, the *Lechs*, or *Lekhs*, ancestral name for the Poles, who, in the tenth century were settled in what is now Galicia. — *Astrimónies*. Probably the people of Strymonis, many of whom passed over into Bithynia. Baudry of Bourgueil, in his poem to Adela of Blois (v. 338), uses the form *Strimonia*. The same suggestion is made by Boissonnade, p. 187. A saint Austremonie is listed by Molinier, *Sources de l'Histoire de France*, I. Are these the mysterious "Saracen" tribe called variously *Esturmans*, *Estruments*, *Estormorants* in later epics? Cf. Suchier's note to the *Chançun de Guillelme*, v. 670.

3259. *Argóillie*. Not identified. The occurrence of the name at v. 3474 in company with *Occiant* (see v. 3246) and *Bascle* (see v. 3474) may indicate that Argoille is at no great distance from these. The word seems to represent *Argolica;* besides Argolis in Greece, there were cities of Argos in Asia Minor: in Cilicia minor, near Mt. Argæus, and in the adjoining Lycaonia (see Ramsay's *Asia Minor*, pp. 340, 352). This region fell into the hands of the Seljuk Turks soon after 1050. The "Argolic people" mentioned by Dante (*Inf.*, xxviii: 84) as criminals, were apparently Greek pirates. For other attempts to identify Argoille, see ZFSL, XXVII², p. 20 (Tavernier), and Boissonnade, p. 201.

Clarbone. Not identified. G. Paris noticed the reading of C, *Abilent* = Abila, near Damascus. Had Western writers made a *Chalybona* from *Chalybon* (= Aleppo), as *Colophona* for Colophon in Ionia? Cf. v. 2924, n. and the reading *Carbone* in dR, 8113.

3260. O's *de fronde* is corrected from V⁴ P. Nothing is known of this contingent from Val-Fonde.

3262. *Geste Francor*, here a pl., is elsewhere a sg. (v. 1443). Like the phrase "ço dit la geste," vv. 1641, 2095 (cf. also v. 3742) we should probably understand this verse to mean little more than "history tells us . . ." For the numbers in Baligant's army, cf. v. 3024, n. According to AGF, the pagan army at Dorylæum numbered 360,000, "extra Arabos quorum numerum nemo scit nisi Deus" (c. IX, 9), while at Ascalon the same work puts the forces of the Emir of Babylon at 200,000 (c. XXXIX, 17).

CCXXXIV

Pagan ceremonies

Li amirailz molt par est riches hom,
Dedavant sei fait porter son dragon,
E l'estandart Tervagant e Mahom,
Ed une ymágene Apolin lo felon;
Dis Chaneliu chevalchent environ,
Molt haltement escriḍent un sermon:
'Ki par noz deus voelt aveir guarison,
Si's prit e serveṭ par grant affliction!'
Paien i baissent lor chief e lor menton,
Lor helmes clers i sozclinent enbronc.
Diënt Franceis: 'Sempres morrez, gloton.
De vos seit hui male confusion!
Li nostre Deus, guarantissez Charlon:
Ceste bataille seit noncieḍe en son nom!' Aoi.

3266. Baligant's *dragon* is no doubt imagined to be like that of Harold on the Bayeux Tapestry (ed. Levé, Pl. VIII, 56): a small dragon made of solid wood or metal, and fixed at the end of a shaft. It is held by a foot-soldier while the fighting goes on. The *estandart* (v. 3267), on the other hand, is a banner upon which was some emblem of Mahom, answering to the "vexillum sanctæ crucis" of the Crusaders. Still different is Baligant's *enseigne* (v. 707 n.), which is carried by Amborrés of Oluferne and overthrown by Jeffrey of Anjou (vv. 3297, 3550), along with the dragon. For a somewhat different interpretation of these terms, see ZFSL, XLI, p. 49 (Tavernier).

3269. For the Cananæans, cf. above, v. 3238. For *Dis*, O has *Des*, but the other versions, X, XX and XXX.

3272. *affliction*. The word, in OF and OPr, sometimes means 'genuflexion,' but also 'recitation of the penitential psalms in an uncomfortable posture.' The poet never hesitates to transfer his own church terms to the Mohammedans. For other instances, cf. notes to vv. 8, 101, 618, 853, etc.; also Boissonnade, pp. 237–64.

3278. *noncieḍe*. The reading of O is here unintelligible, but cf. v. 2977. *En son nom* insures the legality of the war; cf. Et la guerre dura tante mainte saison | Li uns rois apres l'autre la reprist en son nom. *Chanson des Saisnes*, III.

CCXXXV

Baligant disposes his forces

Li amirailz est molt de grant saveir,
A sei apeleț son filz e les dous reis:
'Seignors barons, devant chevalchereiz
E mes eschieles totes les guiḍereiz,
Mais des meillors voeill jo retenir treis,
L'une iert de Turs e l'altre d'Ormaleis,
E la tierce iert des Jaianz de Malpreis,
Cil d'Ociant ierent ensembl'oț mei,
Si josteront a Charle eḍ a Franceis.
Li empereḍre s'il se combat oḍ mei
Desor lo buc la teste perdre en deit:
Trestoz seit fiz n'i avraț altre dreit.' Aoi.

CCXXXVI

Situation of the two armies

Granz sont les oz e les eschieles beles,
Entr'els nen aț ne pui ne val ne tertre,
Selve ne bois, asconse n'i poet estre:
Bien s'entreveiḍent en mi la plaine tere.
Dist Baliganz: 'La meie gent averse,

3280. *son filz.* Malprimes; see vv. 3176 ff. — *les dous reis* are Torleu, King of the Persians, and Dapamort, King of the Wilzes; see vv. 3204–05.

3282. *E* is supplied from V⁴.

3290. *dreit.* 'legal decision,' 'justice,' the coming combat being looked upon as a "judgment of God."

3294. *la plaine tere.* This open field of battle can be at no great distance from Saragossa, for the fugitives and pursuers reach the gates of the city nearly at the same time (v. 3640), and the capture takes place the same night (vv. 3653, 3658, 3675). Boissonnade (p. 147) thinks the poet may have known details of the capture of Saragossa by the Christians, in 1118.

3295. *La meie gent averse.* The adj. *averse*, used thus by Baligant to his own troops, is surprising. Some would see here a humorous acceptance

Car chevalchiez por la bataille querre!'
L'enseigne portet Amborrés d'Oluferne,
Paien escridˌent, Preciose en apelent.
Diënt Franceis: 'De vos seit hui grant perte!'
Molt haltement Monjoie renovelent,
Li emperedre i fait soner ses graisles
E l'olifant ki trestoz les esclairet.
Diënt paien: 'La gent Charlon est bele,
Bataille avrom ed adurede e pesme.' Aoi.

CCXXXVII

Baligant discourses to his brother, king Canabeus

Grant est la plaigne e large la contrede,
Luisent cil elme as piedres d'or gemmedes,
E cist escut e cez brónies safredes,
E cist espiét, cez enseignes fermedes,
Sonent cist graisle, les voiz en sont molt cleres,
De'l olifant haltes sont les meneˌdes.
Li amiraílz en apelet son fredre,
Ço'st Canabeus, li reis de Floredee,

of the depreciatory term used by the Christians: 'my pagan people (as our enemies call us)'; but humor seems unlikely in view of the serious, not to say solemn, tone which is assumed whenever the conflict of pagan and Christian is touched upon. We find Robert the Monk using the expression, "vestra gens adversa" (*Rec.*, III, p. 792) but this is in an address of the Christians to the messengers of the Emir of Cairo.

3297. For *Oluferne* = Aleppo, see vv. 2924, 3259, nn.

3298. As *Preciose* is the name of Baligant's sword (cf. vv. 3143–47) and as *enseigne* here must be in the material sense, the reading of V^4, 3468, *napelle* is preferable to that of O: *lapelent*. Charles' war-cry *Monjoie!* is taken from his banner, the oriflamme (see vv. 1181, 3093, and notes), but Baligant's, we are expressly told, was drawn from his sword.

3312. *Canabeus*. Is the name of this pagan King a reminiscence of Capaneus, one of the Seven against Thebes, who hated God? Cf. Dante, *Inf.*, xiv, 63. In *Thèbes*, v. 8612, the name is of four syllables, but in Ovid it is of three, as here. Tavernier

Cil tint la tere entresqu'en Val-Sevręde;
Les dis eschieles Charlon li aţ mostręes:
'Veđez l'orgoeil de France la lođęde!
Molt fierement chevalcheţ l'emperędre;
Il est dariędre oḍ cele gent barbęde,
Desor lor brónies lor barbes ont geteđes
Altresi blanches come neif sor geleđe;
Cil i ferront de lances e d'espeđes,
Bataille avrom eḍ fort eḍ aduręde,
Onkes nuls hom ne vit tel ajosteđe.'
Plus qu'om ne lanceţ une verge peleđe,
Baliganz aţ ses compaignes passeđes,
Une raison lor aţ dite e mostręde:
'Venez, paien, kar jo·n irai l'estręde!'
De son espiéţ la hanste en aţ branleđe,
Envers Charlon la more en aţ torneđe. Aoi.

CCXXXVIII

Charlemagne harangues his men

Charles li magnes com il vit l'amiraill
E lo dragon, l'enseigne e l'estandart —
De cels d'Arábie si grant force i par aţ
De la contręde ont porprises les parz

sees in it a "Canabas, dux Gothorum," defeated by the Emperor Aurelian: ZfRP, XXVIII, p. 101, n. — *Floredee.* Not identified.

3313. *Val-Sevręde.* Boissonnade (p. 212) finds a valley *Savada* (= *Sevęde?*) on the upper Jordan.

3314. *dis,* wanting in O, is added by all editors.

3317. *cele gent barbede.* This is Charles' tenth division, as described vv. 3084 ff.

3324. O has *trespassees,* but the meter, as well as all other versions supports *passees.*

3326. *aler l'estrede* 'lead the way,' *lit.* 'go the highway'; a common epic phrase is *chevauchier l'estree.* O has: *kar ion irai en lestree.* If *jo* be omitted, *en* may be retained, but it is probably too early for the elision of *jo.*

3331. Or, *parat* (< PARAVIT)? See *Rom. Rev.* XII, 1921, p. 302 (Sheldon).

Ne mais que tant com l'empereḍre en aṭ —
Li reis de France s'en escriḍeṭ molt halt:
'Barons franceis, vos estes bon vassal,
Tantes batailles avez faites champals;
Veḍez paiens, felon sont e coḍart,
Tote lor leis un denier ne lor valt.
S'il ont grant gent, d'iço, seignors, cui chalt?
Ki eḍrer voelt a mei, venir s'en alt!'
Des esporons puis brocheṭ lo cheval,
E Tencendor li aṭ fait .iiii. salz.
Diënt Franceis: 'Icist reis est vassals,
Chevalchiez, ber, nuls de nos ne vos falt.'

CCXXXIX

Charles' first division engages the enemy

Clers fut li jorz e li soleilz luisanz,
Les oz sont beles e les compaignes granz;
Josteḍes sont les eschieles devant.
Li quens Rabels e li quens Guinemans
Laschent les reḍnes a lor chevals coranz,
Brochent aḍ ait, donc laissent corre Franc,
Si vont ferir de lor espiez trenchanz. Aoi.

CCXL

Count Rabel slays the Persian king Torleu

Li quens Rabels est chevaliers hardiz,
Lo cheval brocheṭ des esporons d'or fin,

3336. *champals*. Emended from O's *en camp* (false assonance). Th. Müller's objection to this reading is unfounded: *bataille champal* occurs several times in *Troie* and often elsewhere.

3340. *edrer* 'ride (to war)'; this meaning reappears in Eng. "knight errant." Cf. also v. 2109, n.

3344. We miss *Aoi* after this line, but also frequently elsewhere.

Si vait ferir Torleu, lo rei persis;
N'escuz ne brónie ne pout son colp tenir,
L'espiét ad or li at enz e·l cors mis
Que mort l'abat sor un boisson petit.
Diënt Franceis: 'Damnesdeus nos aït!
Charles at dreit, ne li devom faillir.' Aoi.

CCXLI

Guineman slays a king of the Wilzes

Guinemans josteț a un rei de Leutice,
Tote li fraint la targe qu'est floride,
Aprés li at la brónie desconfite,
Tote l'enseigne enz e·l cors li at mise
Que mort l'abat, ki qu'en plort o ki·n ridet.
Ad icest colp cil de France s'escridents:
'Ferez, baron, si ne vos targiez mie!
Charles at dreit vers la gent paienisme,
Deus nos at mis a·l plus verai judísie.' Aoi.

CCXLII

Malprimes leads an attack on the Franks

Malprimes siét sor un cheval tot blanc,
Conduit son cors en la presse des Frans,
D'ores en altres granz cols i vait ferant,
L'un mort sor l'altre sovent vait treschevant.

3360. *un rei.* This appears to be Dapamort (vv. 3205, 3216) who, with Torleu (just slain), had in charge the disposition of Baligant's forces.

3363. *li*, wanting in O, is supplied from V^4, 3533; the word-order is also from V^4.

3366. *si* is added from V^4 3536.

3367. *paienisme* as adj., as at v. 1921. The reading of O (*iesnie*) is unintelligible; *paganie* in V^4.

3371. *D'ores en altres* is from V^4; a partial gap in O.

3372. *treschevant.* A nonce-word,

Toz premerains s'escriḍeṭ Baliganz:
'Li mien baron, noḍriṭ vos ai long tens,
Veḍez mon filz, qui Charlon vait querant,
Eḍ a ses armes tanz barons chalenjant,
Meillor vassal de lui ja ne demant:
Soccorez lo a voz espiez trenchanz!'
Aḍ icest mot paien vienent avant,
Durs cols i fierent, molt est li chaples granz.
La bataille est merveillose e pesant:
Ne fuṭ si fort enceis ne puis cel tens. Aoi.

CCXLIII

The engagement becomes general

Granz sont les oz e les compaignes fieres,
Josteḍes sont trestotes les eschieles,
E li paien merveillosement fierent.
Deus! tantes hanstes i aṭ par mi brisieḍes,
Escuz froissiez e brónies desmailliеḍes!
La veḍissiez la tere si jonchieḍe!
L'erbe de·l champ ki est verte e delgieḍe
[De·l sanc qu'en ist est tote vermeilliеḍe.]
Li amirailz reclaimeṭ sa maisnieḍe:
'Ferez, baron, sor la gent chrestiëne!'
La bataille est molt dure eḍ afichieḍe,

but there seems no reason to doubt its existence: with *achever*, it forms a pair like *abattre* with OF *trestrebatre*. Stengel: *trestornant*.

3375. Reading from V⁴: *che carlo uait chirant*. In O, *qui* had been omitted, and a later scribe inserted *le* after *carlun* to restore the correct meter.

3376. *E* wanting in O, supplied from V⁴.

3385. Perhaps *Franc et paien . . .* is the correct reading here, as in V⁴ 3553.

3390. This line, omitted entirely in O, is transferred from V⁴, 3557: Del sangue chen nexe e tuta vermee.

Onc ainz ne puis ne fuț si fort josteḍe,
Josqu'a la mort nen iert fins otreieḍe. Aoi. 3395

CCXLIV

The emir Baligant incites his men

Li amirailz la soe gent apeleț,
'Ferez, paien, por el venuț n'i estes!
Jo vos donrai moilliers gentes e beles,
Si vos donrai feus eḍ honors e teres.'
Paien respondent: 'Nos lo devons bien faire.' 3400
A cols pleniers de lor espiez i perdent,
Plus de cent mílie espeḍes i ont traites.
Ais vos lo chaple e doloros e pesme!
Bataille veit cil ki entr'els voelt estre. Aoi.

CCXLV

Charlemagne appeals to his warriors

Li empereḍre reclaimeț ses Franceis: 3405
'Seignors barons, jo vos aim si vos creiț,
Tantes batailles avez faites por mei,
Regnes conquis e desordenéț reis,
Bien lo conois, gueḍredon vos en dei
E de mon cors, de teres e d'aveir. 3410
Vengiez voz filz, voz freḍres e voz heirs
Qu'en Rencesvals furent mort l'altre seir!

3394. *jostede*. The assonance is false, but *aiustee* in O is supported by *aiostee* in V⁴; the same error at v. 3858. Stengel *enforciee*, for which there is no warrant in this line; Müller *e fiere*.

3395. *mort* is from V⁴; a blank in O.

3400. For the expression *faire le bien* 'to fight well,' cf. vv. 240, 1698, 1876, nn.

3406. *jo vos aim*. For technical meanings of OF *amer*, see v. 323, n.

3410. *de mon cors* 'by personal services.'

Ja savez vos contre paiens ai dreit.'
Respondent Franc: 'Sire, vos dites veir.'
Tels .xx. miliers en aţ Charles oḍ sei
Comunement l'en prametent lor feiz:
Ne li faldront por mort ne por destreit,
Nen i aţ cel sa lance n'i empleit,
De lor espeḍes i fierent demaneis.
La bataille est de merveillos destreit. Aoi.

CCXLVI

Malprimes is slain by duke Naimon

Li ber Malprimes parmi lo champ chevalcheţ,
De cels de France i fait molt grant damage.
Naimes li dux fierement lo reguardeţ,
Vait lo ferir comë hom vertuḍables,
De son escuţ li fraint la pene halte,
De son osberc les dous pans li desaffreţ,
E·l cors li met tote l'enseigne jalne
Que mort l'abat entre .vii. c. des altres.

CCXLVII

King Canabeus attacks Naimon, who is stunned

Reis Canabeus, li freḍre a·l amiraill,
Des esporons bien brochot son cheval;

3415. *.xx. miliers.* Twice we have been told that Charles had, in his own division, 100,000 of the barons of France (vv. 3084, 3124); possibly we should read here *Itels .c. milie,* as in P; but cf. v. 3461. This MS also supplies the word *Charles,* omitted in O.

3421. *Li ber* is from V^4; O has *E malpramis* (see v. 3176, n).

3428. *l'abat,* accidentally omitted by O, is supplied from V^4, 3594.

Traite aţ l'espeḍe, li ponz est de cristal,
Si fiert Naimon en l'elme principal,
L'une meitiét l'en froisseţ d'une part,
A·l brant d'acier l'en trencheţ .v. des laz,
Li chapeliers un denier ne li valt,
Trencheţ la coife entresqueḍ a la charn,
Jus a la tere une piece en abat:
Granz fut li cols, li dux en estonaţ,
Sempres chaḍist se Deus ne li aidast,
De son destrier lo col en embraçaţ.
Se li paiens une feiz recovrast,
Sempres fust morz li nobílies vassals!
Charles de France i vint ki·l socorraţ. Aoi.

CCXLVIII

Charles slays king Canabeus

Naimes li dux tant par est anguissables,
E li paiens de ferir molt lo hasteţ.
Charles li dist: 'Culverz, mar lo baillastes!'
Vait lo ferir par son grant vasselage,
L'escuţ li fraint, contre lo coer li quasseţ,
De son osberc li desrompt la ventaille
Que mort l'abat, la sele en remaint guaste.

3445. *lo hasteţ* 'urges him (dares him?) to strike (back).' King Canabeus does not intend now to slay Duke Naimon, but only to take him prisoner; this appears from the next line, where *baillier* has that meaning. For this use of *haster qqn*, cf. *Yvain*, v. 5186, Ambroise, *La Guerre sainte*, v. 6386, *Æneas*, v. 959. Bédier refers *lo* to *Charles de France*, Naimon being *hors de combat*. — *E* is almost causal here (Sneyders de Vogel).

3446. *mar lo baillastes!* 'your victory will bring you no good fortune.' For this use of *baillier*, cf. *Cligés*, v. 1236, *Troie*, v. 11,780.

CCXLIX

Naimon recovers

Molt aṭ grant doel Charlemagnes li reis
Quant il Naimon veit nafréṭ devant sei,
Sor l'erbe verte lo sanc tot cler chaḍeir.
Li emperedre li aṭ dit a conseill:
'Bel sire Naimes, kar chevalchiez oḍ mei.
Morz est li gloz k'en destreit vos teneit,
E·l cors li mis mon espiéṭ une feiz.'
Respont li dux: 'Sire, jo vos en creiṭ.
Se jo vif alques, molt grant proṭ i avreiz.'
Puis sont jostéṭ par amor e par feiṭ,
Ensembl'oḍ els tels .xx. mílie Franceis
Nen i aṭ cel n'i fiergeṭ o chapleit. Aoi.

CCL

Baligant slays four French knights

Li amirailz chevalcheṭ par lo champ,
Si vait ferir lo conte Guineman,
Contre lo coer li froisseṭ l'escuṭ blanc,
De son osberc li derompiéṭ les pans,
Les dous costez li deseivreṭ des flans
Que mort l'abat de son cheval corant.
Puis aṭ ocis Geboïn e Loḍrant,

3452. *il* is supplied; a gap in O. V⁴: *Quant Naymon el uede.*

3458. Naimon's answer means: 'Sire, I will take your advice.'

3462. *fierget* with spear, or *chapleit* with sword. — As so often, the copyist of O removed the archaic paratactic construction by inserting *que;* cf. v. 3559.

3464. Count Guineman, bearing the Olifant, had been placed in charge of the first division of Charles' *bachelers;* see v. 3014 ff.

3469. These two were in command

Richart lo vieill, lo seignor des Normanz.
Paien escriḍent: 'Preciose est vaillant.
Ferez, baron, nos i avom guarant!' Aoi.

CCLI

Fury of the Saracens

Ki puis veḍist les chevaliers d'Arábie,
Cels d'Occiant e d'Argóillie e de Bascle!
De lor espiez bien i fierent e chaplent,
E li Franceis n'ont talent que s'en algent.
Asez i moerent e des uns e des altres;
Entresqu'a·l vespre est molt fort la bataille,
Des frans barons i aṭ molt grant damage;
Doel i avraṭ enceis qu'ele departeṭ. Aoi.

CCLII

Baligant prays to the three pagan gods

Molt bien i fierent Franceis eḍ Arrabit,
Froissent cez hanstes e cil espiéṭ forbiṭ.

of the second division of Charles' *bachelers*, v. 3022.

3470. *Richart lo vieil* was commander of the fifth division, that of the Normans, vv. 3045 ff.

3474. *Occiant*, see v. 3246. *Argoillie*, see v. 3259. *Bascle*. Guillaume of St. Paier (v. 1489) couples "Bascle" with Navarre, but as we need here a Saracen land (v. 3473), it can hardly be 'land of the Basques' (as G. Paris, Stengel). It is true that Turpin's *Chronicle* also mentions a *tellus Basclorum* as in the Pyrenees (ed. Fita, p. 13). More probably, the region meant is, as Baist suggested, the *Blakia* (with variants *Blaque*, *Blasquie*) often mentioned by G. de Villehardouin, the land of the Blacs, or Wallachs, in southern Macedonia (Thessaly). This Blakia was quite different from the larger Wallachia (or Muntenia). *Bascle* thus appears to be for *Blasque* (with *-s-* from *Blas;* cf. v. 3224, n.); the opposite metathesis occurs in OF *blouque* for *boucle*. This identification is accepted also by Boissonnade (pp. 186–87), who

Ki donc veḍist cez escuz si malmis!
Cez blans osbers ki donc oḍist fremir!
E cez espeḍes sor cez helmes croissir!
Cez chevaliers ki donc veḍist chaḍir!
Eḍ homes braire, contre tere morir:
De grant dolor lui poḍust sovenir.
Ceste bataille est molt fort a soffrir,
Li amirailz reclaimeṭ Apolin
E Tervagan e Mahom altresi:
'Mi damnedeu, jo vos ai molt serviṭ,
Vostres ymágenes faire ferai d'or fin: Aoi.
[Contre Charlon devez mei guarantir.']
As li devant un soen druṭ Gemalfin,
Males noveles li aporteṭ e dist:
'Baliganz, sire, mal estes ui bailliz:
Perduṭ avez Malprimes vostre filz;
E Canabeus, vostre freḍre, est ocis;
A dous Franceis belement en avint,
Li empereḍre en est l'uns, ço m'est vis,
Grant aṭ lo cors, bien resembleṭ marchis,
Blanc aṭ la barbe come flor en avrill.'
Li amirailz en aṭ lo helme enclin,
Eḍ en aprés si'n enbroncheṭ son vis:
Si grant doel aṭ sempres quiḍaṭ morir;
Si'n apelaṭ Jangleu l'oltremarin.

notes that these people were still pagans to Benjamin of Tudela, c. 1150. It is not clear whether or not v. 3474 is in apposition with v. 3473; in any case, no argument can be drawn from *Arâbie*, for the whole of Baligant's army are called "pagans of Araby" (vv. 2810, 2980).

3494. A line from V⁴, 3662, accepted by nearly all former editors.

3500. The two Francs were in fact Naimon, who slew Malprimes, vv. 3421 ff., and Charlemagne, who triumphed over King Canabeus, vv. 3446 ff.

3503. *Blanc* as in O; probably we should read *Blanche*. Stengel: *Blanc'*.

CCLIII

The sage Jangleu is consulted as to the outcome

Dist l'amirailz: 'Jangleus, venez avant!
Vos estes proz e vostre est saveirs granz,
Vostre conseill ai jo creḍuṭ toz tens:
Que vos en sembleṭ d'Arrabiz e de Frans?
Se nos avrom la victórie de·l champ?'
E cil respont: 'Morz estes, Baliganz!
Ja vostre deu ne vos ierent guarant.
Charles est fiers e si home vaillant,
Onc ne vi gent ki si fust combatant.
Mais reclamez les barons d'Occiant,
Turs eḍ Enfruns, Arrabiz e Jaianz!
Ço qu'estre en deit, ne·l alez demorant.'

CCLIV

Baligant rallies his forces

Li amirailz aṭ sa barbe fors mise,
Altresi blanche come flor en espine;
Coment que seit, ne s'i voelt celer mie.
Met a sa boche une clere buisine,

3509. *et vostre saueir est grant* in O: the copyist, in spite of the meter, changed to the commoner word-order. Cf. v. 2183. Editors generally have omitted the conjunction, which is unnecessary.

3510. *ai jo creḍuṭ*. Partly illegible in O; Stengel *ai otreiêt*, from V⁴, 3675.

3512. *Se nos avrom*. O has merely *Auerum nos* (one syllable short), but V⁴, 3677 *Se nu auessem* suggests that we have here one of the dilemmatic questions studied by Tobler, *Mélanges*, p. 32. Stengel inserts *d'els*.

3518. *Enfruns*. Not yet identified. The reading is confirmed by V⁷, while V⁴, v. 3684, has *eunces*. The Giants are they of Malprose, vv. 3253 (3285.)

3520. For this custom and its significance, see v. 1843, note.

Soneț la cler que si paien l'oḍirent,
Par tot lo champ ses compaignes ralieț.
Cil d'Ociant i braient e henissent,
E cil d'Argóillie come chien i glatissent,
Requierent Frans par si grant estoltie
E·l plus espés si·s rompent e partissent:
Aḍ icest colp en gietent morz .vii. mílie.

CCLV

Count Ogier is alarmed for the French

Li quens Ogiers coḍardise n'out onkes,
Mieldre vassals de lui ne vestiț brónie.
Quant de Franceis les eschieles vit rompre,
Si apelaț Tieḍri lo duc d'Argone,
Gefreiț d'Anjou e Jozeran lo conte,
Molt fierement Charlon en araisoneț:
'Veḍez paiens com ociḍent voz homes!

3525. *raliet*. In O we have *ralient*, but the other versions favor the sg.; cf. v. 1319, where the verb is transitive.

3526. *Cil d'Ociant* (cf. v. 3246), *E cil d'Argóillie* (cf. v. 3259) 'bray, whinney and bark.' The historians of the First Crusade frequently mention the outlandish war-cries of the pagans; thus the Anonymus (AGF, IX, 4): "Continuo Turci coeperunt stridere et garrire ac clamare excelsa voce, dicentes diabolicum sonum nescio quomodo in sua lingua." Raoul of Caen (c. 26) states that the Turks cry "Atat," and also "Allachibar," *i.e.*, Allah akbar 'God is great,' exclamations whose throaty vowels, often repeated, might seem not unlike the barking of dogs. Adhemar of Chabannes (III, 52) compares the language of some Moorish captives to the yelping of puppies. "The Turks shout *Allah!* when they charge, and it is most blood-curdling," writes an English soldier from Gallipoli, 1915.

3532. *Mieldre*. O has *meillor*, but V^4 *meltre*.

3534. Ogier, Thierry and Jozeran were each in command of a division (vv. 3033–83); Jeffrey of Anjou carries the oriflamme for Charles (v. 3093). This furious and successful assault of the 20th and 28th pagan divisions (vv. 3246, 3257) seems to be foreshadowed in Charles' vision, vv. 2546 ff. For a moment, Charlemagne seems paralyzed (cf. v. 2548), and his chief barons must wake him to a sense of his peril.

Ja Deu ne placeț qu'e·l chief portez corone
S'or n'i ferez por vengier vostre honte!'
Nen i aț cel ki un sol mot respondeț,
Brochent aḍ ait, lor chevals laissent core;
Vont les ferir la o il les encontrent.

CCLVI

Baligant's dragon and ensign are overthrown by Jeffrey of Anjou

Molt bien i fiert Charlemagnes li reis,
Naimes li dux eḍ Ogiers li Daneis.
(Molt par est proz danz Ogiers li Daneis).
Geifreiz d'Anjou, ki l'enseigne teneit,
Point lo cheval, laisseț corre aḍ espleit,
Si vait ferir cel ki·l dragon teneit
Que Amborrés craventeț devant sei,

3542. This line is, or soon will be, an epic formula.

3546. A line found only in O and apparently misplaced there; of doubtful authenticity. Part of the line appears to have been formerly expunctuated, and the last five words are written over an erasure. It seems better, therefore, to ignore the line and ascribe the adventure to Jeffrey. Note also the awkwardness of the double mention of Ogier le Danois.

3545 ff. Baligant's ensign-bearer is Amborrés of Oluferne (v. 3297). He is now furiously assailed by Jeffrey, and is borne down. How many pagans fall before Jeffrey is not clear: does Amborrés hold the dragon, as well as the ensign? For an attempt to clarify this exploit see ZFSL, XLI, p. 69 (Tavernier). The whole episode was probably suggested by the famous deed-of-arms of Count Robert of Normandy, at Ascalon, in 1099: "observing that the standard of the Emir of Babylon had a golden apple on the end of a silvered shaft, Robert rushed fiercely upon him [the standard-bearer is named *Partus* in some of the histories] and wounded him unto death." See the original narrative in AGF, XXXIX, 13. This exploit made a great sensation in France: Suger had it reproduced in glass at the Abbey of St. Denis, "R. dux Normannorum Partum prosternit"; cf. PMLA, XXX, p. 515 (Loomis). Wace (*Rou*, III, p. 415) refers to the exploit, but in error connects it with Kerbogha at Antioch, as was noted by Andresen, pp. 756–57.

3549. The copyist of O apparently

E li dragons e l'enseigne lo rei.
Baliganz veit son gonfanon chaḍeir
E l'estandart Mahomet remaneir:
Li amirailz alques s'en aparceit
Queḍ il aṭ tort e Charlemagnes dreit;
Paien d'Arábie s'en contienent plus queiṭ.
Li empereḍre reclaimeṭ ses Franceis:
'Dites, baron, por Deu se·m aidereiz?'
Respondent Franc: 'Mar lo demandereiz;
Trestoz seit fel n'i fiergeṭ aḍ espleit!' Aoi.

CCLVII

Charlemagne and Baligant meet in single combat

Passeṭ li jorz si torneṭ a vespreḍe,
Franc e paien i fierent des espeḍes.
Cil sont vassal ki les oz ajosterent,

failed to recognize the name Amborrés, which he had written at v. 3297; by *ambure* he probably meant Lat. AMBUTRUM. The scribe of V^4, however, gives the same name *Albois — Alboin* at both places. In O the verse is hypermetric, and *en la place* (not in V^4) must be omitted.

3550. *lo rei*. Baligant is meant; he is addressed as *reis amirailz* at v. 2831.

3551. *gonfanon* may be the ensign, but may also = *gonfanonier*, 'holder of the ensign,' as in *Troie*, v. 16,381, and often.

3552. It is not clear whether or not the *estandart* here is the same as the dragon or the ensign, or is a third banner or flag; from vv. 3266–67 and v. 3330, three different objects would seem to be in question. — *remaneir* 'to come to grief.'

3555. *s'en . . . queit*. The assonance in O being false (*sen turnent plus. C.*) Stengel bases this conjectured reading upon V^4 3718: Pains derabie suz cuntent li plu qui. The expression adopted occurs at v. 3797.

3556. For *ses Franceis*, O has *ses parenz* (!); V^4 *soi franci*.

3559. The copyist, as often, suppressed parataxis by inserting *ki;* cf. his insertion of *que*, v. 3462 and elsewhere.

3562. *Cil* are Charlemagne and Baligant: the two are now to meet in single combat, a supreme conflict of Truth against Error. The poet will do his best to make this colossal duel one worthy of the vast interests at stake, for has not Baligant announced (v. 2667) that he will carry the war into France, even to Aix?

Mais lor enseignes n'i ont mie oblidedes:
Li amirailz Preciose at cridede,
Charles Monjoie, l'enseigne renomede,
L'uns conoist l'altre as haltes voiz e cleres,
En mi lo champ amdui s'entr'encontrerent,
Si·s vont ferir, granz cols s'entredonerent
De lor espiez en lor targes rodedes,
Fraites les ont desoz cez bocles ledes,
De lor osbers les pans en desevrerent,
Dedenz cez cors mie ne s'adeserent,
Rompent cez cengles e cez seles verserent,
Chiedent li rei, a tere se troverent,
Isnelement sor lor piez releverent,
Molt vassalment ont traites les espedes:
Ceste bataille nen iert mais destornede,
Seinz home mort ne poet estre achevede. Aoi.

CCLVIII

The single combat

Molt est vassals Charles de France dolce,
Li amirailz il ne·l crient ne ne dotet.
Cez lor espedes totes nudes i mostrent,
Sor cez escuz molt granz cols s'entredonent,
Trenchent les cuirs e cez fuz ki sont doble,
Chiedent li clou si peceient les bocles,
Puis fierent il nut a nut sor lor brónies,

Similarly, in a Life of St. Mathilda (Xth c.) the Saxon wars are concluded by a gigantic duel between Charles and Witikind; cf. Lea, *Superstition and Force*, p. 130; Bédier, IV, p. 448, n.

3563. *Mais* wanting in O; V^4, 3728: *Ma lur ensigne* . . .

3574. *se troverent*. In O *se trebecherent*, hypermetric and a false assonance. Corrected from V^4, 3739: *se trouee*.

3584. *peceient*. The copyist of O mistook the present of *peceier* for the perfect of *pecier* (*pecerent*), but the present seems called for here.

Des helmes clers li fous en escharboneț.
Ceste bataille ne poet remaneir onkes
Josque li uns son tort i reconoisseț. Aoi.

CCLIX

Dist l'amirailz: 'Charles, kar te porpenses,
Si pren conseill que vers mei te repentes;
Mort as mon filz, par lo mien esciënte,
A molt grant tort mon païs me chalenges,
Devien mis hom, en fiéț lo te voeill rendre,
Vien mei servir d'ici qu'en oriënte.'
Charles respont: 'Molt grant viltéț me sembleț,
Pais ne amor ne dei a paien rendre;
Receif la lei que Deus nos apresenteț,
Chrestiëntéț, e puis t'amerai sempres:
Puis serf e creiț lo rei omnipotente.'
Dist Baliganz: 'Malvais sermon comences.'
Puis vont ferir des espeḍes qu'ont ceintes. Aoi.

CCLX

Li amirailz est molt de grant vertuț,
Fiert Charlemagne sor l'elme d'acier brun,
Desor la teste li aț frait e fenduț,
Met li l'espeḍe sor les chevels menuz,

3586. *escharboneț* 'makes a smoke.' Stengel adopts the reading of V⁴, *escarbunclet* 'shines like a precious stone,' but smoke is the natural accompaniment of fire and sparks.

3593. *en fiet lo te voeill r.* A conjecture for O's *en fedeltet voeill r.*, which seems unusable. V⁴: *grant feu uenorent* (?); Stengel: *en fiet jol te voeill rendre.*

3596. This is political "friendship" cf. *amerai*, v. 3598, and also v. 306, note.

3601. *qu'ont ceintes* seems rather weak. Stengel adopts, from V⁴, *qui trenchent*, a reading which has more edge.

3604. Supply *lo* (= *lo helme*) before *li*, and cf. v. 2126, and Ebeling's note to *Auberee*, v. 655.

Prent de la charn grant pleine palme e plus,
Iloec endreit remaint li os toz nuz!
Charles chanceleț, por poi qu'il n'est chaḍuz.
Mais Deus ne voelt qu'il seit morz ne vencuz:
Sainz Gabriël est repaiḍriez a lui,
Si li demandeț: 'Reis magnes, que fais tu?'

CCLXI

Charles at last victorious over Baligant

Quant Charles ot la sainte voiz de·l ángele,
Nen aț poör ne de morir dotance,
Repaiḍreț lui vigor e remembrance;
Fiert l'amiraill de·l espeḍe de France,
L'elme li fraint o les gemmes reflambent,
Trencheț la teste por la cervele espandre
E tot lo vis tresqu'en la barbe blanche
Que mort l'abat senz nule recovrance.
'Monjoie!' escriḍeț por la reconoissance.
Aḍ icest mot venuz i est dux Naimes,
Prent Tencendor, montez est li reis magnes.
Paien s'en tornent, ne voelt Deus qu'i remaignent.
Or sont Franceis aḍ icel qu'il demandent.

3609. *Deus ne voelt* 'it is not God's will,' a phrase much used in medieval narrative. Aucassin's dislocated shoulder goes back into place "com Diu le vaut." Cf. vv. 3623, 3625, and AGF, XVIII, 5: "Sed Deus omnipotens hoc illis non permisit."

3610 ff. The appearance of Saint Gabriel at this critical moment might have been suggested by *Luke* xxii: 43, "Apparuit autem illi angelus de cœlo, confortans eum" (as vv. 3613–14). As it was difficult for the poet to imagine words suitable to the mouth of an archangel, he may have derived some aid from the legend of the miraculous bird which, leading Charles through a wilderness, called out to him, "France, quid dicis?" — a phrase which is suitably vague in meaning. See Bédier, IV, p. 123, and Rauschen's edition of the *Descriptio*, p. 109.

3624. *sont*. Perhaps an error for

CCLXII

Flight of the pagan army

Paien s'en fuient com Damnesdeus lo voelt,
Enchalcent Franc e l'empereḍre avoec.
Ço dist li reis: 'Seignors, vengiez voz doels
Si esclargiez voz talenz e voz coers,
Kar hui matin vos vi plorer des oeilz.'
Respondent Franc: 'Sire, ço nos estoet.'
Chascuns i fiert tanz granz cols com il poet,
Poi s'en estoerstrent d'icels ki sont iloec.

CCLXIII

The French invest Saragossa — the death of Marsile

Granz est li chalz si se lieveṭ la poldre,
Paien s'en fuient e Franceis les angoissent,
Li enchalz dureṭ d'ici qu'en Sarragoce.
En som sa tor monteḍe est Bramimonde,
Ensembl'oḍ li si clerc e si chanónie
De false lei que Deus nen amaṭ onkes,
Ordres nen ont ne en lor chiés corones.
Quant ele vit Arrabiz si confondre,
A voiz s'escriḍeṭ: 'Aïḍe nos, Mahome!

font; cf. v. 2330. Stengel adopts *ont* from V⁴: Or ont Franceis tot içо qu'il demandent; but *font* may look forward to *enchalcent* of v. 3626.

3630. *ço nos estoet* 'that we *must* do,' *i.e.*, vengier noz doels (v. 3627).

3641. *Aïde nos, Mahome!* Cf. v. 1906. An imitation of the *Deus, aïe!* of the Normans. Similarly, "Los moros llaman Mafómat . . ." in the *Poema de Mio Cid*, v. 732. The form *Mahome* is rare (*Mahom* and *Mahomet* always elsewhere in *Rol.*) but is instanced in a mystery-play published by Andresen, where it occurs in rhyme (: *Romme*); see ZfRP, XXVI, pp. 89 and 99, note. Like the author of *Rol.*, the writer of this mystery uses also the other forms *Mahon* (p. 94), and *Mahomet*

[illegible]

Les dis sont grandes, les cinquante menuẹs.
Molt bien espleiteṭ qui Damnesdeus aiuḍeṭ!

CCLXV

Paganism is exterminated

Passeṭ li jorz, la nuit est aseriḍe,
Clere est la lune, les esteiles flambiënt.
Li emperedre aṭ Sarragoce prise.
A mil Franceis font bien cerchier la vile,
Les sinagoges e les mahomeries:
A mailz de fer e coigniedes qu'il tindrent
Froissent ymágenes e trestotes les ýdeles,
N'i remaindraṭ ne sorz ne falserie.
Li reis creit Deu, faire voelt son servísie,
E si evesque les eues benedissent.
Meinent paiens entresqu'a'l baptestírie:
S'or i aṭ cel ki Charle contredieṭ,
Il lo fait prendre o ardeir o ocidre.

3657. An idea often expressed by the historians of the Crusades: "pro nobis pugnat Deus!"

3660. We may compare this capture with that of Cordres, vv. 101 ff., and with that of Albara, in 1098, by Raymond of St. Gilles: "et occidit omnes Saracenos et Saracenas, maiores et minores, quos ibi reperit" (AGF, XXXI, 1). Robert the Monk adds: "mundata est civitas illa" (*Rec.*, III, p. 839), as in v. 3667.

3662. *sinagoges . . . mahomeries*. To judge by their equivalent use in *Aiol*, vv. 9630 and 9658, both these words mean 'mosques'; this is certainly the meaning of *Machumaria* in AGF, XVIII, 2, while Raoul de Caen defines the word by "fanum saxeum" (Migne, *PL*, CLV, 527). Later, the words appear as meaning 'rites of Islam,' whence English *mummeries*; cf. Ambroise's *Guerre sainte*, v. 5243. Although Jews were often massacred along with pagans by the Crusaders, there is little likelihood that *sinagoges* may mean here 'temples of the Jews'; cf. also *Aymeri de Narbonne*, v. 1224.

3665. *sorz*. The author ascribes to the pagans a usage which, in his own country, went under the name of *sortes sanctorum*, *sortes apostolorum*; cf. P. Meyer, *Girart de Rossillon*, p. 185, n.

3670. *prendre* 'take as prisoners.' Some editors read *pendre*, but the

Baptiziét sont asez plus de .c. mílie
Veir chrestiën ne mais sol la reïne:
En France dolce iert meneḍe chaitive,
Ço voelt li reis par amor convertisseṭ.

CCLXVI

Charlemagne returns home to Aix, by way of Bordeaux and Blaye — the trial of Ganelon begins

Passeṭ la nuit si apert li clers jorz,
De Sarragoce Charles guarnist les tors,
Mil chevaliers i laissaṭ poigneḍors,
Guardent la vile aḍ oés l'empereḍor.
Mandeṭ li reis e ses homes trestoz
E Bramimonde qu'il meineṭ en prison:
Mais n'aṭ talent li faceṭ se bien non.
Repaidriéṭ sont a joie eḍ a baldor,
Passent Nerbone par force e par vigor,

abbreviation in O is precisely like that at v. 3710. For similar cases of saving prisoners, often for slaves, during the First Crusade, see AGF, XXXIII, 7, and XXXVIII, 7.

3674. This line, according to Tavernier, betrays the clerical author. It is true, however, that the lay crusaders baptized more than one prominent pagan; cf., for example, the Emir Meruan, baptized after the capture of Antioch; AGF, XXIX, 11.

3681. O has *que li facet;* parataxis suppressed, as in vv. 2522, 3462, 3559, etc.

3682. If Part II of "Baligant" be overlooked, the narrative is resumed here from v. 2973, where Charles set out for home with the bodies of Roland, Oliver, and Turpin. The expressions "a joie et a baldor" fit none too well with the tone of mourning at Roncesvaux (cf. v. 2945); but, if "Baligant" be reckoned in, there has intervened a signal victory over the paynim hosts.

3683. *Nerbone.* Not the larger city of Narbonne, near the Mediterranean (dept. Aude), but a town in the Basque country, near Biarritz, now called *Arbonne;* see Bédier, III, p. 332 ff. It was natural, however, that the two should early be confused, and the "Nerbone" captured by Aymeri in the epic of Bertrand de

Vint a Bordeles la citét de [renom],
Desor l'alter saint Séverin lo baron
Met l'oliphant plein d'or e de mangons:
Li pelerin lo veiḍent ki la vont.
Passeṭ Gironde a molt granz nés qu'i sont,
Entresqu'a Blávie aṭ conduit son nevoṭ,

Bar is situated on the Aude and "près d'un regort de mer," as is Narbonne. In Bertrand's poem (v. 158) Charles, about to mount a hill, perceives the city "par devers destre." In V. Hugo's *Aymerilloi* we read:

Sur la gauche est la mer aux grandes ondes bleues,
Qui jusqu'à cette ville apporte ses dromons.

For the connection of Narbonne with the William of Orange cycle, see Bédier, especially I², p. 418.

3684. *renom.* An unsatisfactory conjecture, there being a blank in O. The phrase "une cité de (grant) renom" is common enough in OF, and the copyist would hardly have failed to recognize the word.

3685–87. The collegiate church of St. Seurin is one of the oldest in Bordeaux, being built upon the site of a Gallo-Roman cemetery. We learn from these lines that as early as the end of the XIth century the canons of this church claimed to possess Roland's Olifant, a claim also asserted in the Guide to Compostela; see Bédier, III, pp. 341–45. The Chronicle of Turpin (c. XXIX) concedes the possession of the horn to St. Seurin, but adds that Charles had originally placed it at the feet of Roland, at Blaye (vv. 3689, 3693), and it is the latter legend which was known to Philippe Mousket, vv. 8166 ff: Par tel aïr corna Rollans | Que fendus est ses olifans | Et encor pert qu'il est fendus | A Blaves, u il est pendus. For the previous history of the Olifant, see vv. 1051, 2271, 2287, 2295, 3017, 3119, and notes.

3687. A line which leads us into the problem of the connection between the great pilgrimages of the XIth century and the spread of the subject-matter of the OF epics; see Bédier, IV, p. 415. Cf. v. 892, and map, p. lxxiii.

3688. The Gironde at Bordeaux is perhaps 650 yards wide, and deep enough for large vessels to reach the city. Below, it widens to an estuary upon whose right bank is Blaye. The poet speaks the language of an eye-witness; had he been ferried across, along with other pilgrims, on the way to or from St. James of Compostela?

3689–94. For these tombs of Roland, Oliver, and (sometimes) Turpin, see *Rom.* XXX, pp. 161–73 (C. Jullian), summarized by Bédier (III, pp. 345–50). The three martyrs are buried here because Blaye was in Aquitaine. This province in the XIth century recognized the authority of the King of France; on the other side of the Gironde was Gascoigne which then recognized no authority save "the grace of God and the sword of the Count." Saint Romain was, at that time, the first saint on French soil. Andrea Navigero, Venetian ambassador to Spain in the time of Francis I, reports that in a subterranean chapel of the church of Blaye, "in una cappella sotto il coro è sepolto

Eḍ Olivier son noble compaignon,
E l'arcevesque ki fuṭ sages e proz.
En blans sarcous fait metre les seignors,
A saint Romain la gisent li baron:
Franc les comandent a Deu eḍ a ses nons.
Charles chevalcheṭ e les vals e les monz,
Entresqu'aḍ Ais ne volt prendre sojorn;
Tant chevalchaṭ qu'il descent a·l peḍron.
Com Charles est en son palais halçor,
Par ses messages mandeṭ ses jugeḍors,
Baiviers e Saisnes, Loḍerens e Frisons,
Alemanz mandeṭ si mandeṭ Borguignons,
E Peitevins e Normanz e Bretons,
De cels de France des plus saives qui sont:
Des or comenceṭ li plaiz de Guenelon.

da uno canto Orlando, e dall' altro Olivieri." This was in 1528; since then, the tombs of which the poet speaks have disappeared. The *Chronicle* of Turpin (cc. XI and XIX) explains Roland's burial at Blaye differently: see Bédier, III, p. 354.

3694. *a ses nons.* "Allusion à des prières contenant l'énumération des divers noms que Dieu reçoit dans les livres sacrés. L'une de ces pièces contenant 'les 72 noms de Dieu, comme on les dit en hébreu, en latin et en grec,' est mentionnée dans *Flamenca*, vv. 2286–90; voir aussi la longue pièce des 100 noms de Dieu, par Ramon Lull" (P. Meyer). Similarly, "reclamer Deu et ses noms" is a common phrase.

3697. *al pedron.* For later legendary developments as to this block, see G. Paris, HPC, p. 370. Here it seems to mean merely the horse-block, or lower stone of the flight of steps. It was presaged in a vision (v. 2558) that Ganelon's trial would take place here.

3699. *jugedors.* The function of these *jugeurs* is not to discern the equity of the case submitted to them, but to "tell the law," that is, determine the sort of trial which is to be followed (oath, ordeal, or trial by combat), to superintend the trial, and to name the penalty. Similarly, in the *Poema de Mio Cid* (v. 3005) the judges are called *sabidores*, 'knowers' of the law or custom of the country.

3700. The Saxons, to the poet of *Rol.*, are a people subdued (cf. vv. 2330, 2921) and they appear here among the loyal vassals convoked to judge Ganelon. In reality, Charles' wars against them lasted long after the year of the Spanish expedition; cf. v. 3921, note.

CCLXVII

The death of fair Alda, fiancée of Roland

Li empereḍre est repaiḍriez d'Espaigne,
E vient aḍ Ais, a·l meillor siéṭ de France,
E·l palais monteṭ, est venuz en la chambre.
As li venuḍe Alde, une bele dame,
Ço dist a·l rei: 'O·st Roḍlanz li chataignes
Ki juraṭ mei come sa per a prendre?'
Charles en aṭ e dolor e pesance,
Ploreṭ des oeilz, tireṭ sa barbe blanche.
'Soer, chiere amie, d'ome mort me demandes.
Jo t'en donrai molt esforciéṭ eschange,

3705 ff. After formally announcing the Trial of Ganelon (v. 3704) the poet here inserts two *vers*, or laisses, which narrate the death of Alde, Oliver's sister. This lady, who has been briefly mentioned (v. 1720), awaits in Charles' palace at Aix the return of the army and of her fiancé. In simple and affectionate words Charlemagne, grieving, tells her that Roland is dead, and the blow is too heavy for her to bear. Tavernier saw a similarity with the sudden death of Margaret, wife of king Malcolm of Scotland, in 1093: this queen did not survive the news of the death of her husband and of her son; see ZfRP, XXXVIII, p. 412 ff. Tavernier also asks whether the query *O est Rodlanz* (v. 3709) may not be a souvenir of Andromache's cry, *Hector ubi est?* (*Æn.*, III, 312). Later versions place Alde's death at Blaye, where also she is buried, they say, with Roland and Oliver; for these modifications of the legend, see Bédier, III, p. 352.

3706. For Aix being in "France," see v. 36, note.

3707. *en la chambre;* O has *en la sale*, a false assonance. Cf. v. 2910.

3708. For *dame*, the copyist of O carelessly wrote *damisele*, to the detriment of the meter and assonance.

3710. *Ki jurat mei;* the copyist of O modernized to *Ki me jurat.* — *sa per.* In OF, the word is often used of Eve as related to Adam; it continues in Eng. 'peer,' but the expression "the happy pair" contains more of the OF meaning.

3713. *Soer, chiere amie.* A form of address almost as affectionate as Aucassin's to his lover Nicolette, *Soer, douche amie*, or Jankin's to his wife, *dere suster Alisoun* (The Wife of Bath's Prologue, v. 804). See Stowell, *Titles of Respect in Old French*, pp. 224–29.

Ço·st Loḍewis, meillor ne sai en France,
Il est mis filz si tendraṭ mon reialme.'
Alde respont: 'Cist moz mei est estranges,
Ne placeṭ Deu ne ses sainz ne ses ángeles
Aprés Roḍlant que jo vive remaigne.'
Pert la color, chiéṭ as piez Charlemagne,
Sempres est morte — Deus ait merciṭ de·l anme!
Franceis baron en plorent si la plaignent.

CCLXVIII

The burial of fair Alda

Alde la bele est a sa fin aleḍe,
Quideṭ li reis qu'ele se seit pasmeḍe,
Pitiéṭ en aṭ si·n ploreṭ l'emperedre,
Prent la as mains si l'en aṭ relevede,
Desor l'espaḍle aṭ la teste clineḍe.

3715. *Lodewis.* Two other sons of Charlemagne, Charles and Pepin, were living at the return from the Spanish expedition, but died before their father. Louis the Pious, who did in fact succeed Charles, was born during the year 778; but perhaps there is no need to examine so closely into these facts of history.

meillor ne sai en France. All editors conjecture this reading for O's *mielz ne sai a parler*, which seems to be a colloquial phrase = 'I cannot do better than that — than offer my own son as a substitute.' But again the copyist has a false assonance.

3716. *mon reialme.* A conjecture for O's *mes marches*, a false assonance. Cf. v. 2914. Stengel: mes marches grandes.

3719. *Aprés.* 'After the death of,' as *Cligés*, v. 2621: Soredamors tel duel en ot | Que apres lui vivre ne pot.

3721. Alde's sudden death will be remembered by later writers. In Jean Bodel's *Chanson des Saisnes*, Sebile even envies Roland's fiancée: Se or puisse morir com Aude o le vis fier | Dont eüsse a mon chois trestout mon desirrier (vv. 7542 ff). Aude is also recalled by the author of *Guillaume de Dole* (v. 4499); for him she was a paragon of virtue.

3727. From O's *Desur les espalles* (hypermetrical), other editors deduce *Sor les espalles;* but the copyist, after writing *les-* of *lespalle*, seemingly mistook *les* for the pl. article. At v. 1344, the opposite mistake occurred. In any case, the sg. seems preferable here.

Quant Charles veit que morte l'aṭ trovede,
Quatre contesses sempres i aṭ mandedes,
Aḍ un mostier de nonains est portede; 3730
La nuit la guaitent entresqu'a·l ajornede,
Lonc un alter belement l'enterrerent;
Molt grant honor i aṭ li reis donede. Aoi.

CCLXIX

Ganelon, chained to a stake, awaits his trial

Li emperedre est repaidriez aḍ Ais;
Guenles li fel, en chadeines de fer, 3735
En la citét est devant lo palais.
Aḍ une estache l'ont atachiét cil serf,
Les mains li liënt a correies de cerf,
Tres bien lo batent a fuz eḍ a jamels;
N'aṭ deserviṭ queḍ altre bien i ait. 3740
A grant dolor iloec atent son plait.

3730. *un mostier de nonnains*. The poet's vagueness allowed various foundations to claim to possess Alde's burial-place: for Blaye, see Bédier, III, pp. 350–54; for a monument in the abbey of Saint Faro, near Meaux, which could still be seen in the time of Montaigne, see Bédier, III², p. 313.

3731. The Roman Ritual prescribes c. 8, *In Expiratione:* "et interim donec efferatur, qui adsunt, sive Sacerdotes, sive alii, orabunt pro defuncto."

3732. *Lonc un alter*. The most distinguished of burial-places; cf. v. 1750, note.

3733. *grant honor* 'great endowment' in lands, for the construction and upkeep of the church and of the tomb. *Honos* in the sense of 'domain' is used by the poet Ermoldus Nigellus in the ninth century; see *Rom.* XLIV, p. 398 (Wilmotte). Charles' thought is well expressed by the author of *Garin le Loherain* (I, p. 138): Rente i metrai, que Diex en ait pitié.

3739. *bien lo batent*. To be beaten like a slave, with sticks and gambrils, and by slaves, was the worst of degradations for a proud noble like Ganelon. We need not adopt Gautier's idea (II, p. 235) that this is "the Torture," or a regular part of the Trial. Cf. vv. 1823 ff.

3741. *son plait* 'his trial.' It is to be noted that the King cannot

CCLXX

Charles summons his court — he formally accuses Ganelon of treason, which Ganelon denies

Il est escrit en l'anciënne geste
Que Charles mandeț homes de plusors teres,

punish by his own authority one of his vassals (or "men"), no matter how guilty the "man" may be, without having summoned him to justify himself before a court of his peers and, if judged guilty by his peers, to "faire droit" (v. 3849), that is, pay the fine or penalty corresponding to his offense against the public peace. The King does not judge, even in the sense noted at v. 3699; nor does he preside over the Court.

Ganelon's Trial has been studied in its legal aspects (see end of this note); in it we may distinguish three phases, or parts:

I. *The High Court.* Charles summons his vassals, the *seniores* (cf. vv. 3750, 3769) among whom some are known for their better knowledge of the law (the *jugedors*, vv. 3699, 3765); possibly *homes* also (v. 3743) is in the technical sense. A High Court, a *placitum palatii* assembles on December 31 (v. 3746); Charles orders this court to rule as to what action shall be taken on the case submitted to it (v. 3751). The King must respect and carry out the will of his vassals. The Court, in turn, does not try to get at the truth of the charge, but considers merely "the logic of the plea and the validity of the proofs" (Maurer). Thus, according to Philip of Novare (c. 66, § 536): "L'on juge selon les paroles que les parties ont dites et fait dire." The defendant is not questioned, nor, in this case, are any witnesses heard. The King, Roland's overlord and next of kin, is plaintiff; his plaint is that Ganelon, a vassal in the king's host, caused the death of the Twelve Peers (including Oliver and his, the king's, own nephew) and of 20,000 other good vassals; this was done by treachery (*tradison*, 'treason') and the motive was greed (v. 3756). This plaint is a direct affront not only to Ganelon, but to his whole family. Being formally made, it must be immediately answered by a formal denial. Ganelon replies that Roland was unbearably overweening in his gold and other wealth, "I therefore sought his death, but not treacherously" (v. 3760). Here we may note a definition of treason given by the jurist Philip of Beaumanoir (*Coustumes de Clermont*, ed. Salmon, § 826): "Traisons est quant l'en ne moustre pas semblant de haine et l'en het mortelment, si que, par la haine, l'en tue ou fet tuer . . . celui qu'il het par traison." "Because of a hate, *which is concealed*, one slays or causes others to slay" is thus the essence of this sort of treason. The Franks announce a withdrawal to deliberate (v. 3761). Ganelon looks around upon the vassals come to judge him (v. 3765); among them are Pinabel (cf. v. 362) and 30 others of his relatives, who have come up to court in order to swell the number of friendly judges (v. 3766). He addresses the

Asemblét sont ad Ais, a la chapele.
Halz est li jorz, molt par est grant la feste, 3745

full Court in a loud voice, and now gives an additional reason for his enmity to Roland: "Roland spitefully caused me to be singled out for a mortally dangerous mission; but, as I then openly in public defied him and Oliver and the Peers, this is a case of successful vengeance, yes, but there is no treason in it." Again the Franks announce a withdrawal to deliberate (v. 3779), and Charles must not be among them, even were he not, as he is in this case, the plaintiff.

Ganelon has not denied any of the facts, he is merely claiming that what happened was not, technically, a case of treason; the Court must now decide as to his claim, and, if they decide adversely, what the punishment shall be. Instead of doing this, being awed by the presence of Pinabel who has assured Ganelon of his protection (vv. 3788–91), and being persuaded by the Auvergnats, who are the most inclined to clemency, they conclude to bring in to Charles a request that "this time" he excuse the high-born Count: Roland, they add, is dead and gone, and no fine nor any judicial combat will ever bring him back to life. Charles retorts: "You are a set of scoundrels" (vv. 3808–14).

Charlemagne, in fact, is in a critical situation; he has lost his case, it seems, and Ganelon will go free. The prisoner has claimed, in effect, that the slaughter at Roncesvaux was the result of a private quarrel between himself and Roland, and that fair and due notice was given (see vv. 322–26) that he, Ganelon, was a mortal enemy of the Peers and all their *compagnons*. Charles is deeply distressed; he personifies the public weal and he sees that this liberty of private feud must cease where public injury begins; for the moment, however, he is powerless to assert the public interest or to avenge his family.

At this moment, one of the judges, Thierry of Anjou, who had disagreed with the general judgment (whether silently or openly is not stated, vv. 3805–06) announces a separate judgment (vv. 3827–33); this he declares himself ready to defend with his sword if there be any of Ganelon's relatives among the judges who will accept the challenge (vv. 3834–36). At once, there is a great commotion (v. 3842); the formidable Pinabel, fulfilling his promise (vv. 3788–91) emerges from the throng, "falses" Thierry's judgment, and offers to prove with his body that Thierry is wrong. The Trial now passes into the second phase: Thierry is the champion, strictly speaking, not of Charles, but of a minority judgment (which, in this case, suits Charles) while Pinabel in turn is the champion, not of Ganelon directly, but of the majority judgment (which would allow Ganelon to escape punishment).

II. *The Judicial Combat, or Ordeal of Battle.* Pinabel, a member of the High Court, having assumed responsibility for the majority judgment, must fight any challenger; if either party be defeated but not killed, he will be hanged. Both parties now surrender their fiefs into the hands of Charles (their *seigneur*), because, if the vassal be killed, his fief reverts to his overlord; this they both do (vv. 3845, 3851). Charles demands hostages impartially for both parties;

Diënt alquant, de·l baron saint Silvestre.
Des or comencet li plaiz e les noveles

these are securities that the champions will appear and fight at the appointed hour. The usual delay of a few weeks is dispensed with. Ganelon's 30 relatives go security for Pinabel, and he is released to them (vv. 3847–48); the same process is repeated for Thierry (v. 3852).

Charles orders the usual four benches brought: upon these sit the two combatants (v. 3853) [along with the pledges, and possibly also the judges]. Ogier of Denmark [sees that the oaths of innocence have been taken in due form, and] reads the regulations of the battle (vv. 3855–56). The champions confess, attend Mass (there was a special Mass for the *judicium Dei*); they receive communion, and make rich offerings in the churches (vv. 3859–61). They then fight, Pinabel is slain, Thierry proves his judgment "right": the Franks declare this not merely a judgment of God, but a divine miracle (vv. 3862–3931).

III. *Ganelon's Trial resumed.* Thierry had judged Ganelon guilty of treason and deserving of hanging (v. 3831); the Court now adopts this judgment, and adds that Pinabel's 30 hostages (pledges) deserve the same fate as equally guilty of treason. Charles, returning from the duel-field to Aix, reassembles the Court and formally asks for a judgment as to what shall be done with Pinabel's pledges: "not one shall escape," say the judges. Many witness this hanging (v. 3960) and, in a final session, the Court rapidly passes upon the mode of Ganelon's execution. Instead of the customary hanging of a traitor, which the poet had promised his hearers (vv. 1409, 3831), they substitute quartering, and Roland's noble step-father, the plotter of treason, dies the death of a renegade criminal (v. 3973).

The most recent study of the legal side of the Trial is that of Tavernier (ZfRP, XXXVIII, p. 435); this is based upon works by A. Coulin and C. Gebauer. An older study is that of A. Flach, *Origines de l'ancienne France*, I, p. 88; see also P. Rajna, *Origini*, pp. 389–91, and, for the early history of French criminal procedure, the works of Esmein and Brissaut. For the judicial duel in general, see Lea, *Superstition and Force* (1892), pp. 101–246; in the OF epics, ZfRP, IX (1885), pp. 1–74 (Pfeffer); in *Rol.*, RF, V (1890), p. 436 and ZfRP, XVI (1892), p. 508 (both by Baist). Some rather shallow criticism of Tavernier's conclusions by W. Foerster will be found ANSL, CXXXV, p. 133. A forthcoming work by H. Maurer, *The Judicial Organization of the Feudal State*, based mainly upon the "Assises" of Antioch and Jerusalem, has also been consulted in MS.

3746. The *festa* of this saint falls the 31st December. A later epic states that Charlemagne, before battle, uttered a prayer composed by Saint Silvester; for this "orison Karlemaine," see Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, p. 545, note.

3747. *noveles*. These are evidently Charles' speech in accusation, vv. 3750–56, and Ganelon's two speeches in denial; or, in general, 'the speeches on both sides'; cf. the same use of the word at v. 412, also OPr *novas*, and Dante's use of *novella* = 'discorso' (*Inf.*, XXV, 38). DuCange, s.v. NOVALITAS, has an instance of

De Guenelon ki traḍison aṭ faite.
Li empereḍre devant sei l'aṭ fait traire. Aoi.

CCLXXI

'Seignors barons,' dist Charlemagnes reis,
'De Guenelon car me jugiez lo dreit.
Il fuṭ en l'ost tresqu'en Espaigne oḍ mei
Si·m toliṭ .xx. mílie de mes Franceis,
E mon nevoṭ que ja mais ne veḍreiz,
Eḍ Olivier lo proṭ e lo corteis,
Les .xii. pers aṭ traḍiṭ por aveir.'
'Sire,' dist Guenles, 'fel seie se jo·l ceil!
Roḍlanz sorfist en or eḍ en aveir,
Por que jo quis sa mort e son destreit,
Mais traḍison nule nen i otrei.'
Respondent Franc: 'Ore en tendrom conseill.'

nouvelles = 'débat,' while in *Troie*, v. 20,677 *novelles* also means 'talk,' 'things said.'

3756. *por aveir*. Charles has seen the immense wealth in presents which Ganelon had brought back from Saragossa, and, although he said nothing at the time (cf. v. 740, note) and apparently did not suspect Ganelon's former jealousy of Roland (as now revealed, v. 3758), has all along put down Ganelon's treason to his greed. See also vv. 518, 1148, nn.

3757. The addition of *Sire* (O: *Dist guenelon*) not only avoids the error in flexion, but is supported by V^4, 5897 (*Sire, ço dist Gaino*) and by dR, v. 8740 (*Er sprach: herre . . .*). The matter has some importance, for this first speech seems to be addressed to Charles' private ear; the second, as the poet expressly states, is spoken "hautement, à grand'voix," apparently in contrast. But Charles turns a deaf ear, and ignores the plea.

3758. *sorfist*. A conjecture for the unintelligible and hypermetric *me forfist* of O. For considerations in support of this emendation, see PMLA, XXXVI (1921), pp. 119–33 (Jenkins). It would seem that Count Roland, in the Spanish wars, had been taking more than his share of the spoils, and had been haughty and overbearing in doing so, and that Count Ganelon, who was covetous, had not been able to forgive this sort of "desmesure" on the part of the younger man. Cf. the words of Achilles, *Iliad*, I, 165–71.

CCLXXII

Ganelon makes his formal defense

Devant lo rei la es vos Guenelon,
Cors aţ gaillart, e·l vis gente color;
S'il fust leials bien resemblast baron.
Veit cels de France e toz les jugeḍors,
De ses parenz .xxx. ki oḍ lui sont,
Puis s'escriḍaţ haltement a grant voiz:
'Por amor Deu, car m'entendez, barons!
Seignors, jo fui en l'ost l'empereḍor,
Serveie lui par feiţ e par amor;
Roḍlanz sis niés me coilliţ en haḍor,
Si jugaţ mei a mort eḍ a dolor:
Messages fui a·l rei Marsilion,
Par mon saveir ving jo a guarison;
Jo desfiḍai Roḍlant lo poigneḍor
Eḍ Olivier e toz lor compaignons,
Charles l'oḍiţ e si noble baron:
Vengiez m'en sui, mais n'i aţ traḍison!'
Respondent Franc: 'A conseill en iroms.'

CCLXXIII

Pinabel champions Ganelon's cause

Quant Guenles veit que sis granz plaiz comenceţ,
De ses parenz asembléţ i out trente.

3762. *es vos.* A conjecture for *s'estut* in O; cf. vv. 1187, 1889, 3403. Stengel: *veëz la G.*

3767. *voiz.* Some have questioned the admissibility of this word in an (*o*) laisse, but cf. *Aiol*, v. 1897.

3770. *serveie lui.* Ganelon has never admitted that he has failed in his feudal duty to Charles.

3774. *mon saveir.* This boast has good foundation; see vv. 425 ff.

3781. *asemblét.* O has *ensemble.*

Un en i aṭ a qui li altre entendent,
Ço·st Pinabel de·l castel de Sorence:
Bien set parler e dreite raison rendre,
Vassals est bons por ses armes defendre. Aoi. 3785
Ço li dist Guenles: 'En vos ai ma fiḍance,
Getez mei hui de mort e de chalenge!'
Dist Pinabels: 'Vos serez guariz sempres.
Francés n'i aṭ ki vos jugeṭ a pendre,
O l'empereḍre les noz cors en asembleṭ 3790
A·l brant d'acier que jo ne·l en desmente.'
Guenles li quens a ses piez se presenteṭ.

CCLXXIV

The court withdraws to deliberate

Baivier e Saisne sont aléṭ a conseill,
E Peitevin e Norman e Franceis,
Asez i aṭ d'Alemanz e Tieḍeis; 3795

3783. *Pinabel.* We learn here, for the first time, that Pinabel is among Ganelon's relatives; at v. 362 he was called merely "my friend and peer." — *Sorence.* Possibly Sarrance (*Soricinia?*) three leagues from Oloron, on the north slope of the Pyrenees; here are still seen ruins of a convent and church. Cf. Boissonnade, pp. 135, 341.

3785. *por ses armes defendre.* As a fallen knight expected to be immediately stripped by his successful opponent, because of the value of weapons and armor, to "defend one's arms" becomes equivalent to "guard against defeat." *Defendre,* therefore, is here = 'protéger' rather than 'faire respecter' (Geddes); it belongs with expressions like *prendre ses armes, porter ses armes* (vv. 897, 1154).

3786. O is defective, and conjecture is unavoidable. Stengel: En vos me fi, amis, ço li dist Guene. The assonance should be in *-en*^{c} rather than in *-an*^{c}.

3790. *O* is Lat. UBI 'in case that'; cf. vv. 241, 2676.

3792. *a ses piez.* Gautier translates 'tombe à ses pieds,' but more probably we have here a juristic formula *adsto tuis pedibus, eo pedibus ejus* = 'I accept with thanks.' A similar phrase is Crestien's *venir au pié de qqn,* as *Yvain,* vv. 1862, 2107; the concrete meaning had much weakened also in the OSp *besar la mano á alguno* (*Cid,* vv. 2907, 3041).

Icil d'Alvérnie i sont li plus corteis:
Por Pinabel se contienent plus queiţ,
Dist l'uns a·l altre: 'Bien fait a remaneir,
Laissom lo plait e si preiom lo rei
Que Guenelon claimt quite ceste feiz,
Puis si li serveţ par amor e par feiţ.
Morz est Roḍlanz, ja mais ne·l reveḍreiz,
N'iert recovrez por or ne por aveir;
Molt sereit fols ki ja se combatreit.'
Nen aţ celui ne·l greḍant eḍ otreit,
Fors sol Tieḍri, lo freḍre dam Geifreiţ. Aoi.

CCLXXV

The court recommends the case against Ganelon be dropped — despair of Charles

A Charlemagne repaiḍrent si baron,
Diënt a·l rei: 'Sire, nos vos priom
Que clamez quite lo conte Guenelon,
Puis si vos serveţ par feiţ e par amor:
Vivre·l laissiez car molt est gentilz hom,
[Morz est Roḍlanz, ja mais ne·l reveḍrom,]
Ja por morir n'en iert veḍuz getons

3796. *corteis*. One may hesitate between *corteis* = 'skilled in law,' as *Thèbes*, v. 7860, and *corteis* = 'compassionate'; the latter has the support of Galpin, *Cortois and Vilain* (1905), p. 29, and we may add that *cortois* is in OF applied at times to *Deus*, as *Vie saint Georges*, ed. Matzke, v. 463, and *Guill. le Mareschal*, ed. P. Meyer. It is also in this sense that the hero Cligès is *cortois*, vv. 1358 ff. For a different view, see ZFSL[1] XXXIX (1912), p. 149 (Tavernier).

3804. *ja*. An unsatisfactory conjecture for the enigmatic *aa* of O; Stengel conjectures *or*.

3811. *gentilz hom* 'a man of noble family'; the OF adj. here = 'qui gentem habet.'

3811 *a*. As an antecedent for vv. 3812 and 3813 is needed, namely Roland, all editors add this line as parallel to v. 3802 above.

3812. Editors have omitted this line because it seemed unintelligible, but, with the correction of a scribal

Ne por aveir ja ne·l recoverrom.'
Ço dist li reis: 'Vos estes mi felon.' Aoi.

CCLXXVI

Thierry of Anjou comes forward to champion Charles' cause

Quant Charles veit que tuit li sont faillit, 3815
Molt en enbroncheț e la chiere e lo vis,
A·l doel qu'il aț si se claimeț chaitis.
Ais li devant uns chevaliers, Tieḍris,

error (*gerun* for *getun*), it makes excellent sense: 'Never, at any possible cost, will any scion of his (Roland's) be seen.' *Por morir* 'at the cost of death' occurs at vv. 1048, 1096, 3041; we find it translated in ME by "to dye therefore," and cf. Crestien's *por l'oeil, por moi ocire*, &c. *Geton, giton* 'scion of a family' for mod. *rejeton*, needs no proof. In *gerun* of O, we may see a *lapsus calami* for *getun*; cf. v. 1971, where all editors had read *geter* until Stengel thought to find *getet*. The same error occurs in the nearly contemporary Oxford Psalter MS, I, 1: *ne stour* for *ne stout* (see the facsimile prefixed to Michel's edition). The judges are emphasizing the finality of Roland's death: 'he is dead; under no conceivable circumstances can he now become the head of a family, nor will any amount of fine assessed upon Ganelon bring him back to life; why not, then, allow the high-born prisoner to live?' Poor as the logic is, the meaning is clear and forceful.

3814. *mi felon* 'criminals against me.' For this peculiar use of the possessive adjective, see Tobler's *Beiträge*, II, p. 71. Cf. *Girart de Rossillon*, v. 5632: E pois li proverai qu'est mes traître, as explained by P. Meyer: "Charles veut dire à la fois que Girart a commis envers lui un acte de trahison, et que cet acte est prouvé de telle sorte, qu'en droit, sinon en fait, Girart appartient à Charles, qui a droit d'en prendre la vengeance qu'il lui plaira." Here in *Rol.*, it seems to Charles' angry thoughts that it is a felony, a crime against him, to bring in such a judgment.

3818. *Tiedris*. The copyist here left the name in blank, but it appears at v. 3843, and later. This Thierry of Anjou is described with such admiring detail that Tavernier believed that a portrait was intended. The Geoffrey of Anjou living about the year 1100 had in fact a younger brother, Fulk, who died in 1143, as King of Jerusalem. William of Tyre describes the youthful Fulk as *vir rufus, statura mediocri* (cf. v. 3822); his mother was the famous Bertrada, because of whom Philip I of France was excommunicated. Fulk was born about 1090, and Tavernier seeks to

Fredre Gefreit, ad un duc angevin.
Heingre out lo cors e graisle ed eschewit,
Neirs les chevels ed alques brun lo vis,
N'est guaires granz ne trop nen est petiz;
Corteisement l'emperedor at dit:
'Bels sire reis, ne vos dementez si!
Ja savez vos que molt vos ai servit,
Par anceissors dei jo tel plait tenir.
Que que Rodlanz Guenelon forsfesist,
Vostre servísie l'en doüst bien guarir:
Guenles est fel d'iço qu'il lo tradit,
Vers vos s'en est parjurez e malmis,
Por ço·l juz jo a pendre ed a morir,
E son cors metre en peine ed en essil,
Si come fel ki felonie fist.
S'or at parent m'en voeillet desmentir,
A ceste espede que jo ai ceinte ici
Mon jugement voeill sempres guarantir.'
Respondent Franc: 'Ore avez vos bien dit.'

explain Charles' exceeding solicitude in vv. 3939 ff. as due to Thierry's extreme youth; see ZfRP, XXXVIII, p. 703 ff.

3819. After this line, some editors insert a verse from the other versions: Escuiers fut Rollant et ses amis (Stengel).

3821. *lo vis* is added; a blank in O.

3827. 'Whatever wrong Roland may have done to Ganelon'; this verse refers back to v. 3758. The verb *forsfaire* is general in its meaning, while *sorfaire* (v. 3758) is quite specific.

3830. *parjurez*. Because Ganelon has violated his original oath of fidelity to his overlord, Charles.

3832. The copyist of O omitted the whole second part of this verse, which is here replaced by (Stengel's) conjecture. T. Müller's conjecture, *el champ pur les mastins* has been followed by several editors. *Metre en eissil*, 'give over to ruin,' is a current expression (used also by the copyist of O, v. 2935).

3834. Parataxis suppressed by the copyist, who inserted *ki;* cf. vv. 141, 359, 2522, 3559, 3681.

3837. *Respondent Franc*. Some have sought to conclude that in this passage the Franks meant are the more intimate and personal supporters of Charles, "French" in the narrow sense, but there is little basis for such an inference; cf. vv. 49–50, note.

CCLXXVII

Pinabel accepts the wager of battle

Devant lo rei est venuz Pinabels,
Granz est e forz e vassals eḍ isnels,
Qu'il fiert a colp, de son tens n'i aṭ mais!
E dist a·l rei: 'Sire, vostre est li plaiz,
Car comandez que tel noise n'i ait.
Ci vei Tieḍri ki jugement aṭ fait,
Jo si li fals, m'en combatrai adés.'
Met li e·l poign lo destre guant de cerf.
Dist l'empereḍre: 'Pleges demant de·l fait.'
Trente parent plevissent Pinabel;
Ço dist li reis: 'Jo·l vos recreiṭ e lais.'
Fait cels guarder tresque li dreiz seit faiz. Aoi.

3841. *vostre . . . plaiz.* Charles has convoked the diet, or *plait;* it is a *placitum palatii,* hence the Emperor, although he does not preside over the Court, may be expected at least to keep order. The medieval *plaid* must often have been a tumultuous affair.

3844. The assonance here in the MS is false, and the following lines (to v. 3849) are badly corrupted. The attempt has been made to restore correct assonances, with the aid of the conjectures of previous editors, but the result is still far from satisfactory. — *Jo si li fals.* Supply *lo* (= lo jugement). N'oi home parler | qui voillet falser | cest mien jugement says the poet of the *Sermon en Vers* (34). See also ZfRP, II, p. 178 (Foerster).

3846. For the conjecture *del fait,* 'of the act,' cf. *Thèbes,* v. 8498: Jo vos sui pleges d'icest fait; also the expression *baillier en fait de plegerie.*

3848. For the conjecture *e lais,* cf. Marie de France, *Lanval,* v. 404: Li reis lur [to the compagnons of Lanval, who are his pledges] dit: E jol vus lais, 'I turn him over to your care'; *recreire* is well known to have the same meaning. Baist was of the opinion that, as the combat takes place without the customary delay of a few weeks, the thirty pledges have here no *raison d'être;* see RF, V, p. 436. But it may be objected that the principals might escape, or be abducted, or be secretly injured, even if there were no delay in staging the battle.

3849. *cels.* These are Pinabel and his thirty pledges. The same precaution should be taken as to Thierry and his pledges, but the poet says nothing of this.

CCLXXVIII

Preliminaries of single combat

Quant veit Tiedris qu'ore en iert la bataille,
Son destre guant en at presentét Charle:
Li empereḍre l'i recreit par hostage,
Puis fait porter .iiii. bans en la place,
La vont seḍeir cil ki's deivent combatre;
Bien sont maléṭ par jugement des altres,
Si'l porparlaṭ Ogiers de Danemarche;
E puis demandent lor chevals e lor armes.

CCLXXIX

The two champions arm

Puis queḍ il sont a bataille jugiéṭ, Aoi.
Bien sont confés eḍ asols e seigniéṭ;
Oḍent lor messes e sont acomingiéṭ,
Molt granz offrendes metent par cez mostiers.
Devant Charlon andui sont repaiḍriéṭ,

3853. The purpose of the four benches was to mark the confines of the battle-field (*champ*, or *champ clos*) on the four sides. Rajna instances from Old Germanic law the expression *inter quatuor solia* as meaning the tribunal itself (*Origini*, p. 391, note). Tavernier (ZfRP, XXXVIII, p. 421, note) would make here an entire change in the reading, but his reasons seem insufficient.

3855–56. *malét*. The verb *maler* seems to mean 'to arrange (and announce?) the terms of battle.' For a study of the word, see EHR, II, p. 333 (Stevenson), also Flach, *Origines de l'ancienne France*, II, pp. 365–79. Ogier discusses and settles the details (the antecedent of *lo* seems to be not definitely expressed) with the advice and consent of the "others," *i.e.*, the judges.

3858. For the *justez* of O, editors conjecture *jugiét;* cf. the same false assonance at v. 339, and *Rom.* XLVII, p. 475 (Bédier). Stengel prefers *rengiét*. *Apareilliét*, as at v. 1144, seems unavailable. — Does not this *Aoi* belong rather after v. 3857?

3859. For confession before single combat, see Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, p. 43, n.

Lor esporons ont en lor piez chalciez,
Vestent osbers blans e forz e legiers,
Lor helmes clers ont fermez en lor chiés,
Ceignent espeḍes enheldeḍes d'ormier,
En lor cols pendent lor escuz de quartiers,
En lor poinz destres ont lor trenchanz espiez,
Puis sont montéṭ en lor coranz destriers.
Idonc plorerent .c. mílie chevalier,
Qui por Roḍlant de Tieḍri ont pitiéṭ:
Deus set asez coment la fins en iert!

CCLXXX

The duel of Thierry and Pinabel

Dedesoz Ais est la preḍe molt large,
Des dous barons josteḍe est la bataille;
Cil sont prodome e de grant vasselage,
E lor cheval sont corant eḍ aḍate;
Brochent les bien, totes les reḍnes laschent,
Par grant vertuṭ vait ferir li uns l'altre,
Toz lor escuz i froissent eḍ esquassent,
Lor osbers rompent e lor cengles departent,
Les seles tornent, chaḍeites sont les alves.
.c. mílië home i plorent ki's esguardent.

3871. The Franks still remember Roland, and see in Thierry his champion; cf. v. 2475, note.

3873. *la prede.* The wide meadow below Aix, through which flows the river Wurm (cf. v. 3968). It had been the scene of another famous duel, that of Bera and Senila, in the year 820; the poet Ermoldus Nigellus, in describing this conflict, likewise mentions the ample meadows and the river flowing through them, vv. 587, 610. On what is now known as the Brander Heide, there is now a track for horse-racing.

3880. *departent.* A conjecture for *depiecent* (false assonance) in O. Stengel: totes lur cengles taillent.

3881. Restored from O: Les alues turnent les seles cheent a terre. Stengel: A tere chieent de lor seles les alves.

CCLXXXI

A tere sont ambdui li chevalier, Aoi.
Isnelement se drecent sor lor piez.
Pinabels est forz, isnels e legiers,
L'uns requiert l'altre, n'ont mie des destriers.
De cez espeȩs enheldeȩs d'ormier
Fierent e chaplent sor cez helmes d'acier;
Grant sont li colp as helmes detrenchier.
Molt se dementent cil Franceis chevalier;
'E! Deus,' dist Charles, 'lo dreit en esclargiez!'

CCLXXXII

PINABEL PROPOSES A PACT, WHICH IS REJECTED

Dist Pinabels: 'Tieȩris, car te recreiz!
Tis hom serai par amor e par feiț,
A ton plaisir te donrai mon aveir,
Mais Guenelon fai acorder a·l rei.'
Respont Tieȩris: 'Ja n'en tendrai conseill.
Toz seie fel se jo mie l'otrei!
Deus faceț hui entre nos dous lo dreit!' Aoi.

CCLXXXIII

THIERRY MAKES A COUNTER PROPOSAL, WHICH IS REJECTED

Ço dist Tieȩris: 'Pinabels, molt iés ber,
Granz iés e forz e tis cors bien moȩlez,

3885. The cæsura is suspiciously weak; perhaps we should read *Fut Pinabels . . .*, or *Est Pinabels*. For this archaic word-order, cf. *Alexis* 9 *a*: Fud la pulcele . . . ; *Gormunt*, v. 64: Fut la bataille fort e grande.

3893. *Tis hom*. For this formula, see v. 39, note. To the feudal baron, Pinabel's would be a seductive offer.

De vasselage te conoissent ti per:
Ceste bataille car la laisses ester!
A Charlemagne te ferai acorder,
De Guenelon justísie iert faite tel
Ja mais n'iert jorz que nen en seit parlét!'
Dist Pinabels: 'Ne placet Damnedeu!
Sostenir voeill trestot mon parentét:
Ne·m recredrai por nul home mortel,
Mielz voeill morir que me seit reprovét.'
De lor espedes comencent a chapler,
Desor cez helmes ki sont ad or gemét;
Encontre·l ciel volet li fous toz clers.
Il ne poet estre qu'il seient desevrét:
Seinz home mort ne poet estre afinét. Aoi.

CCLXXXIV

Thierry receives a fearful blow

Molt par est proz Pinabels de Sorence:
Si fiert Tiedri sor l'elme de Provence
Salt en li fous que l'erbe en fait esprendre.
De·l brant d'acier la more li presentet,
Desor lo front li at faite descendre,
Par mi lo vis l'elme cler tot detrenchet,

3902. Foerster would read; e car la laisse ester (ZfRP, II, p. 179). But it appears possible that an *-s* in the 2d sg. imper. may stand in *Rol.;* cf. v. 3589.

3907. Pinabel's code of family honor is exactly that of Roland and of Oliver; cf. vv. 1063, 1705–07. Similarly, William's wife Guiborc speaks to William of Orange: Mielx vueil que moerges en l'Archamp desur mer, Que tis lignages seit par tei avilez, N'aprés ta mort a tes heirs reprové. (*Chançon de Guillaume*, vv. 1327–29).

3908. *Ne·m recredrai*. O has *N en*, but cf. v. 3892, and MP, XVIII, p. 145 (Sheldon).

3920. After the word *vis*, the copyist of O carelessly repeated, verbatim, the second part of v. 3919.

La destre joḍe en aṭ tote sanglente,
L'osberc desclot josque par som lo ventre.
Deus lo guariṭ que mort ne·l acraventeṭ! Aoi.

CCLXXXV

He rallies and slays pinabel

Ço veit Tieḍris queḍ e·l vis est feruz,
Li sans toz clers en chiét e·l preṭ herbuṭ;
Fiert Pinabel sor l'elme d'acier brun,
Jusqu'a·l nasel li aṭ frait e fenduṭ,
De·l chief li aṭ lo cervel espanduṭ,
Brandisṭ son colp si l'aṭ mort abatuṭ:
Aḍ icest colp est li estors vencuz.
Escriḍent Franc: 'Deus i aṭ fait vertuṭ!
Asez est dreiz que Guenles seit penduz,
E si parent ki plaidiéṭ ont por lui.' Aoi.

CCLXXXVI

Thierry received by Charles with open arms

Quant Tieḍris aṭ vencuḍe sa bataille,
Venuz i est li empereḍre Charles,
Ensembl'oḍ lui de ses barons sont quatre:
Naimes li dux, Ogiers de Danemarche,

Stengel restores thus: Desur le frunt tut l'elme l'en detrenchet | Parmi le vis l'i ad faite descendre. This reading would be preferable, were it not that à copyist would more easily repeat a phrase already written than duplicate a phrase by anticipating a following line.

3922. *desclot*. Conjecture (all editors) for *del dos* of O. Cf. vv. 1199, 1620.

3925. *herbut*. O has *herbus* (= *herbos*).

3927. *frait*. In O: *fait*.

3931. *vertut* 'miracle.'

3936. *quatre*. The copyist of O wrote *quarante* (!), in spite of the assonance and vv. 3937, 3938.

Geifreiz d'Anjou e Willalmes de Blávie.
Li reis aţ pris Tieḍri entre sa brace,
Tert lui lo vis oḍ ses granz pels de martre,
Celes met jus puis li afublent altres.
Molt soavet lo chevalier desarmenţ,
Fait lo monter en un mulet d'Arábie,
Repaidreţ s'en a joie eḍ a barnage;
Vienent aḍ Ais, descendent en la place.
Des or comenceţ l'ocision des altres.

CCLXXXVII

Ganelon's thirty pledges, his relatives, are hanged

Charles apeleţ ses contes e ses dux:
'Que me loḍez de cels qu'ai retenuz?
Por Guenelon erent a plait venuţ,
Por Pinabel en ostage renduţ.'
Respondent Franc: 'Ja mar en vivraţ uns!'
Li reis comandeţ un soen veier Basbrun:
'Va si·s pent toz a·l arbre de mal fust.

3938. For surmises as to a prototype of William of Blaye, see Boissonnade, p. 360.

3941. The poet would not have Charlemagne appear in public with furs which were soiled.

3943. *Fait lo monter*. The last two words were omitted by the copyist. Stengel restores: Monter le font sor un mulet d'Arabe. — *un mulet*. O has *une mule* (hypermetric).

3942. *desarment*. The subject is the indefinite "they," as in Spanish and English. Perhaps there would be more point in reading *desarmet*, since it is a question here of the extreme solicitude of Charles for the wounded champion. In *Gormunt*, vv. 552, King Louis holds the stirrup for a wounded squire; in *Aspremont*, Charles himself is squire to Naimon just returned from a dangerous mission: Al desarmer fu il son escuier (v. 2766); in *Thèbes* (vv. 1825 ff.) King Adrastes disarms a faithful messenger who is wounded. Tavernier believes this exceeding tenderness of Charles is to be explained by Thierry's youthfulness; see above, v. 3818, n.

3953. *arbre de mal fust* 'accursed

Par ceste barbe dont li peil sont chanuț
Se uns eschapeț, morz iés e confonduz.'
Cil li respont: 'Qu'en fereie jo plus?'
Oḍ .c. serjanz par force les conduit:
xxx. en i aț d'icels ki sont penduț.
Ki home traist sei ocit eḍ altrui! Aoi.

CCLXXXVIII

Ganelon is put to death by quartering

Puis sont tornéț Baivier eḍ Aleman,
E Peitevin e Breton e Norman;
Sor toz les altres l'ont otreïiéț li Franc
Que Guenles moergeț par merveillos ahan.
Quatre destriers font amener avant,
Puis si li liënt e les piez e les mains.
Li cheval sont orgoillos e corant,
Quatre serjant les acoeillent devant.

gallows-tree.' The expression *arbor infelix* 'gallows' is as old as Livy and Cicero, while Deschamps has "estre pendu a male hart" 'with evil cord.'

3956. For *plus*, O has *el* (false assonance); cf. v. 2812.

3959. *traist* 'betrays.' Here, and at v. 3974, Stengel reads *trait*. In OF and OPr, *traire* in the sense of Lat. TRADERE is well known, so also ME *trayen, treien*. As VL TRAGERE derives from *traxi* (Lyndsay, *Lat. Spr.*, p. 562) it is possible that a VL *tracit* existed as well as *tragit;* it is at any rate certain that a Ps. sg. 1 *trais* (also *traz*) is found early, and it is this form that the poet (or only the copyist?) has carried into the 3d person.

3962. *Franc* here in the narrower sense, 'the barons of the Center,' 'Francians'; cf. v. 3084.

3963. *par merveillos ahan* 'with extraordinary suffering.' Quartering, says L. Gautier (II, p. 239) is not specifically mentioned in any of the Germanic codes. It is referred to in *Troie*, v. 3629, as a shameful mode of execution; see Du Cange, QUARTERATIO, also *Renaut de Montauban*, p. 73, and *Girart de Rossillon*, § 520. P. Meyer notes, at the last passage, that a miniature of the Bodleian MS 264 (xivth century) shows in great detail a quartering by horses. Cf. also *Æn.* viii, 642–45: the traitor Mettus is torn limb from limb by chariots driven apart.

3965. The assonance is doubtful; cf. however, v. 1158. Possibly: E piez e mains puis si li vont leiant.

Devers une ewe, ki est enmi un champ,
Tornez est Guenles a perdicion grant:
Trestuit si nerf molt li sont estendant,
E tuit li membre de son cors derompant;
Sor l'erbe verte en espant li clers sans:
Guenles est morz come fel recreḍanz.
Hom ki traist altre, nen est dreiz qu'il s'en vant!

CCLXXXIX

The baptism of queen Bramimonde

Quant l'empereḍre aṭ faite sa venjance,
Si'n apelaṭ ses evesques de France,
Cels de Baiviere eḍ icels d'Alemaigne:
'En maison aṭ une chaitive franche,
Tant aṭ oḍiṭ e sermons eḍ essamples
Creiḍre voelt Deu, chrestiëntéṭ demandeṭ;
Baptiziez la, por quei Deus en ait l'anme.'
Cil li respondent: 'Or seit fait par maḍranes,
Asez creḍuḍes eḍ alignieḍes dames.'
As bainz aḍ Ais molt sont granz les compaignes,

3968. This river is the Wurm; cf. vv. 3873, 2465, nn.

3973. The poet had promised ultimate vengeance at vv. 1149 and 1459.

3978. In O we have *En ma maisun ad*, a difficulty which Stengel avoids by transposing *at* (after *caitive*); *en maison* = 'at home' is, however, quite regular in OF; see Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe*, p. 49, and Ebeling, *Auberee*, p. 126.

3979. *essamples* 'edifying stories,' Lat. *exempla*; cf. v. 1076, n.

3983. *credudes* 'responsible.' The *Roman de Roncesvaux* speaks of *hostages bien creüz* 'quite trustworthy' (Littré); Froissart: "il estoit moult aimé et cru en la ville." Or, have we here the p. ptcp. of *creistre* = 'mature'? Stengel understood *cruiz* in O as 'crosses,' and emended: Assez i out cruiz et linees dames. Gröber: *creues* = 'noble' (?). — *aligniedes*. O has merely *linees*, leaving the verse too short. In OF, *aligniét* is often coupled with *bel*, as *Folie Tristan*, v. 579, and the word is still known to Palsgrave as meaning 'well-featured' (ed. Génin, p. 430).

3984. *as bainz*. For the famous mineral springs at Aix, see v. 154, note.

La o baptizent la reïne d'Espaigne;
Trovét li ont lo nom de Juliane:
Chrestiëne est par veire conoissance.

CCXC

Charlemagne is warned of two new campaigns he must undertake

Quant l'emperedre at faite sa justísie,
Ed esclargiede est la soe grant ire,
En Bramimonde at chrestiëntét mise.
Passet li jorz, la nuit est aseride,
Li reis se colchet en sa chambre voltice,
Sainz Gabriël de part Deu li vint dire:
'Charles, somon les oz de ton empírie,
Par force iras en la tere de Bire;

3986. *Juliane.* Is there special fitness in the choice of this name for the former Queen Bramimonde? St. Juliana, the martyr, was of noble blood and beautiful; she was the daughter of Africanus, a persecutor of Christians; her mother had inclined to neither Christians nor pagans. For her legend, see PMLA, XIV, p. 279 (Garnett), and Brunöhler's Bonn Dissertation, 1912. Tavernier notes that Henry I (b. 1068) had an illegitimate daughter of this name, while Boissonnade (p. 414) thinks this a complimentary reference to Juliane de l'Aigle, sister of Rotrou de Perche.

3995. *la tere de Bire.* This "land of Bire" is not identified. The suggestion having the most weight is that of Baist (*Variationen*, p. 226): the stronghold and province of *El-bire* in southern Spain, eclipsed, but not until the eleventh century, by the neighboring city of Granada. The territory of El-Birá (Elvira) was settled by Arabs from Damascus, but the Mozarabs (Christians) were also numerous, and there were Christian bishops in the city down to 1007; after that date not until 1493. See Dozy, *Recherches sur l'Histoire d'Espagne*, I[3], pp. 327 ff.; H. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, I, p. 247. Madoz still refers to this land as "la *tierra* de Elvira"; over its well-watered plain swept army after army of Christians and Musulmans, the latter often in civil war. The city, now in ruins, is but five days' journey (90 miles) S. E. of Córdova, and Córdova (Cordres), it will be recalled, was among the conquests of Charlemagne (vv. 3, 71, 97). Fournel mentions the form *Libirah:* in this, the Latins

Reis, Viviën si soccoras en Imphe
A la citét que paien ont asise:
Li chrestiën te reclaiment e criḍent.'

might have heard their definite article. The redoubtable Yûsuf captured both El-Bira and Granada in 1090, the Christian churches were leveled soon after and the rumor of these sad events may easily have spread the name (cf. also *Val-Marchis*, v. 3208) as far as France. At any rate, the poet of *Rol.* would be guilty of no anachronism in connecting the name *Elbira* with that of Charlemagne: it was a governor of Elbira who first fortified Granada, in 889, and the older city dated back probably to Roman times. — Hofmann thought *Bire* might be the region of the river *Birra*, near Narbonne, mentioned by Einhard (c. II), and also in the *Miracula S. Benedicti* (I, xiv). — The province of *Beira* in Portugal (found as *Bile* in some epics) was suggested by T. Müller (1878) and considered by G. Paris; see his *Orson de Beauvais*, pp. 182–83, and MLN, XXII, p. 192 (Weeks). — Tavernier would read *tere d'Ebire* and understand Epirus, on the shores of the Adriatic (ZFSL, XXXVII, p. 272; XLI, p. 54). Bohemond, he argues, and Robert Guiscard before him, had fought in Epirus against the more or less barbarous subjects of Alexis, about the time *Rol.* was written. But it should not be forgotten that the poet is writing a poem of the time of Charlemagne; Charles never fought pagans in Epirus, for Epirus was at that time a part of the Eastern Roman Empire, and this bond was not broken until the XIth century. — A town *Elbira*, on the Euphrates west of Edessa, is mentioned during the Crusades, but it is not prominent nor is it connected with Charlemagne in any way now known. For this citadel see also Boissonnade, pp. 217–19.

3996. *Reis, Viviën.* It would seem prudent not to abandon the MS here and read *Rei Viviën*, as practically all editors have done. It is entirely possible that *two* new and distant expeditions are imposed upon the weary Emperor. That *reis* may be used to Charles in direct address hardly needs proof: Gabriel himself has used the vocative *Reis magnes* (v. 3611), and *bels sire reis* occurs often (vv. 3824, 863, 876); cf. also Marie's *Lanval*, v. 495, Crestien's *Lancelot*, v. 6174.

If Vivien is not necessarily a king, as has been supposed, who was he? May he not be identified with the Vivien of the Cycle of William of Orange? For this epic hero, see Bédier, I², particularly pp. 412 ff., and Suchier, *Chanson de Guillaume*, p. liv. The latter would see Vivien's prototype in the Count Vivianus, who, in the ninth century, was lay-abbot of the St. Martin cloister at Tours, and who led the Frankish troops of Charles the Bald against an incursion of Bretons and Northmen (pagans). In *Rol.*, Vivien is shut up in a city besieged by pagans, and is in need of succor: Charlemagne, sorely against his will, must hasten to his rescue. For another conjecture as to Vivien's prototype, see Boissonnade, p. 393.

en Imphe (O: *en imphe*). This stronghold (*citét*) is not identified. What is needed, of course, is a history

Li emperedre n'i volsist aler mie:
'Deus!' dist li reis, 'si penose est ma vide!'
Ploret des oeilz, sa barbe blanche tiret.
Ci falt la geste, que Turoldus declinet.

or legend which would bring Vivien and Imphe into connection. Some would read here *en Nimphe:* with this addition, Baist sought to identify the city with the Volscian town of Nympha, or Ninfa, which was rescued from the Lombards by Pippin and by Charlemagne. No siege of this town by Saracens seems to be recorded, but it is known that they established a camp near by, on the Garigliano. The town was rebuilt in the XIth century, Pope Alexander III being crowned there in 1159, but later it was nearly abandoned because of the unhealthy climate. The picturesque vine-clad ruins of the castle are still to be seen. There is some slight indication that Vivien was associated with one of Charles' expeditions to Rome (see Bédier, I,[2] p. 408, and Steitz, *Zur Kritik der Rolandüberlieferung in den skandinavischen Ländern*, 1907, p. 36). — The Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna (IXth c.) mentions (pp. 172, 369) another place *Nimfa, Nymfe,* or *Nimphe,* but this is on the Black Sea, in the "Bosforiana patria," and seems too remote for consideration here.

3999–4001. Thus the poem opens and closes with the name of the Emperor: he is the pivot of the whole, and we have followed "la gran geste de Charlon" to a striking and dramatic conclusion. But this is only a temporary stopping-place: Charles' life, it now appears, is one of ceaseless labor and agitation. He is severely tried by the tragedies he has just passed through, he is in sore need of rest, yet he does not disobey the behest of the angel. "King Charles," Einhard had said (c. VII), "could not be forced by weariness to desist from his undertakings." His patience, his piety, his courage, self-sacrifice and devotion to duty are very like those of Vergil's hero: like Æneas, Charles embodies the destiny of a people, the welfare and the future of a nation, and this is why they both receive divine messages. As for Charles' tears, they are *lacrimæ rerum,* and it is only in later epics they become an evidence of weakness. See vv. 349, 773, nn.

4002. *Ci falt la geste* 'Here ends the history-poem.' A common formula, replacing the customary *Explicit.* "Ci falt la geste des Bretuns," writes Wace at the end of his long historical *Roman de Brut* (v. 15,293); "D'or en avant faut la chançon ici" marks the close of the epic *Raoul de Cambrai.* For studies of the formula, see *Rom.* XIV, p. 405; XXIV, p. 632; XXIX, p. 483.

que Turoldus declinet probably means 'for Turold [its author, or redactor] is becoming increasingly infirm.' For *declinet,* see below. For *que,* Lat. QUIA, modern Fr. *vu que, parce que,* see Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe,* § 342. This *que* is of very frequent use in OF, being used in causal phrases, especially when the preceding main clause contains a negative or an unfavorable happening for which the real cause or reason is to be given; cf. *Rol.,* v. 2784 Fuiant s'en vint, *qu*'il n'i pout mais ester; *Troie,* v. 17,629 Et si fait

il [il s'est couchiez,] *qu'*il n'en puet mais; *ibid.* v. 29,812 Mais des or voudrai a chief traire | De ceste oevre: nos [= ne vos] merveilliez, | *Qu'*auques sui las et travailliez. For the earlier history of *que* < Lat. QUIA, see Rydberg, *Geschichte der französischen ²*, pp. 357–68. Additional instances in which the main clause relates the abandonment of a project, are *Aucassin*, § 2: 28, *Erec*, v. 3071, *Troie*, vv. 5930, 28,205; in all these passages, as in v. 4002, the *que*-clause is explanatory, it furnishes the reason for a non-fulfillment.

Turoldus. For the vexed question as to the identity of this personage, see Introduction, p. xlviii ff.

declinet seems to mean 'is declining (rapidly) in health.' The numerous meanings of *decliner* in OF have given rise to a long and inconclusive discussion; see particularly *Rom.* XIV, p. 405 (Rajna); XXIV, p. 632 (G. Paris). The majority had adopted Rajna's conclusion, *declinet* = 'recita,' 'dice,' 'espone'; so Suchier "Hier schliesst die Mär, die Turoldus erzählet"; also Baist, "Hier endet die Geschichte, die Turoldus bekundet." But it seems not to have occurred to any of these eminent scholars to consider *que* otherwise than as the obj. relative = QUAM. The verb *decliner* occurs elsewhere in *Rol.*, v. 2447, and *declin* at v. 2890: in both passages the word expresses the idea of 'drawing to a close,' of 'decadence.' If we seek further in the best French tradition for the right meaning of the word, we find Villon employing the phrase *decliner en pouldre* ("Leurs os sont declinez en pouldre," *Test.* v. 1765) for which an OF equivalent was *cheoir en pouldre.* Closer still is *Testament Pathelin,* ed. Jacob, p. 189: (Pathelin) Tout beau, ma chere amye, helas! | Choyez-moi! Certes, je decline! | (Guillemette) Jesus! mon amy! (Pathelin) Guillemine, | Se je mouroye tout maintenant . . . The idea of death was often closely associated with *declin* and *decliner.* Cf. Racine, *Brit.* iv. 2: Claudius penchait vers son declin . . . Il mourut. Cf. also the corresponding expressions in English, and MP, XXI, pp. 155–64 (Holbrook).

For the long and severe illness of Turoldus of Bayeux, and his miraculous cure, see Introduction, p. lv.

GLOSSARY AND INDEX

THE GLOSSARY aims to be complete as to words and unusual word-forms. See also the section "Language and Versification," in the Introduction.

In general, it seemed unnecessary to give more than three line-references when the word occurs many times with practically the same meaning; if less than three are given, the word occurs in *Rol.* but once or twice.

Words in brackets, and reference-figures in parentheses, mean that the word or form given is not precisely the reading of the Oxford MS, but has been placed in the text of this edition because required by the assonance, by the meter, or by some other imperative consideration. Thus, at v. 269, the MS has *en espaigne;* this, being plainly erroneous in the masc. *-ant* assonance, is corrected in the text to *espan*, a word which occurs at vv. 612, 2828; the Glossary will show "**espan** . . . (269), 612, 2828."

ABBREVIATIONS: *absol.* absolutely; *acc.* accusative; *adj.* adjective; *adv.* adverb; *art.* article; *cf.* compare; *CL* Classic Latin; *cond.* conditional; *conj.* conjunction; *dat.* dative; *demon.* demonstrative; *f.* or *fem.* feminine; *fig.* figurative; *fut.* future; *Gk.* Greek; *imper.* imperative; *impf.* imperfect; *imps.* impersonal; *indec.* indeclinable; *ind.* or *indic.* indicative; *infin.* infinitive; *interj.* interjection; *intr.* intransitive; *Lat.* Latin; *lit.* literal; *m.* or *masc.* masculine; *n.* neuter; *nom.* nominative; *num.* numeral; *obj.* object; *obl.* oblique (case); *p.* past; *pers.* personal; *pf.* perfect; *pl.* plural; *poss.* possessive; *pred.* predicate; *prep.* preposition; *ps.* present; *ptcp.* participle or participial; *qqch* quelque chose; *qqn* quelqu'un; *ref.* reflexive; *sb.* substantive; *sbj.* subjunctive; *sg.* singular; *tr.* transitive; *v.* vide (see); *var.* variant; *VL* Vulgar Latin; < derived from.

ETYMOLOGY: The etymons are given nearly always in the accusative case-form (MENSE, UNU), and without the final -M which had ceased to be pronounced in the Vulgar Latin (or pre-Romance) period. Hyphens are used to separate the elements of a word first compounded in the Romance period and therefore not known to Classic Latin: BARON-ATU > OF **barnêt**, while FOSSATU was a CL compound. Etymons from the Germanic languages are printed in German script: **guerre** < werra

GLOSSARY AND INDEX

A

a, aḍ (AD) *prep.* at, to ; by, with, *etc.*

I. LOCAL

1. *location:* estre aḍ Ais, — a sa chapele ; ceindre a son costéṭ ; a la tige 500, a une feste, a son chief, gesir a saint Romain 3693, estre a cheval, venteler al piz 48 ; tenez vos al saveir 569 ; as helmes detrenchier 3889, *cf.* 2413.
2. *motion towards (lit. and fig.)* : aler a Charle, livrer al paien, metre al juḍise 3368, apeler a sei, guarder al brief 487, descendre a pieṭ, sei alier a son dragon 1480, aler a sa fin, estre as armes 1095, 2986 ; sei presenter a ses piez 3792, brochier aḍ ait, guarder a mont, a val ; traire as anceissors 3177.
3. *destination, object:* aler a conseil, venir a plait, venir a guarison 3774, jugier a mort, a rieḍreguarde 656, torner a perdre 1296 (a peer dicion 3969), rendr, amor a paien 3596 estre guaranz as anmes 2518, estre a secors de qqn 2562, prier a, parler a, poroffrir a, avenir a 3500 (*cf.* 765, 769) ; aḍ oés 373, 3678 ; clamer a guarant 1161, aveir a nom 1188.
4. *occupation:* joër as tables, as eschés 111–12.
5. *relationship:* filz al rei, druz al rei 1479, li niés Droon al vieil 2048, cort a rei 446.
6. *ownership:* estre a noble vassal 1123, 3211 ; tolir les seles as chevals 2490, *cf.* 732, 1649.
7. *accompaniment* = with (< *Lat.* A, AB) : eḍrer a mei 3340, venir a seignor (2900), colchier as altres 2204, *cf.* 919; joster, combatre, tencier a qqn 614, 3169, 2603, 2581 ; corre (= compete) a qqn 1598, estre a qqn 1846, parler (tenir parlement) a qqn 2742, 2836; prendre

conseil a qqn 205, sei acorder a Charle 2621 ; en venir a tot 2191.

II. TEMPORAL : al jorn cler, a ceste feiz, a mon vivant, a (feste) saint Michiel 37, 53 ; aḍ icez moz 990, al altre mot 2597, a cest asalt, as premiers cols 2076, *cf.* 3401, 3817 ; estre a tens 1841, aḍ itant, d'ores aḍ altres 2843 ; jusqu'aḍ un an 972.

III. MODAL

1. *manner:* morir a honte, ferir aḍ ire, saisir a tort, soner a dolor, ferir (destreindre) a mort, ferir a colp, a miracle 1499, corre a piẹt 890, venir a cors (2563), chaḍeir a un quat 1267, escriḍer a (grant) voiz 3641, guider a poḍeste 2926, metre un siege a visde (212), dire a conseil 3454, a lei de chevalier, a son talent 400, a ton plaisir 3894, a vostre comant (946), merir a qqn a bien 519, sigler a fort (?) 2631, ferir nuṭ a nuṭ 3585, estre a ce que demandent 3624.

2. *descriptive circumstance:* escuz aḍ or, homes aḍ escuz, paiens a helmes ; Charle a la barbe floriḍe 970, B. al chanuṭ peil 503, (paiens) as chiés gros 3221.

3. *measure, price:* morir a milliere 1417, chevalchier a quant que poḍez 1175, preisier aḍ un enfant 2739, a .xxx. milie chevaliers (3053), *cf.* 3029, 3661 ; a bien petit . . . ne 305.

IV. MEANS, INSTRUMENT batre a fuz, liier a correies, passer a nes 3688, sei afermer a ses estreus 2033, ociḍre a son espieṭ 867, eslegier qqch as espeḍes 759, chalengier a ses armes 3376 ; veḍeir a mes oeilz, prendre as deiz, a braz, al poing ; oḍir al corner 2108, conoistre qqn al visage 1639.

V. WITH INFINITIVES

1. *adjectives:* bon a confondre 1542, fort a soffrir 3489.

2. *infinitives:* aidier a conduire 945, asmer a ferir 454, avenir a soffrir 456, aveir a guarder, a vivre 1192, 1923 ; comander a ferir, a guaitier 1138 (2527) ; comencier a riḍre 302, conduire a mendiier 46, desiḍrer a ferir 1482, faire a blasmer, a remaneir 1174, 3798 ; jugier a perdre 937, prendre a

regreter 2026, **remaneir a fraindre** 5.

abandoner (< **bandon** 'power') *tr.* to abandon 1536; **sei — de morir** to expose oneself to death 390; **sei — a** to offer oneself, accept battle 928, 3082; **estre —ant** to be at one's disposal 1522.

abatre (AD-BATT[U]ĔRE) *tr.* to beat down 98, 1204, 1375; to knock off 2339; to lay low, kill (in a duel) 2553.
Pf. 3 **abatiéṭ** 98, 1317.

abéṭ (ABBATE) *m.* III abbot 2955.

Abiron Abiram; *see Numbers* XVI : 1–35; **la tere** — 1215.

Abisme a Saracen, standard-bearer of King Marsile, slain by Turpin 1470, 1498.

Acelin (Azzelin) *m.*I Count of Gascony 172, 2882.

acheminer (AD-CAMĪN-ARE) *intr.* to travel over a road 702; *ref.* 365.

achever (AD-CAP-ARE) *tr.* to finish, complete 3578.

acier (VL ACIARIU) *m.*I steel 997, 1079, 1362.

acoillir, aqoillir (AD-CŎLLĬG-ĪRE) *tr.* to receive, take charge of 3967; to greet, overtake 689.

acomingier (AD-COMMUNICARE) *tr.* to give communion to 3860.

aconter (AD-COMPŬ-ĀRE) *tr.* to count 1034; to recount, relate 1038.

acorde (< **acorder**) *f.*I agreement, peace proposal 433.

acorder (AD-CHŎRD-ARE) *tr.* to reconcile 74, 2621, 3895; *ref.* 2621.

acraventer (AD-CREPANTARE) *tr.* to break, shatter 1955; to crush down 3923.

aḍate, aate (AD-HABĬTU ?) *adj.* I*a* quick of motion, spirited 1490, 3876.

aḍemplir, aemplir (AD-ĬMPL-ĪRE) *tr.* to fulfill, accomplish 309.

adenz (AD-DENTES) *adv.* face downwards 1657, 2025, 2358.

[**adès**] (AD-DENSĒ ?) *adv.* immediately, without delay (3844).

adeser (ADDENSARE) *tr.* to touch, reach as far as, come near 981, 1997, 2159, 2437; *ref.* 3572.

adestrer (AD-DEXTĔR-ARE) *tr.* to lead, guide, 2648.

aḍir, aïr (< **aḍirer**) *m.*I rage, violence 722.

adob, adop (< **adober**) *m.*I *pl.* arms, equipment, harness 1808.

adober (AD-ḋubb-ARE) *tr.* to equip with weapons, arm; *ref.* 993, 994, 1793.

adobéṭ (< **adober**) *adj.* I*a* supplied, trimmed 1143; **lances** — with the gonfanons attached 713.

aḍorer, aorer (ADŌRARE) *tr.* to worship 124, 429, 854.

[**aḍovrir**] (VL AD-ŎPĔRĪRE) *tr.* to open [602].

aḍrement, arrement (ATRAMENTU) *m.*I ink 1933.

[**aḍun, aün**] (< **aḍuner** ADŪNARE) *m.*I the act of assembling; guidance, direction [2815].

aduréṭ (VL ABDŪRATU *for* OBDŪRATU) *adj.* I*a* stubborn, obstinate 1396, 1460, 3304.

Aëlroth a Saracen, nephew of King Marsile, asks for the "first blow" against Roland 860; suggests that twelve pagan barons be chosen to oppose the Twelve Peers 874; is slain by Roland 1188.

afaitier (AD-FACT-ARE) *tr.* to put in order, adjust 215.

afermer (AD-FĬRMARE) *tr.* to make steady; *ref.* 2033.

affliction (AFFLICTIONE) *f.*II act of penitence, penitence 3272.

African (AFRICANU) *adj.* Ia; *sb.* an African = a Moor or Berber 1593.

Affrike *f.*I Africa 1593, (1915?), 2924.

afichieḍement (< **afichiêṭ**) *adv.* firmly-seated 3117.

afichier (VL AD-FĪCCARE) *tr.* to affirm; *ref.* **sei — de** to announce one's stubborn determination as to 2665.

afichiêṭ (< **afichier**) *adj.* Ia stubborn, obstinate 3393.

afiḍancier, afiancier (AD-FĪDANTIARE) *tr.* to reassure, provide with a security 41.

afiler (AD-FĪLARE) *intr.* to flow in a thin stream; *ref.* 1665.

afiner (**a** + **fin**-er) *tr.* to carry through successfully, put through skillfully 1465; to finish, terminate 3914.

afubler (AD-FĪBŬLA-ĀRE) *tr.* to fasten on (with buckle or clasp) 3941; **sei — de** to be wrapped in 462.

ageter (VL AD-JECTARE) *ref.* to cast oneself 2545.

agier 2075 *var. of* **algier** spear.

agregier (AD-GRĔVI-ARE) *intr.* to grow heavier, increase 2206.

Agrossaille a king defeated by Turpin, in Denmark 1488.

aguṭ (ACŪTU) *adj.* Ia sharpened, pointed, sharp 1573, 1954; conical 2367.

ahan (< ?) *m.*I exertion, painful effort 267, 864, 1761; fatigue, suffering 2474, 2524, 3963.

ahi *interj.* 763.

aïḍe, aïe 1670, 1732 *var. of* **aiuḍe.**

aidier (ADJŪTĀRE) *tr.* to aid, support, assist 26, 364, 623; **aidiez!** help! 2546. *Ps. sbj.* 3 **aiut** 781, **aït** 1865; *Imper. sg.* 2 **aïde** 1906.

aiglentier (VL AQUILENT-ARIU) *m.*I sweet-briar 114.

ainz (VL ANTIUS ?) before 3394; rather, first, preferably 300, 1065; **— que** before 83, 688, 2230; **com il — pout** as soon as he could 1037.

aire (AGRU ?) *m.*I origin, descent; **de put —** of low origin 763; **de bon —** of good family 2252.

Ais (AQUIS) Aix-la-Chapelle, in Rhenish Prussia, capital of Charlemagne's empire 135, 435, 726, 1409, 2556, 2667, 2860, 2917, 3696, 3706, 3734, 3945.

ais (368), 3403 *var. of* **es**[2].

[aissele] (AX-ĔLLA) *f.*I armpit [1969].

ait, aḍ ait *apparently the same as* **à hait** (< ?) vigorously, with animation 1184, 1381, 1802, 1844, 3350.

aitre (ATRIU) *m.*I vestibule (of palace or church); cemetery in front of church 1750.

aiuḍe, aiue (< **aidier**) *f.*I aid, assistance 1336.

ajorneḍe, ajornee (AD-DIŬRN-ĀTA) *f.*I break of day (715), 3731.

ajorner (AD-DIŬRN-ARE) *intr.* to dawn 2147.

ajoster (AD-JŬXTARE) *tr.* to assemble, gather 851 ; to bring together, arrange in battle order 1461, 3024 ; *ref.* to join 919, 1169.

albe (ALBA) *f.*I dawn of day 667, 737, 2845.

Alde (<Ḥildа ?) *f.*I sister of Oliver, fiancée of Roland 1720 ; her death 3708, 3717, 3723.

aleier (AD-LĬGARE) *tr.* to combine, mingle ; *ref.* to assemble, gather 990. *See also* **aliier**.

aleine (VL HALĒNA) *f.*I breath ; **aveir longe** — to blow a long time, be long-winded 1789.

Alemaigne (ALAMANN-IA) *f.*I the land of the Alemans (3038), 3977.

Aleman (ALAMANNU) *adj.* I*a* a German tribe ; *sb.* 3038, 3701, 3795, 3960.

aler (VL ALLARE *for* AMBŬLARE) *intr.* to go ; *ref.* **s'en** — 11, 50, 187 ; *Ps. Ind.* 1 **vois**, 3 **vait**, *and* **vaṭ** (2106), 5 **alez**, 6 **vont**. *Pf.* 3 **alaṭ**. *Fut.* 1 **irai**, 2 **iras**, 3 **iraṭ**, 4 **irom** *and* **iroms**, 5 **irez** *and* **ireiz** 79, 6 **iront**. *Pf.* 3 **alaṭ**. — *Sbj. Ps.* 1 **alge**, 2 **alges**, 3 **algeṭ**, **alt**, 5 **algiez**, 6 **algent**. *Impf.* 3 **alast**. *P. ptcp.* **alêṭ**. **Aler** *with inf.* 1407, 3340 ; *with ger.* 1783, 2232.

alexandrin (ALEXANDRĪNU) *adj.* I*a* of Alexandria (Egypt) 408.

[**Alferne**] region of Africa, inhabited by the black race, and possessed by the algalife, uncle of Marsile 1915 (*see note*).

Algalife (Arab AL ' the,' KHALIFA ' successor ' [of Mohammed]) *m.*I the Caliph, uncle of King Marsile and ruler of the Ethiopians, intercedes to protect Ganelon 453 ; is demanded by Charlemagne as a hostage 493 ; is a member of Marsile's Council 505 ; is falsely reported drowned by Ganelon 681 *ff.* ; (now called Marganice, in O), remains to confront the French at Roncesvaux after the flight of Marsile 1914 ; he mortally wounds Oliver in the back 1943 ; is slain by Oliver 1954 *ff.*

algier, agier (AS æt̄gar + æl ?) *m.*I a spear for throwing 439, 442, 2075.

aliier, aliër *var. of* **aleier** (AD-LĬGARE) *tr.* to bind together ; *ref.* to collect, assemble 1480.

[**aligniéṭ**] (AD-LĪNĔĀTU) *adj.* I*a* well-featured, well-proportioned (3983).

Almace the name of Turpin's sword 2089, (2143).

almaçor (Arab. AL–MANSOR) *m.*I Saracen chieftain 849, 909, 1275

Almaris, king of Belferne, attacks Gautier du Hum and his men, near Roncesvaux 812.

alne (elina) *f.*I ell (linear measure = 1½ feet) 2400.

aloër (AD-LŎCARE) *tr.* to place 2941.

aloser (AD-LĀUS-ARE) *tr.* to praise, make famous 898.

Alphaïen a Saracen chief, killed by Oliver 1554.

alquant (ALĬQUANTU) *adj.* I*a* not a few 2611 ; *sb.* a certain number, a few 683, 983, 1348 ; some . . . others 2093.

alques (ALIQUID-S) *n. pron.* a few ; a rather large number 1099 ; *adv.* somewhat, to some extent 95, 2283, 3459.

[altaing] *f.* **altaigne** (*var. of* **altain**, **–aine** < ALTU-ANU) *adj.* I*a* high, elevated 3.

alter (ALTARE) *m.*I altar 3685, 3732.

altisme (ALTISSIMU) *adj.* I*a* very high 2708.

altre (ALTĔRU) *adj.* I*b* other, second 592, 725 ; *sb.* 108, 221, 1105 ; *obl.* **altrui** 380, 1963, 3959.

altrement (ALTĔRA MENTE) *adv.* otherwise 494, 1880.

altresi (ALTĔRU-SĪC) *adv.* just as, just the same as 1827, 2559, 3319.

altretant (ALTĔRU-TANTU) *adj.* I*a* *n.* as much again, as many again 3021 ; *pl.* 3198.

altretel (ALTĔRU-TALE) *adj.* II, *n.* the same thing 653, 3123.

altrier (ALTĔRU-HĔRI) *adv.* the other day 3185.

altrui *see* **altre.**

alumer (VL ADLŪMĬNARE) *tr.* to set fire to 2958.

alve (VL ALBA, ALVA) *f.*I side-piece of the saddle 1648, 3881.

Alvérnie (ARVERNICUM) *f.*I Auvergne 3062, 3796.

ambdous, ambsdous (AMBOS DŬOS) *nom.* **ambdui** both 259, 1711.

ambedous (AMBOS DŬOS) *nom.* **ambedui** both 1094.

ambes (AMBAS) *f. pl.* both (137), 2931.

ambodre, ambore (AMBŬTRU) *dual pron.* both of them 1589, 1650.

Amborrés of Oluferne (*or* **Oliferne**) a Saracen, ensign-bearer of Baligant 3297 ; overthrown by Jeffrey of Anjou 3548–49.

amdui (*nom. pl. of* **amdous**) both 1381, 3883.

amendise (< **amender**) *f.*I reparation, atonement 517.

amener (VL AD-MĬNARE) *tr.* to fetch, bring 89, 435, 2783. *Fut.* 5 **amenreiz** (508).

amer (AMARE) *tr.* to love 7, 1092 ; to be in the relation of *ami*, professing **amistiét** 323, 1591, 3598.

ami (AMĪCU) *adj.* I*a* friendly ; *sb. m.* friend 362, 1113; *f.* 957, 3713.

amirafle (Arab. AMÎR A'LA 'high commander') *m.*I Saracen chieftain 850. *See also* **amurafle.**

amiraill, amirail (Arab. AMÎR A ÂLÎ 'higher leader') *m.*I commander among the Saracens 967, 1503, 2602 ; the Emir of Babylon (Cairo) 2615, 2647, 2747, 2977.

[amirant] 2831 *var. of* **amirail.**

amistiét (AMĪCITATE) *f.*II friendship 622, 1530 ; *pl.* assurances of friendship 29.

amont (AD-MONTE) *adv.* on high, upwards 2235, 2341 ; up yon

der 1103; *prep.* on top of (2267).
amor (AMŌRE) *f.*II love 86; **par** — in a friendly manner 121, 2710, lovingly 1447.
amurafle (blend of **amirafle**, *q. v.*, *with* OF **amuafle** = Arab. ALMODAFFER 'the victorious'?) *m.*I Saracen chieftain 894, 1269. *See also* **amirafle**.
an (ANNU) *m.*I year 2, 653, 972.
anceis (VL ANTIU-ĪPSU?) *adv.* before 1639, 3382; — **que** (*with sbj.*) 811, 3480.
anceissor, ancessor (ANTECESSŌRE) *m.*III ancestor; *pl.* 3177, 3826.
anciën (ANTE-IANU) *adj.* Ia ancient 3742.
andui *nom. pl. of* **andous** 2011, 3862; *var. of* **amdui** — **amdous** both.
ángele (ANGĔLU) *m.*I angel 1089, 2262, 2528; **avison d'**— angelic vision 836.
angevin (ANDEGAV-ĪNU) *adj.* Ia of Anjou 3819.
angoissable, anguis- (ANGŬSTIABILE) *adj.* Ia exasperated, incensed 280; distressful, toilsome 3126; in distress, harassed 3444.
angoissier (ANGŬSTĬ-ARE) *tr.* to distress greatly, harass 2010, 2232, 3634; *ref.* 2575?
angoissos, anguissos (ANGŬSTIŌSU) *adj.* Ia much distressed 823, 2198, 2880.
Anjou (ANDEGAVU) *indec.* 106, (2322).
anme, ame (ANIMA) *f.*I soul 1133, 1202, 1553; life 1848.
anoel (ANNŬALE) *adj.* II annual 2860.
anombrer (AD-NŬMĔRARE) *tr.* to count out, tell off 1451.
anoncier (ANNŬNTIARE) *tr.* to announce 2529.
anprés *see* **enprés**.
ansdous (AMBOS DUOS) *num. adj.* both 1355.
Anseïs (Anšeĝiš) *m. indec.* one of the Twelve Peers, surnamed *li fiers* 105, (796); slays Torgis of Tortelose 1281; is slain by Malquidant 1599; 2188, 2408.
ansguarde (ANTE-warda) *f.*I vanguard 748.
Antelme (Antẖelm) **de Maience** a French knight 3008.
antiquitét (ANTIQUITATE) *f.*II great age 2615.
Antónie, Saint *probably error for* **Saintónie** = Saintonge 1624 (*v. note*).
anuit (VL HA NOCTE) *adv.* last night 836, 2758.
aoi (ADAUGĔ?) 9, 46, 77, *etc.* (*see note to v.* 9).
apareillier (VL APPARĬCŬLARE *for* APPARARE) *tr.* to make ready, prepare 643, 2535.
apareilliét (de) *ptcp. adj.* Ia ready for 1144.
apareir (AD-PARĒRE) *intr.* to appear 737, 2037, (2845). *Ps. Ind.* 3 **apert** 737; *p. ptcp.* **apareüt** 2037.
[aparissant] (< **apareistre**) *adj.* II apparent, visible 1779.
apeler (APPĔLLARE) *tr.* to appeal to, address 14, 1020; to call, summon 506, 783, 1112.

apendre (APPENDĔRE) *tr.* to hang upon ; *absol.* to be connected with 2833.

apercevoir (VL AD-PERCĬPĒRE) *intr.* to perceive ; *ref.* to become conscious (of) 2035, 2283, 3553.

apoier, apuier (VL APPŎDIARE) *ref.* to lean upon, support oneself against 500.

Apollin, Apolin (APOLLĬNE) *m.*I a pagan god 8, 417, 2580, 2697, 2712, 3268, 3490.

aporter (AD-PORTARE) *tr.* to bring 677, 3496.

apóstele (APOSTŎLU) *m.*I *pl.* the Apostles 2255 ; l'— **de Rome** St. Peter, or his successor the Pope 2998.

aprendre (VL APPRĒNDĔRE *for* APPREHENDĔRE) *tr.* to learn 2524.

aprés (AD-PRĔSSU) *prep.* after 230, 725 ; after the death of 3719 ; *adv.* afterwards 627 ; **en** — 3505.

apresenter (AD-PRÆSENTARE) *tr.* to offer as a gift (655), 3597.

aprester (VL AD-PRÆSTARE) *tr.* to make ready, prepare 2624, 2627.

aproecier (<* **proece** VL PRŎPIU) *intr.* to draw near 2800.

aproismier (AD-PRŎXĬMARE) *intr. ref.* to draw near 468, 661, 2692 ; *tr.* 2073.

apruef (AD-PRŎPE) *adv.* nearly 1620.

aqoillir *see* **acoillir.**

aqoisier (AD-QUIĒT-IARE) *tr.* to make quiet, subdue (a noise) 263.

aquiter (< **quite**) *tr.* to set free, liberate 869 ; to acquit, discharge from responsibility 492.

Arábie (ARABIA) *f.*I Arabia 185, 652, 2282 ; the eastern Mohammedan realm in general 2810, 2980, 3473.

araisnier (AD-RATIONARE) *tr.* to address. *Ps.* 3 **araisonet** 3536.

arbre (ARBŎRE) *m.*II tree 2267, 2271 ; — **de mal fust** a gallows-tree 3953.

arc (ARCU) *m.*I bow 767.

arcbaleste (ARCUBALLISTA) *f.*I cross-bow 2265.

arcevesque (ARCHIEPĬSCŎPU) *m.*I archbishop 170, 1124, 1414.

arçon (VL ARCIONE) *m.*I *pl.* saddle-bows 1229, 1577.

ardant (ARDENTE) *adj.* II glowing, fiery 3106.

ardeir (ARDĒRE) *intr.* to burn 238, 2537 ; to shine brightly 1501; *tr.* to burn 3670. *P. ptcp.* **ars.**

Ardene (ARDUĬNNA) Ardenne, wooded plateau in N. E. France, extending in the direction of Aix-la-Chapelle 728, 2558.

arester (AD-RĔSTARE) *intr.* to come to a stop 1332, 1783 ; *p. ptcp.* **aresteüt** 1332.

argent (ARGENTU) *m.*I silver 32, 130, 398.

Argóillie (ARGŎLĬCA ?) *f.*I the region of Argos in Asia Minor(?) 3259 (*see note*), 3474, 3527.

Argone (ARGŌNA) *f.*I the Argonne, a woody plateau, east of Champagne 3083, 3534.

arguḍer, arguër (ARGŪT-ĀRE) *tr.* to urge, press upon (2297); *ref.* to crowd upon one another, be urgent 992.

arieḍre, ariere (AD-RĔTRO) *adv.* behind 1251.

armer (ARM-ARE) *tr.* to arm (with weapons and armor) 682.

armes (ARMA-S) *f. pl.* arms, weapons and armor 897, 1095, 1154, 1878.

aronde (HĬRŬNDĬNE) *f.*I swallow 1535.

arpent (Celtic AREPENNE *or* AREPENDE) *m.*I the distance of 120 feet 2230.

Arrabit, Arabit (Arab. AL-RÂBIT) *m.*I a Morabite (v. 1556, *note*); Arab or Berber knight in general 1556, 3011, 3081, 3481, 3511, 3518.

art (ARTE) *f.*II craft; **de males arz** crafty, wily 886.

artimâlie (ARTE MATHEMATICA) *f.*I magic, necromancy (1392).

as[1] from **a** + **les.**

as[2] 263, 1187; *var. of* **es** (ECCE).

asaillir (AD-SALIRE) *tr.* to assail, attack 729, 947, 1498. *Fut.* 4 **asaldrom** 947.

asalt (VL ASSALTU) *m.*I attack, assault 2142.

asconse (< **asconser, esconser**) *f.*I concealment, ambush 3293.

aseḍeir, asseeir (AD-SĔDĒRE) *tr.* to besiege 3997; *ref.* to seat oneself 452, 2654.

asegier (AD-SĔDĬCARE) *tr.* to besiege 476.

asembler (AD-SĬMŬLARE) *tr.* to assemble 599, 1030, 1450; *ref.* 2121; **sei — a** to join with 367.

aserir, asserir (AD-SĒRĒSCĔRE) *intr.* to become evening, grow still 717, 3658, 3991.

aseürer (< **a seür** AD SECŪRU) *tr.* to make safe; *ref.* to seek one's personal safety, skulk 1321.

asez, assez (AD-SATIS) *adv.* much, very much 25, 1065, 1219; very 644; very well 2837; — **oḍrez** you will soon learn 927.

asmer 454 *var. of* **esmer.**

asoldre (ABSŎLVĔRE) *tr.* to absolve 340, 1133, 2957; *p. ptcp.* **asols** 340, 1140, 2205.

asoluṭ (ABSŎLŪTU) *adj.* I*a* absolved (from sin or blame), blessed; **France l'assoluḍe** 2311 (MS **la solue**).

[Aspre, les porz d'—] (ASPĔRA VALLIS) the Pass of Jaca or Somport, in the Pyrenees 870, 1103.

astenir (ABSTĔN-ĪRE) *intr.* to abstain (from); *ref.* 2891.

Astrimônies (STRYMŎNĬCOS) *m.*I the Strymonians, a pagan people located in Bithynia, Asia Minor 3258. (*See note.*)

atachier (AD-TACC-ARE) *tr.* to nail fast; to fasten 3737.

ataindre (VL AD-TANGĔRE) *tr.* to reach, attain, overtake 9, 2461.

atalenter (< **a talent**) *intr.* to be agreeable to, suit 3001.

atant (AD-TANTU) *adv.* then, at that moment 413, 617.

atargier (AD-TARDEARE) *intr.* to delay, linger; *ref.* 368 (3366).

atendre (AD-TENDĔRE) *tr.* to wait for, 665, 715, 3741; to expect 2837.

[atente] (< **atendre**) *f.*I expectation (1411).

Aton (Hatt-ONE) *nom.* **Ates** *m.*III French baron, one of the Twelve Peers 795; he slays Estorgant 1297; Roland finds his dead body on the field 2187; Charlemagne seeks for him at Roncesvaux 2405.

atot (VL AB TŌTTO ?) *prep. and adv.* together with, along (with) 2191.

atraire (VL AD-TRAGĔRE) *tr.* to attract, conciliate 2256.

Austórie (EUSTORGIUM ?) *m.*I the duke of Valeire and of Viviers, slain by Grandónie 796, 1625.

aval (AD VALLE) *adv.* down, downwards 2235.

avaler (< **a val**) *intr.* to descend 730, 1037.

avant (AB-ANTE) *prep. and adv.* before, in front (of), forward 319, 610, 2231; **en** — 2520; **parler** — 2656.

aveir (HABĒRE) *tr. and aux. vb.* to have, possess; to obtain, get 87, 423, 845; to encounter face to face 2114; — **chier, vil,** *etc., see* **chier, vil**; **i** — (*or without* **i**) there is, there are, *etc.*, 1050, 4, 197.

Ps.Ind. 1 **ai**, 2 **as**, 3 **aṭ**, 4 **avom, avons**, 5 **avez**, 6 **ont**. *Impf.* 1 **aveie**, 3 **aveit**, 4 **aviom**, 5 **aviëz**. *Pf.* 1 **oi**, 3 **out**, 4 **oümes**, 6 **ourent**. *Fut.* 1 **avrai**, 3 **avraṭ**, 4 **avrom, avrons** *and* **avromes** (922), 5 **avrez** *and* **avreiz** 88, 568. 6 **avront**. *Cond.* 3 **avreit**, 4 **avriomes** 391. — *Subj. Ps.* 1 **aie**, 2 **aies**, 3 **ait**, 4 **aions**, 5 **aiez**. *Impf.* 1 **oüsse**, 3 **oüst**, 4 **oüssom**, 6 **oüssent**. *P. ptcp.* **oüṭ**.

aveir (HABĒRE) *m.*I wealth, property 639, 3756, 3758.

avenant (< **avenir**) *adj.* II suitable, becoming 1154.

avenir (AL-VĔNĪRE) *intr.* to happen, come to pass 335; *imps.* to be fitting, be proper 456, happen 836; — **bien** (**belement**) to come off successfully 1686, 3500.

avers (AVERSU) *adj.* I*a* turned away, gone astray, *hence* miscreant, pagan 2630, 2922, 3295.

Avers (AVAROS) *m.*I *pl.* the Avars (tribe of Tartar origin, probably related to the Huns) 3242.

aversier (ADVERSARIU) *m.*I demon, devil 1553, 2543.

[avison] (AD-VĪSĬŌNE) *f.*II vision (in a dream) 725, 836 2529, 2555.

avoec (AP[UD]-HŎC) *prep.* with 186; *adv.* 3626.

avoëṭ (ADVŌCATU) *m.*I legal representative 136.

avrill (APRĪLE) *m.*I April 3503.

azur (Persian LAZVARD) *m.* bright-blue coloring 1600.

B

Babilónie (BABYLONĬA) *f.*I "New Babylon," that is, Old Cairo in Egypt, residence (after 972) of the Fatimite Caliphs 2614.

bacheler (VL BACCALARE) *m.*I young soldier (not yet a knight), youth 113, 3020, 3197.

baillie (< **baillier**) *f.*I possession, disposal 94, 488, 1917.

baillier (BAJŬLARE) *tr.* to take possession of, take prisoner 3446.

baillir (BAJŬL-ĪRE) *tr.* to manage, govern, handle 453, 2349, (2721); **estre mal bailliț** to be badly treated 3497.

baing (BALNEU) *m.*I bath; *pl.* the mineral springs at Aix-la-Chapelle 154, 3984.

baisier (BASIARE) *tr.* to kiss 601, 626, 1530.

baissier (LL BASSIARE) *tr.* to bow, lower 138, 3273.

Baivier (BAIOARIU) *m.*I Bavarian 3700, 3793, 3960.

Baiviere (BAIOARIA) *f.*I Bavaria 2327, 3028, 3977.

Balaguét, Balasguét 200, probably Balaguer, town in Spain, east of Saragossa 63, 894; **Clarin de** — one of the messengers of Marsile to Charles 63; **l'amurafle de** — the Emir of Balaguer, one of the Saracen Twelve, makes his boast 894 ff.; is slain by Gerier 1269 ff.

Baldewin (Ƀaldew-ĪNU) Baldwin, son of Ganelon 314, 363.

Baldise la longe furnishes a contingent in Baligant's army 3255.

baldor (ƀalð-ORE) *f.*II confidence, pride 2902, 3682.

baleier (Breton BAL + ĬZARE) *tr.* to sweep (as does a broom) 976.

ƀaleine (BALÆNA) *f.*I whale 3102.

Ɓalide la fort furnishes a contingent in Baligant's army 3230.

Baligant *m.*I Emir of Babylon (= Cairo), overlord of Marsile: sent for by Marsile early in the Spanish war 2613 ff.; reaches the Ebro with his fleet 2642; sends two messengers to Marsile at Saragossa 2669; goes himself to Saragossa to receive homage from Marsile 2816 ff.; declares war formally upon Charlemagne 2974 ff., 3130–36; with his son Malprimes, prepares for battle 3137 ff.; the thirty divisions of his army 3217 ff.; in a great plain attacks Charlemagne 3305 ff.; addresses his barons 3374 ff.; slays Guineman, Geboïn, Jorant, and Richard of Normandy 3463; learns of the death of his son and of his brother 3496; rallies his best troops 3520 ff.; meets Charlemagne in single combat 3567, and is slain 3615. Cf. ZfRP XLII (1922) p. 481.

ƀalt (ƀalð) *adj.* I*a* jubilant, full of confidence 96.

banc (ƀanƈ) *m.*I bench 3853.

bandon (ƀanð < ƀann + ŌNE) *m.*I **sei metre en** — to expose oneself freely, offer combat to all comers 1220; **estre en lor** — to be at their mercy 2703.

banir (ƀannjan) *tr.* to summon by proclamation; **ost baniḍe** 211, 1469.

baptestírie (BAPTISTĒRIU) *m.*I baptistry; the ceremony of baptism 3668.

baptizier (BAPTIZARE) *tr.* to baptize 3671, 3981, 3985.

Barbamosche name of Climborin's horse 1534.

Barbarin (Arab. BARBAR + ĪNU) *adj.* I*a* of Barbary, in North Africa ; *sb.* a Berber 886, 1236.

barbe (BARBA) *f.*I beard 1843, 3122, 3520 ; **par ceste** — (oath) 3954 ; 48, 1719; **a la** — floride 970; 2353.

barbéț (BARBATU) *adj.* I*a* bearded, with a full beard 65, 3317 ; *pl.* a heathen tribe in Baligant's army 3260.

barge (LL BARGA ?) *f.*I flat-bottomed boat 2467, 2625, 2729.

barnage (BARON-ATĬCU) *m.*I vigor, heroism 535, 1983, 3944 ; assemblage of barons (*cf.* **barnéț**) 1349.

barnéț (BARŌN-ATU) *m.*I assemblage of barons (in the suite of a king) 536, 899, 1061.

baron, *nom.* **ber** (baro) *m.*III noble man, hero, nobleman 70, 125, 531 ; **colp de** — a heroic stroke 1280 ; **ber** *used as adj.* 531, 2354.

Basan *or* **Basant** *m.*I Frankish knight, messenger of Charlemagne and brother of Basílie, slain by Marsile 208, 330, 490.

Basbrun (BASSU + brun ?) *m.*I police-lieutenant of Charles (" Short-and-dark " ?) 3952.

Bascle, cels de — a heathen people in Baligant's army 3474 (*see note*).

Basílie[1] (BASILIU) *m.*I Basil, brother of Basan, messenger of Charlemagne, slain by Marsile 208, 330, 490.

Basílie[2], **saint** — Saint Basil, father of the Greek Church, bishop of Cæsarea (IVth century) ; or possibly St. Blaise 2346 (*see note*).

baston (LL BASTONE) *m.*I staff, stick 247, 765, 1361 ; — **tochant** goad 861.

bastoncel (< **baston**) *m.*I rod (2679), 2868.

bataille (BATT(Ŭ)ALIA) *f.*I battle ; **doner** — 18, 859 ; **rendre** — 589, 3004 ; **livrer** — 592 ; **estre d'une** — to take part in 593 ; **faire** — 865, 1758 ; **veintre** — 865 ; **tenir** — to maintain, defend 1238 ; **aveir** — 2607.

batre (VL BATTĔRE) *tr.* to beat, beat upon 1158, 1331, 1825 ; **batuț aḍ or** ornamented with gold (thread) 1331, 1595.

beivre (BĪBĔRE) *tr.* to drink 2473. *P. ptcp.* **boüț** 2473.

bel (BĔLLU) *adj.* I*a* fair, handsome, beautiful 59, 313, 1395 ; **bel sire** fair Sir 512, 863 ; *n.* 1004.

belement (BĔLLA MENTE) *adv.* handsomely, prettily 862, 3159, 3732 ; satisfactorily 3500.

Belferne, lo regne de — a pagan country, whose king, Almari, attacks Gualtier del Hum near Roncesvaux 812.

Belne (BELNĔA) *f.*I Beaune, town in Burgundy (Côte-d'Or) southeast of Dijon 1892.

beltéț (VL BELLITATE) *f.*II beauty 957.

beneḍiçon, beneïçon (BENEDICTIONE) *f.*II blessing 2194, 2245.

benedir, beneïr (BĔNĔDĪCĔRE) *tr.* to pronounce a blessing upon 1137, 1931, 2017.

ber *see* **baron.**

Berengier (Beringar-) *m.*I Frankish Count, one of the Twelve Peers 795; slays Estramariz 1304; is slain by Grandónie 1624; Roland carries his body to Turpin 2187; Charlemagne calls his name at Roncesvaux 2405.

besanz (BYZANTIUM) *indec. in Rol.?* gold or silver coin (of Byzantium) 132.

Besençon (VESONTIONE) *m.* Besançon, Dept. of the Doubs 1429.

Besgon chief-cook of Charlemagne 1818.

beste (VL BESTA *for* BESTIA) *f.*I beast, animal 1598, 2436.

Bevon *var. of* **Bovon** (Bobone?) *m.*III Bevon, lord of Beaune and of Dijon, slain by Marsile 1891 ff.

bien (BĔNE) *adv.* well 143, 161; easily 34, 133, 1578; surely, assuredly 36, 625.

bien (BĔNE) *m.*I the good 2140; goodwill 39, 121; good thing, reward 1349, 3740; **merir a** — to reward handsomely 519; — **(de)** many 108, 638, 2650.

biensedant, -seant (VL BĔNE SĔDANTE) *adj.* II attractive, comely 3115.

biere (bera) *f.*I coffin 1748.

Bire, la tere de — 3995; the "tierra de Elvira" near Granada? (*see note*).

bis (< **buis-on** BŪTEŌNE?) *adj.* I*a* of a dark brownish-grey 815, 2338. See also **bys.**

Bitorne (MS **Biterne**) place or person unknown: **escut de** — 2991.

blanc (blanț) *adj.* I*a* white 999, 2250; white-haired 551, 1771; shining white 1022; *sb.* 1299, 1934.

Blancandrin *m.*I a Saracen, lord of Val-fonde 23; advises Marsile to feign submission to Charles 24 ff.; is chief of the embassy to Charles 68; addresses Charlemagne 122 ff.; plots with Ganelon to destroy Roland 368–404; presents Ganelon to King Marsile 414; negotiates between Ganelon and Marsile 506–11.

[blancheier] (blanț-IZARE) *intr.* to grow white, show white 261.

blasme (< **blasmer**) *m.*I blame; **saveir — de qqch** to find fault with 1082; **aveir** — to be blameworthy 1346, 1718.

blasmer (BLASPHĒMARE) *tr.* to blame 681, 1063, 1174, 1589; *Ps. sbj.* 3 **blast** 1589.

Blâvie, Blaive (BLAVĬA) the French town of Blaye, on the Gironde near Bordeaux 3689, 3938.

blecier (blett-IARE?) *tr.* to hurt, damage 590, 1848.

blesmir (< ?) *tr.* to make pale 590.

bleț (LL BLATU) *m.*I wheat (or rye) 980.

blidalt, blialt (blid-ALDO?) *m.*I, under-tunic 282, 2172.

bloi (*blaudhi ?) *adj.* Ia yellow 12, 999, 1621, 1800.
blont (*blund) *adj.* Ia blond 1904, 2702.
Blos a heathen people 3224 (*see note*).
boche (BŬCCA) *f.*I mouth 633, 1530, 1753.
bocle (BŬCCŬLA) *f.*I boss, knob, protuberance (on shield) 1263, 1283, 1314.
bocler (BŬCCŬLARE) *adj.* (shield) having a **bocle** (*which see*) 526, 1968
boḍele, boële (BOTĔLLA) *f.*I intestines 2247.
boillir (BŬLLĪRE) *intr.* to bubble, boil 2248.
bois (VL BŎSCU) *m. indec.* wood, woods 3293.
boisson, buisson (VL BŎSC-IŌNE) *m.*I bush 3357.
Bolgres (BŬLGĂROS) *m.*I *pl.* the Bulgars 2922.
bon (BŎNU) *adj.* Ia good, excellent 88, 640; brave 1080, 1097; **estre — a** to be fit for, fit subject(s) for 1542.
bondir (BOMBĪT-ĪRE) *intr.* to resound with echoes 3119.
bontéṭ (BŎNĬTATE) *f.*II goodness, kindness, generosity 533; mark of divine favor 2507.
borc (Burg) *m.*I important village 973.
Bordel, Bordele, Bordeles (BURDIGALA-S) the city of Bordeaux 1289, 1389, 3684.
[Borel] a Saracen, father of Esperveris 1388.
borgeis (burg-ēṡ-) *adj.* Ia; *sb.* citizen 2691.
Borgoigne (BŬRGŬNDĬA) *f.*I Burgundy 3077.
Borguignon (BŬRGŬNDIŌNE) *m.*I Burgundian 3701.
bosoign (OBSŌNIUM ?) *m.*I need; **aveir — de** 1366, 1670.
boter (BŬTT-ARE) *tr.* to store away, put away, thrust into 641, 2590.
brace (BRACCHĬA) *f.*I the two arms, embrace 1343, 1721, 3939.
braire (VL BRAGĔRE) *intr.* to roar 3526; (with pain) 3487.
Bramimonde, or **Bramidónie** (3636) *f.*I wife of Marsile, Queen of all Spain 634; gives Ganelon two breast-pins for his wife 634 ff.; receives the fugitive and wounded Marsile 2576; speaks distractedly to the two messengers of Baligant 2714; casts herself at the feet of the Emir 2822; views from the top of her tower the defeat of Baligant's army 3636; surrenders Saragossa to Charlemagne 3655; is exempt from forcible baptism 3672, but is taken prisoner to Aix-la-Chapelle 3680; is baptized, with great ceremony, taking the name of *Juliane* 3975 ff.
branche (BRANCA) *f.*I branch, twig 72, 80, 203.
brandir (brand-ĪRE) *tr.* to brandish, flourish (499), 722; *intr.* to stagger, totter 1203; — **son colp** (= **s'espeḍe**) 1552. 1957, 3929.
branler (brand-ĬLLĀRE) *tr.* to wave rapidly, flourish 3327.

brant (brand) *m.*I blade of a sword 1056, 1067, 3434.
braz (BRACHIUM) *m. indec.* arm 597, 727, 1195 ; **a** — grappling 2552.
Bretaigne (BRĬTANNIA) *f.*I Brittany 2322.
Breton (BRĬTT-ŌNE) *m.*III inhabitant of Brittany 3052, 3702, 3961.
bricon (BRĪCCONE ?) *m.*III crooked person ; rogue, worthless fellow 220 (*see note*).
brief (BRĔVE) *m.*I short official letter, memorandum 341, 483, 1684, 2613.
Brigal city of Spain, probably Berbegal, near Barbastro in Aragon (889), 1261.
brisier (Gallic BRŪSI + ARE) *tr.* to crush, shatter 1200, 1205 ; *intr.* 2313, 2340.
brochier (VL BRŎCCARE) *tr.* to prick ; to spur 1125, 1184, 1381.
brohon, braön (BRAK-ŌNE ?) *m.*I bear cub 2557.
broigne, brônie (brunnja) *f.*I cuirass (of leather, with metal plaques) 384, 1372, 1620.
[broillet] (Celt. BRŎGĬL-ĬTTU) *m.*I thicket of trees and shrubs (714).
brônie *see* **broigne.**
Bruise possibly Brusa (< PRŪSIA) town in Bithynia, near Mt. Olympus 3245 (*see note*).
brun[1] (< **brunir**) *adj.* Ia burnished, shining 1043, 1953.
brun[2] (brunš) *adj.* Ia brown 2816, 3821.
brunissant (< **brunir**) *adj.* II shining, highly polished 1654.
[brunor] (brun-ŌRE) *f.*II glinting of polished surfaces 1021.
Bruns a heathen people enrolled in Baligant's army, but not identified 3225 (*see note*).
buc (buf) *m.*I trunk of the body 3289.
buisine (VL BŪCĪNA) *f.*I trumpet 1468, 3138, 3263.
Butentrot (Gk. Πόντος) a valley in Cappadocia, now Bozanta ; **cil de** — form the first of Baligant's thirty divisions 3220.
bys *var. of* **bis** *adj.* Ia of a dark greyish-brown 2300 ; *cf.* 815, 2338.

C

ça (ECCE HAC) *adv.* here 374, 2131 ; — **devant** there ahead 1784.
Calábrie (CALABRĬA) *f.*I 371.
Califerne, cels de — heathen people who will revolt when they learn that Roland is dead 2924 (*see note*).
Canabeus king of Floredée and brother of Baligant 3312 ; he wounds Duke Naimon 3432 ; is slain by Charlemagne 3446 ff.
Capadoce (KAPPADOCĬA) *f.*I ancient province of Asia Minor 1614.
Capuël king of Cappadocia, father of Grandónie 1614.
car, quar (QUA-RE) *conj.* (1) *with indic.* for, because 278, 470, 2844 ; and yet, for all that 1724, 1937. (2) *with imper.* 275, 357, 1051, 1910.

carboncle (CARBŬNCŬLU) *m.*I a brilliant ruby (garnet ?) 1326, 1501, 1531, 2633.

Carcasónie (CARCAS-ŌNĬA ?) Carcassonne in Languedoc (Aude) 385.

castel *var. of* **chastel** 23, 3783.

Cazmarines *probably* Camariñas, small seaport town in western Galicia, N. W. of Santiago 956

ceindre (CĬNGĔRE) *tr.* to gird on 346, 684, 997, 2321.

cel, icel (ECCE-ĬLLU) *dem. adj. and pron.* this, that. *m. nom. sg.* **cil**, *obl.* **cel** *and* **celui**, *nom. pl.* **cil**, *obl.* **cels** ; *f. sg.* **cele**, *pl.* **celes** ; *n.* **cel** 1779. **cil de France** the Franks 167 ; **cil d'Espaigne** the Saracens 1081.

celer (CĒLARE) *tr.* to hide 1458 ; *ref.* 3522.

celeste (CÆLESTE) *adj.* Ia heavenly 2253.

cengle (CĬNGŬLA) *f.*I surcingle 3573, 3880.

cent (CENTUM) *num.* a hundred ; *acc. pl.* **cenz** 31, 1417.

ceo *see* **ço**.

cerchier (VL CĬRCARE) *tr.* to hunt around, search 2185, 3661.

cerf (CERVU) *m.*I deer 1874, 2968 ; deer-hide 3738, 3845.

Certaigne, Tere — (CERRITANIA) *f.*I probably Cerdagne, province on both sides of the eastern Pyrenees 856 (*see note*).

certes (CERTAS) *adv.* certainly, surely 255.

cervel (CEREBĔLLU) *m.*I brain, forehead 1764, 1786, 2260.

cervele (CEREBĔLLA) *f.*I brains 1356, 2248, 3617.

cesser (CESSARE) *intr.* to desist 2639.

cest, icest (ECCE-ISTU) *dem. adj. and pron.* this, that. *m. nom. sg.* **cist**, *obl.* **cest** [*and* **cestui**] ; *nom. pl.* **cist**, *obl.* **cez** ; *f. sg.* **ceste** *pl.* **cez**.

chaḍable, chaable (VL CATABŎLU) *m.*I catapult 98, 237.

chaḍeignon, chaeignon (CATĒNIŌNE) *m.*I iron collar 1826.

chaḍeine, chaeine (CATĒNA) *f.*I chain 2557, 3735.

chaḍeir, chaeir ; chaḍir 2034 (CAD-ĒRE) *intr.* to fall 333, 578, 764. *Ind. Ps.* 3 **chiét** 1267, *Pf.* 3 **chaḍiṭ** 333, *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **chieḍeṭ** 1064, *Impf.* 3 **chaḍist** 764 ; *Ptcp. p.* **chaḍeit** 2231 (3881) *and* **chaḍuṭ** 3608.

chadeler (< Prov. **cabdelar** CAPĬTĔLLARE) *tr.* to command 936, 2927.

chaḍenable (CATĒN-ABĬLE) *adj.* Ia in chains (leashes) 183.

chaḍener (CATĒN-ARE) *tr.* to chain, place in a leash 128.

chaḍir, chaïr 2034, 3486 *var. of* **chaḍeir**.

chaitif (VL CACTĪVU = CL CAPTĪVU) *adj.* Ia wretched, miserable ; **sei clamer** — 2596, 3817 ; *sb.* 2698, 2722 ; a captive 3673, 3978.

chalant (χελάνδιον) *m.*I barge, lighter 2467, 2647, 2728.

chalcier (CALCEARE) *tr.* to put on, draw on (a sock or glove) 2678 ; (spurs) 3863.

chaleir (CALĒRE) *intr.* to matter ; *imps. Ind. Ps.* 3 **chielt** 2411, **chalt** 227, 1405 ; **qui chalt ?** what matters it to anyone ? 1806, 1840.

chalenge (< **chalengier**) *f.*I a summons to duel 3787.

chalengement (CALŬMNĬ-AMENTU) *m.*I announcement of a claim, summons to a contest ; **metre en** — to announce a claim to 394.

chalengier (LL CALŬMNĬARE) *tr.* to assert claim to, offer to defend 1926 ; to challenge, offer battle to 3376 ; — **qqch a qqn** 3592.

chalt (CALĬDU) *adj.* I*a* hot 950, 2100 ; *sb.* heat 3633 ; *pl.* 1011, 1118.

chambre (CAMĔRA) *f.*I chamber ; province or city immediately subject to a prince, the income from which is his private property 2332 ; bedroom 2593, 2709 (3707).

chameil (CAMĒLU) *m.*I camel 31, 129, 645.

champ (CAMPU) *m.*I field, field of battle 555, 922, 1046 ; **en, el** — 865, 1176, 1782.

[champal] 3336 *var. of* **champel.**

champel (CAMP-ALE) *adj.* II on the field (of battle) (2862), 3147.

champion (ƭampia-ŌNE) *m.*I champion 2244.

chanceler (VL CANCELLARE) *intr.* to cross the legs in walking, stagger 2227, 3608.

chançon (CANTIONE) *f.*II song 1014, 1466.

Chaneliu (CHANANÆU) *m.*I Cananæn, pagan 3238, 3269.

chanónie (CANŎNĬCU) *m.*I canon, member of cathedral chapter 2956, 3637.

chanter (CANTARE) *tr.* to sing 1466, 1517 ; to chant 1606.

chanuț (CAN-ŪTU) *adj.* I*a* grey, grey-haired 503, 2048, 2308, 3654, 3954.

chape (CAPPA) *f.*I cape, canopy 545.

chapele (CAPELLA) *f.*I chapel 52, 726, 2917.

chapelier (CAPĔLL-ARIU) *m.*I hood (of mail) 3435.

chaple (< **chapler**) *m.*I cutting, hewing, slaughter 1109, 1678, 3380.

chapleier (< **chaple**) *tr.* to hew, cleave (1681), 3462.

chapler (VL CAPPŬLARE) *tr.* to hew, cleave 1347, 3475, 3888.

chareier (CARR-ĬZARE) *tr.* to cart away, transport (on a cart) 33, 131.

charete (CARR-ĬTTA) *f.*I cart 2972.

chargier (VL CARRĬCARE) *tr.* to load 32, 185, 645.

Charle *and* **Charlon**, *nom.* **Charles** (CARŎLUS, ʃarl) *m.*I *and* III, *and* **Charlemagne** (CARŎLU MAGNU) *m.*I Charles the Great, king of the Franks, Emperor of Rome 1, 81, *etc.* **Charles li Magnes** 1195. Charlemagne conquers all Spain except Saragossa 1–6 ; receives at Cordres the embassy of Marsile 96–161 ; holds a Council, and, on Roland's nomination, sends

Ganelon to Marsile 165–341 ; on Ganelon's return, sets out for France 661–706 ; his ominous dreams 717, 725 ; is powerless to prevent Roland being nominated to command the rear-guard 740 ff. ; his fears for Roland 823 ; his anguish on hearing Roland's horn 1758, 1768, 1789 ; he causes Ganelon to be seized 1816 ; rides to the rescue of the French 1834–43 ; arrives at Roncesvaux 2398 ; pursues the Saracens 2444–81 ; camps along the Ebro 2482–2524 ; the Angel Gabriel brings him two visions 2525, 2555 ; awaking, he returns to Roncesvaux and buries the dead 2845–2961 ; starts to carry the bodies of Roland, Oliver, and Turpin back to France 2962–73 ; is challenged to battle by Baligant's messengers 2974 ff. ; his great battle with Baligant 2982–3635 ; he takes Saragossa 3636–78 ; returns to France and accuses Ganelon of treason 3679–3704, 3734–3814 ; witnesses the death of Fair Alda 3705–33 ; is championed by Jeffrey of Anjou 3815–3945 ; orders Pinabel's pledges to be hanged 3946 *ff.* ; causes Bramimonde to be baptized 3975 ; his vision of new expeditions 3991 ff.

Portraits of Charlemagne 114–19, 140–41, 3115–16 ; his great age 117, 523–24, 538–39, 551–52; his horse *Tencendor* 2993, 3342, 3622 ; his sword *Joyeuse* 2501, 2508, 2989, (3145).

Charlon *see* **Charle.**

charn (CARNE) *f.*II flesh 1119, 1265 ; *pl.* 1664.

charnel[1] (CARNALE) *adj.* II of flesh, living 2153.

charnel[2] 2949 *var. of* **charnier.**

charnier (CARNARIU) *m.*I common burial-place 2954.

charre (CARRA, *pl. of* CARRUM) *pl.* heavy carts, for two oxen 33, 131, 186.

chartre (CARTŬLA) *f.*I charter, legal document 1684, 2097.

chascun (VL CASCŪNU, *for* QUISQUE-UNU) *adj. and pron.* each one, each 51, 203, 1824.

chastel (CASTELLU) *m.*I castle, fortified place 4, 236, 2611.

chastiier, chastiër (CASTĪGARE) *tr.* to rebuke, admonish 1739.

chataigne (VL CAPITANEU ; *from Gk.* ?) *m.*I captain 1846, 1850, 3085, 3709 ; *with* **conte** 2320, 2912.

chemin (Celtic CAMMIN-) *m.*I road, roadway 405, 1250, 2852 (2972).

Cheriant = **Kerian-t** probably the sacred city of Kairawān (Arab. KAIRUAN), capital of Ifrikia (Tunisia) in the VIIIth century 3208 (*see note*).

Chernuble de Muneire one of the twelve Saracen peers 975, 984 ; with Count Margariz, he is the last of the twelve to survive 1310 ; slain by Roland 1325 ff.

Cherubin (Gk. χερουβίν *in the Septuagint*) *m.* name of an angel, or archangel 2393.

chevage (CAP-ATĬCU) *m.*I poll-tax ; Peter's pence 373.
cheval (CABALLŪ) *m.*I horse 890, 1095, 1332 ; **estre a** — 2138.
chevalchier (VL CABALLĬCARE) *intr.* to ride (a horse) 366, 739, 1183 ; *with acc.* 405. *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **chevalzt** 2109.
chevaler *var. of* **chevalier** 359, 2861.
chevalerie (CABALL-ARĪA) *f.*I action worthy of a true knight 594 ; knightly virtue 960, 3074.
chevaleros (CABALLAR-ŌSU) *adj.* I*a* knightly 3176.
chevalier (CABALLU-ARIU) *m.*I knight 25, 110, 1143.
chevel (**chevol** 976) (CAPĬLLU) *m.*I hair (of the head) 2347, 2931, 3821.
cheveleḍure, cheveleüre (CAPĬLL-ATŪRA) *f.*I the hair of the head, scalp 1327.
chevol *var. of* **chevel** 976.
chi = **ki**, *see* **qui**.
chief (VL CAPU) *m.*I head 3111 ; **par mon** — (*oath*) 799 ; **el premier** — at the very head 3018.
chien (CANE) *m.*I dog 1751 ; hunting dog 30, 1874.
chier (CARU) *adj.* I*a* expensive, valuable 100 ; **aveir** — to be fond of, hold dear 547, 753, 1560; *ref.* **sei vendre** — 1633, 1690, 1924.
chierement (CARA MENTE) *adv.* at a high price 3012.
chiere (CARA) *f.*I face, countenance 3816, 3645.
chose (CAUSA) *f.*I matter, affair, thing 2377.
chrestïen (CHRISTIANU) *adj.* I*a* ; *sb.* Christian 38, 102, 3987.
chrestiëntéṭ (CHRISTIANITATE) *f.*II Christianity, the Christian faith 431, 686, 1129, 2620 ; **metre — en qqn** to baptize someone a Christian 3990.
ci (ECCE HĪC) *adv.* here 145, 308, 1922 ; **aṭ** — 467.
ciclaton (Arab. SIQLĀṬ-ONE) *m.*I silken cloak 846.
ciel (CÆLU) *m.*I sky, heavens 545, 1156, 1432 ; **desoz, soz** — 646, 1442 ; *pl.* 2397.
cinc (VL CĪNQUE) *num.* five 516, 2059.
cinquante (QUINQUAGINTA) fifty 33, 131, 1919.
cire (CĒRA) *f.*I wax 486.
citéṭ (CĪVITATE) *f.*II city, fortified town 5, 71, 1527, 2611.
Cízere (CĪSĔRA ?) now **Cize**, valley on the north slope of the Pyrenees, canton of Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port 583, 719 (2939).
clamer (CLAMARE) *tr.* to call, call out, hail as 352, 1161, 1534 ; to confess aloud 1132, 2239 ; **sei** — to declare oneself 1651 ; **sei** — **par qqn** to claim protection from, place oneself under the protection of 1565 ; — **quite** to renounce legal title to 2748, let go free 3800.
Clarbone pagan province, or city 3259.
Clariën messenger of Baligant, brother of Clarifan, and son of King Maltraien 2670, 2724, 2790.
Clarifan knight in Baligant's service, brother of Clarien, and son of King Maltraien 2670.

Clarin of Balaguer a Saracen, one of Marsile's embassy to Charlemagne 63.

clartét (CLARITATE) *f.*II brightness, light 1432, 2454, 2990 ; flash of light 2502.

clef (CLAVE) *f.*II key 654, 2752, 2768.

cler (CLARU) *adj.* I*a* clear, open 3116 ; bright, shining, brilliant 445, 1159 ; distinct 3194 ; *n.* clearly, loudly, distinctly 619, 1974, 3138 ; clear-sounding 2150, 3523.

clerc (CLĔRĬCU) *m.*I member of the clergy, cleric 3637.

Climborin of Saragossa, a Saracen, gives his helmet as a present to Ganelon 627–33 ; slays Engelier of Gascony at Roncesvaux 1526–44 ; is slain by Oliver 1545–53.

cliner (CLĪNARE) *intr.* to bow (to) 2008 ; to be bent, bowed 3727.

clou (CLAVU) *m.*I nail 3584.

ço, içо (ECCE HŎC) *dem. pron., n.* this, that. *Has always some demonstrative force in Rol.:*

1. *nom.* **ço est** that is to say, namely 1310, 1528, 3715 ; *the pred. is obl. case* 786, 866, 3147, 3211 ; **ço senefiét** 73, **ço est en mai** 2628, **ço m'est vis** 3501, **ja est ço Roḍlanz** 2001, **ço que estre en deit** 3519, **que poḍrat ço estre ?** 334.

2. *acc.* **ço quit** 150, **ço dist, ço diënt** 3039, **ço nos estoet** 3630, **ço donget Deus** 2938, **ço i at** 1427.

With following **que**-*clause :* **ço vos mandet que** 222 ; *cf.* 303, 470, 1886 ; *without* **que** : 293, (531), 1959, 3674 ; *with* **de**-*clause* (2529).

After prepositions: **de ço** from that source 77 ; **de ço cui chielt (chalt)** ? what matters it to anyone ? 1405, 1806, 1840 ; **d'iço** as to that (this) 1082, 2423, 3829 ; **apres iço** after this incident 230, 774 ; **avoec iço** besides that 186 ; **por ço** for this reason 1479, 2511, 3250, 3831 ; *with* **que** : 2102, 2361 ; so that (*final*) 1004 (*cf.* **por cel** 1779) ; **nel di por ço** I mention it not because (*a deprecatory formula* =) not but that (there will also be severe loss on your side) 591 ; **a ço que demandet** according to his wishes 2330 (*cf.* **aḍ icel** 3624).

coḍarder, coarder (< **coḍard**) *intr.* to be cowardly, quail 1107.

coḍardie, coardie (< **coḍard**) *f.*I cowardice 1486 ; **faire** — to act the coward 2351, 2602.

coḍardise, coardise (< **coḍard**) *f.*I cowardice ; **faire** — 3043.

coḍart, coart (VL CŌD-ɦarḍ) *m.*I coward 888, 1116, 1486.

coḍe, coe (VL CŌDA) *f.*I tail 1494.

coer, cuer (VL CŎRE) *m.*I heart 317, 1107, 2965 ; **par** — wholeheartedly, sincerely 1447.

coife (VL COFEA) *f.*I coif, hood (part of the hauberk covering

the head, forehead, and chin) [1327] 3436.

coignieḍe, coigniee (CUNĔ-ATA) *f.*I wedge, axe 3663.

coillir (CŎLLĬG-ĪRE) *tr.* to pick, pluck ; — **qqn en haḍor** to single one out for hatred, nourish a grudge against one 3771.

col (CŎLLE) *m.*I neck 281, 601, 1205.

colchier (VL CŬLTĬCARE < CULCĬTA ?) *tr.* to lay (on a bed, or cushion), lay down 2175, 2204 ; *ref.* 12, 2013, 2449 (of the sun) 2481. *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **colzt** 2682.

colombe (CŎLŬMNA) *f.*I column 2586.

color (CŎLŌRE) *f.*II color (of face) 441, 2299, 3720 ; pigment 2594.

colp (VL CŌLĂPU) *m.*I blow, knock 541, 1013, 1055 ; onset 3530 ; **le — Roḍlant** the first blow at Roland 866 ; **le premier** — (of a battle) 1211, 1259; 3200 ; **ferir a** — 3840.

colpe (CŬLPA) *f.*I fault, sin 1132, 2014, 2239 ; *pl.* 1173 ; **meie** — = MEA CULPA (formula in confessing sins) 2369.

com, come (VL QUOMO, CL QUOMODO) *adv.* as, like, in the same manner as ; how.

1. *direct questions:* **com** = how ? 1698, 2292.
2. *temporal:* **com** = the moment that 1037, 1482, 1994, 2692, 2910, 2917, 3698.
3. *modal:*
   a. with verbs. **com** = just as 210, 765, 769, 3625.
   b. with nouns. **come** = like, as 20, 427, 1474 (2525), 3234, 3424 ; **com**(?) 1369, 1853.
   c. exclamatory. **com** = how ! what ! 1985, 2147, 2316, 2928.
   d. **com** *with* **si** 667, 1874, 2203 ; *with* **issi** 2435 ; *with* **altresi** 1827 ; *with* **tant** 76, 1322, 1802.

comandement (COMMAND-AMENTU) *m.*I command, behest 309.

comander (COM-MAND-ARE) *tr.* to order, command 273, 298, 1138; **vostre comandẽṭ** yours to command 696; to commend, hand over 1817, 2253.

comant (< **comander**) *m.*I order, authorization 1775; expressed desire or wish 616, 946, 1775.

combatant (< **combatre**) *adj.* II fighting, warlike 1637, 3188; *sb.* 2737.

combatre (CON-BATT[U]ĔRE) *tr.* to fight (against) 1518, 1777, 2778; *ref.* **sei** — (**a**) 566, 878, 2041.

come (VL QUOMO + ET?) *see* **com.**

comencier (VL CŬM-ĬNĬTĬARE) *tr.* to begin 138, 1487; to enter upon 2279.

coment (**com** + MENTE) *adv.* in what way 1700, 3872; — **que** in whatever way 3522.

comfaitement (VL QUŎMO-FACTAMENTE) *adv.* in what manner? how? 581, 1699.

Commibles probably = **Coïmbra** (CONIMBRIA), town in central Portugal 198 (*see note*).

compaigne (VL COMPANĬA) *f.*I company, following 827, 912, 1087.

compaignie (COMPANI-ĪA) *f.*I company, division 587, 1471 ; the relation of **compagnons** 1735.

compaignon (VL COMPANIŌNE) *m.*III companion in arms 324, 559, 793, 941 ; journeyman 1821.

compaing *see* **compaignon.**

comperer, comparer (COMPARARE) *tr.* to purchase, pay (in full) for 449, 1635.

comun (VL COMMŪNU) *adj.* Ia general 1320.

comunel (COMMŪNALE) *adj.* II **estre — de** to take part in 2446.

comunement (< **comun**) *adv.* generally, collectively 1416, 1838, 3416.

conduire (CONDŪCĔRE) *tr.* to lead, guide, conduct, bring 46, 527, 892, 1315.

confés (CONFESSU) *adj.* Ia of one who has confessed his sins 3859.

confondre (CONFŪNDĔRE) *tr.* to put to shame, defeat 17, 788, 1542 ; to ruin, destroy 389, 3955.

confort (< **conforter**) *m.*I encouragement, strengthening 1941.

confusion (CONFŪSIONE) *f.*II disorder, ruin 2699, 3276.

congiét (COMMĔATU) *m.*I formal dismissal 337, 2177 ; **prendre — to take leave formally 2764.

conoissance (< **conoistre**) *f.*I means of recognition, characteristic colors 3090 ; **par veire — with conspicuous sincerity, by obviously genuine convincement 3987.

conoistre (COGNŌSCĔRE) *tr.* to examine, investigate, become acquainted with 530, 2524 ; to recognize (a person) 1639, 3566 ; (a fact) 3409 ; **conoistre qqn de qqch** to know one's reputation as to 3901.

conquerrantment (< **conquerre**) *adv.* victoriously 2867.

conquerre (CON-QUÆRĔRE) *tr.* to conquer 3, 988, 1859.

conreder, conreër (CON-red-ARE) *tr.* to put in order, take care of 161 ; arrange, equip 343.

conreit (< **conreder**) *m.*I **faire — to make provision (for) 2493.

conseil, conseill (CONSĬLIU) *m.*I advice, counsel 205 ; decision, resolution 604 ; council 62, 3761, 3779 ; **prendre un — a** to seek the advice of 205 ; **a — privately, aside 3454.

conseilier (CONSĬLI-ARE) *tr.* to counsel, advise 20, 2212 ; to recommend 2668.

consentir (CONSENTĪRE) *tr.* to grant, permit, accord 1632 (2430), 3013.

consiure (CON-SĔQUĔRE) *tr.* to overtake, strike down 2372. *P. ptcp.* **consoüt.**

conte (CŎMĪTE) *nom.* **quens, cuens,** *m.* III count 14, 194, 207, 917.

conte (< **conter**) *m.*I the act of counting ; **par** — by actual count 3078.

contenance (CONTEN-ANTIA) *f.*I act of containing 830 ; personal bearing 3086 ; **si beles —s** such splendid looking (troops) 3006.

contenant (< **contenir**) *m.*I bearing, manner, presence (118), 3116.

contence (< **contencier**) *f.*I struggle, strife, contest 1634.

contençon (CONTENTIONE) *f.*II rivalry, competition, exertion 855.

contenement (< **contenir**) *m.*I bearing, behavior 1641.

contenir (CON-TĔN-ĪRE) *tr.* to hold ; *ref.* to behave, assume a bearing (3555), 3797.

conter (COMPŬTARE) *tr.* to count 2759 ; to recount, relate 68, (534).

contesse (CŎMĬT-ĬSSA) *f.*I countess 3729.

contor (CŎMITŌRE ?) *m.* count (or a special grade of king's officer just below viscount. — Du-Cange) 850.

contraliier *var. of* **contrariier** 1741.

contrárie, contraire (CONTRARIA) *adj.; sb. f.*I opposition, feud, quarrel 290.

contrariier (< **contrárie**) *intr.* to contend, dispute 1737.

contrarios (CONTRARI-ŌSU) *adj.* I*a* antagonistic, hostile 1222.

contre (CONTRA) *prep.* opposite, against, towards 1431 ; near to, nearly 444 ; **venir** — to come to meet 2822.

contreḍe, contree (CONTRA-ATA) *f.*I country 448, 709, 1455.

contredire (CONTRA-DĪCĔRE) *tr.* to contradict, oppose 195, 3669.

contrediṭ (< **contredire**) *adj.* I*a* (who contradicts), heretical, miscreant 1932.

contremont (CONTRA MONTE) *adv.* upwards 419.

contrester (CONTRA-STARE) *tr.* to oppose, resist 2511.

contreval (CONTRA VALLE) *adv.* downwards, to the ground 1264, 1267.

contrevaleir (CONTRA-VALĒRE) *intr.* to be equal in worth 1984.

convertir (CONVERT-ĪRE) *intr.* to change religions, be converted 3674.

[coper] (CŬPP-ARE) *tr.* to cut, cut apart (1374).

copéṭ (< **coper**) *adj.* I*a* hollow, concave ; **pieṭ** — the hollowed hoof (of a horse) 1491.

corage (CŎR-ATĬCU) *m.*I heart 56 ; inmost thought, secret intention 191, 650, 2803.

corant (< **corre**) *adj.* II swift, speedy 1142, 1490, 1831.

Cordres (CORDŬBA-S ?) city in Spain, probably Córdova 71, 97.

corecier (CŎR-RŬPT-IARE) *ref.* to get angry 469.

corn (CORNU) *m.*I horn 1051, 1789, 2132.

corner (CORN-ARE) *intr.* to be sounding a horn 1075, 2102 ; *tr.* 1702 ; *sb.* 1742, 2108.

coroços (< **corroz** + **os** -OSU) *adj.* I*a* furiously angry, raging (1813), (1835), 2164.

corone (CORŌNA) *f.*I crown 388, 1533, 2585 ; **porter** — to wear a crown 930 ; tonsure 3639.

coronét (< **coroner**) *adj.* I*a* tonsured 2956 ; *sb.* priest 1606.

corre (CŬRRĔRE) *intr.* to run 890, 955, 1281.

correie (CORRĬGĬA) *f.*I belt, strap 3738.

cors[1] (CŎRPUS) *m. indec.* body 118, 525 ; periphrastic use to designate a person 613, 892, 1607, 3370.

cors[2] (CŬRSU) *m. indec.* run, running ; **a** — at a run (2563) ; **plein** — running hard 2878.

Corsablis a Berber king, one of the Twelve Saracens who oppose the Twelve Peers 885 ; he is slain by Turpin 1235–59.

cort[1] (CŬRTU) *adj.* I*a* short 1492, 3080.

cort[2] (VL CŌRTE) *f.*II court (of a king) 231, 446, 775.

corteis (VL CORT-ĒSE) *adj.* I*a* refined in manners, courtly 576, 3755 ; humane, compassionate 3796.

corteisement (< **corteis**) *adv.* in a courtly manner, quietly 1164, 3823.

cosin (VL COSĪNU = CL CONSOBRINU) *m.*I cousin 173.

costeḍir, costeïr (CŬSTŌDĪRE) *tr.* to prepare (a body) for burial 2962.

Costentinnoble (CONSTANTĪNŎPŎLIM) 2329.

costét (CŎST-ĀTU) *m.*I side (of the thorax) 284, 1066, 1315 ; (of a horse) 1493.

costume (CONSUĒTŪDĬNE) *f.*I custom, habit 141.

cou (VL CŎCU) *m.*I cook 1817.

covenir (CONVĔNĪRE) *intr.* to behoove, be fitting, be necessary 192. *Impers. Ind. Ps.* 3 **covient**, 192.

covrir (VL COPRĪRE *for* COOPĔRĪRE) *tr.* to cover 463, 1084, 2973.

craventer (CREPANTARE) *tr.* to fell with a crash 1430, 3549.

[creḍuṭ, creüṭ] (< **creiḍre, creire**) *adj.* I*a* trusted, responsible (3983).

creiḍre (CRĒDĔRE) *tr.* to believe (520), 575 ; to trust, believe in 196, 577, 2753 ; — **Deu** 3666, 3980, — **en Deu** 1473 ; **donc ne faz jo que** — then I am only making believe (= pretending) 987.

creistre (CRESCĔRE) *intr.* to grow 980.

crembre (TRĔMĔRE) *tr.* to fear. *Ps. Ind.* 3 **crient** 549, 2740, 3580. *Fut.* 5 **crendrez** 791 ; *ref.* 257.

criḍer, criër (QUĪRĪTARE) *intr.* to cry out 1669, 1793 ; to call to (for assistance) 3998.

crignels (CRĪNI-ĔLLOS) *m.*I pl. hair, locks, 2906.

crignete (VL CRĪNI-ĬTTA) *f.*I mane 1494.

criminel (CRIMINALE) *adj.* II guilty, miscreant 2456.

cristal (CRYSTALLU) *m.*I crystal (of quartz, or glass) 1263, 1955, 2296.

criṭ (< **criḍer**) *m.*I outcry ; **lo hu e lo** — hue and cry 2064.

croce (VL CRŎCCIA) *f.*I bishop's crosier 1509.
croḍler, crolleŕ (CON-RŎTŬLARE) *tr.* to shake 442.
croisier (< **crois** CRŬCE) *tr.* to arrange in form of a cross 2250.
croissir (ƚroštjan) *intr.* to grate 2302, 2313, 2340.
croiz (CRŬCE) *f. indec.* cross ; the Cross (of Christ) 2504.
crope (ƚruppa) *f.*I croupe, rump, hind-quarters 1492.
crote (VL CRŬPTA) *f.*I crypt 2580.
cuer *see* **coer.**
cuidier (CŎGĬTĀRE) *intr.* to think, believe 150, 764, 1848 ; to expect 2733.
cuier *var. of* **cuidier** *intr.* to think, plan, expect 395, 1631, 1633.
cuir (CŎRIU) *m.*I hide, skin 1012, 2968, 3249 ; hide (covering shield) 3583.
cuisine (VL CŎCĪNA) *f.*I kitchen
cuisse (CŎXA) *f.*I thigh 1492.
culvert (CŎLLĪBERTU) *m.*I ignoble or contemptible man, serf 763, 1207, 1232.
curaille (CŪR-ALIA) *f.*I vital organs, entrails 1271.
cure (CŪRA) *f.*I care ; **aveir — de** to have in one's care, be responsible for 2305 ; **n'aveir — de** to scorn 293, 1170, 1361.

D

dam, dan (VL DŎNNU) *m.*I master, Dan 1367, 3806.
damage (DAMN-ATICU) *m.*I loss, harm, damage 1102, 1340, 1717.
dame (DŎMĬNA) *f.*I lady 957, 1960 (3708).
Damnedeu (DŎMĬNE DEU) *nom.* **Damnesdeus** 1898, 3358, *m.*I the Lord God 358, 1898 (2337) ; *pl.* the three heathen gods 3492.
dan *var. of* **dam** 1367.
Daneis (DANĬSCU) *adj.* Ia Danish ; *sb.* 3033, 3546.
Danemarche *var. of* **Denemarche.**
Daniël the Biblical Daniel 2386, 3104.
Dapamort king of the pagan Wilzes, aids Baligant, Malprimes, and King Torleu of Persia to organize Baligant's army 3205, 3216 ; it is he, probably, who is later slain by Guineman 3360 ff.
darieḍre 3317 *var. of* **derieḍre.**
dart (ƀarƀ ?) *m.*I light javelin 2075, 2155.
Dathan e Abiron the wicked Dathan and Abiram of *Numbers* XVI : 1–35 ; **la tere —** 1215.
de (DE) *prep.* of, from, out of, with, for, as to, because of, *etc.*

I. WORD-GROUPS. Of, from.

1. *Noun + noun:* (*copulative*) **Tere de France, l'ewe de Sebre, le nom de Juliane, eschange de Monjoie ;** (*local origin*) **Charles de France, barbarin d'estrange païs ; chevalier de bon aire, treüt d'Espaigne ; noveles de**

Ganelon, un baron de ma marche ; (*material*) espeḍe d'acier, peḍron de marbre, oreṭ de vent ; (*appertaining to*) la viḍe de mon cors, dolor de Crestiëns, la flor (l'orgoeil) de France, la rieḍreguarde des doze compaignons, l'erbe del champ, la victorie del champ ; (*source, cause* = for) paor de Roḍlant, doel de prodome, dolor de tei ; (*possessor*) li sire d'els, sire de 400 droḍmonz ; (*qualifying* = *adj.*) colp de baron, — de prodome, lei de chevalier, — de bon vassal, conseil d'orgoeil, home de male part, guise de baron.

2. *noun* + *infin.:* paor de morir, tens de herbergier, par nom d'ociḍre, noise d'escriḍer.
3. *adj.* + *noun:* hastif de parole, sávie de sa lei, aloséṭ de vasselage, vieil d'antiquitéṭ, desert de barons ; (+ *pron.*) meillor de lui, plus felon de lui.
4. *adj.* + *infin.:* recreḍant d'osteier, fier de porter armes.
5. *adv.* + *noun:* fors de la teste, plus de vint, poi de legerie, petit de Franceis, niënt de mel, tant de besanz, alques de son semblant, asez de ço.
6. from . . . to. De Saint-Michiel tresqu'a, Des porz Val-Aspre entresqu'a.
7. (*compounds*) dedevant, devers, d'enz ; d'ores en (aḍ) altres.
8. del tot completely, de nostre (vostre) proṭ advantageously to us (to you).

II. PROPOSITIONS

1. *local:* 'from,' 'out of.' Eissir de mer, amener d'Arábie ; mander del ciel, avaler del pui ; abatre del cheval, desevrer del dos, tolir del chief, porter del col, geter de mort, revenir de pasmeisons, torner le corage de nos, plorer des oeilz ; aveir aiḍe (servise) de qqn, n'aveir mie de qqn, aveir vertuṭ de Deu, tenir ses marches de qqn, aveir dons del rei paien ; oḍir de nos ; estre de la marche (d'Alemaigne) ; essample serat de mei, de lui sont granz honors ; 'at a distance of' veḍeir de dous liwes de nos, oḍir de quinze

lieues ; d'une part, d'altre part, del altre part, de meie part, de totes parz.

2. *instrumental:* ferir de Durendal, covrir de pâlie, asoldre de sa main, conquerre de vos (= s'espede), loder del sanc, estre servit de Crestiëns, faire prodeces de son cors, estre salf (salvét) de Deu, benedir de Deu, faire vermeil de sanc.

3. *causal:* because of: morir de doel, aveir pesance de qqch, se pasmer del sanc, plorer de pitiét, fendre d'ire.

4. *modal:* ferir de vigor, apeler de fiere raison finer qqn de mort.

5. *relationship:* as to, concerning: de ses pers priët que . . ., d'iço ne sai jo blasme, veintre qqn de guerre, del rei credez que . . ., aidiez nos de Rodlant, meie colpe . . . de mes pechiez, de s'espede ne [la] volt mie guerpir ; *impers. verbs:* lui peiset d'Olivier, sei remembrer de sa dolor, que vos en sembled d'Arrabiz ? de ço cui chalt ? mal seit del coer, est tart del repaidrier, de bataille est niënt.

dire chançon (mals moz) de qqn, faire marchiét de qqn, faire justisie de qqn, aveir soign de qqn, aveir soffraite de qqch, n'aveir cure de menace, que me lodez de cels ?

6. *qualities, origin, material:* estre de grant saveir, — de males arz, — de grant vasselage ; estrait de grant parentét, estre des noz, estre fait d'ormier, estre fait de Normanz, conoistre qqn de vasselage ; sei adober d'osbers, conreder de guarnemenz, guarnir de chevals, afubler de mantel.

7. free from: laver les prez del sanc.

8. *partitive:* (i) aveir del sanc, — des chevels, — de plus gentilz ; dire de son semblant, perdre del cuir, craventer del mur, perdre de lor espiez, n'aveir de blanc que . . .

9. *reintroducing object:* ço li at anonciét d'une bataille.

10. *verb + infin:* sei atargier de ferir, sei haster de corre, demorer de venir, sei repentir de venir, tendre de l'espleitier.

dechaḍeir, dechaeir (DE-CAD-ĒRE) *intr.* to deteriorate, decline, weaken 1628, 2902.
declin (< **decliner**) *m.*I decline, decadence 2890.
decliner (DECLĪNARE) *intr.* to decline, draw to a close 2447 ; to go into a decline, *or* to recite, rehearse ? 4002 (*see note*).
dedesoz (DE-DE-SŬBTUS) *prep.* below, underneath 2081, 2705, 3873.
dedavant 3266 *var. of* **dedevant.**
dedenz (DE-DE-ĬNTUS) *prep.* inside of, within 3572.
dedevant (**de** + **devant**) *prep.* in front of 2181, 2192, 2300 ; *adv.* 2465.
defaillir (DE-FALL-ĪRE) *intr.* to give way ; come to an end, be no more 1735, 2107.
defendre (DEFENDĔRE) *tr.* to defend 2749, 3100, 3785 ; to forbid 2438 ; *ref.* 1398.
defenir (DĒFĪNĪRE) *tr.* to put a (victorious) end to 2889.
defension (DĒFENSIŌNE) *f.*II defense, resistance to capture 1887.
definement (< **definer**) *m.*I the end of all things, Day of Judgment 1434.
defoler (VL DEFŬLLARE) *tr.* to trample 2591.
defors (DE-FŎRIS) *prep.* outside of 2247.
defroissier (VL DEFRŬSTIARE) *tr.* to smash to pieces 2588.
degeter (VL DE-JECTARE) *tr.* to reject, repel 226.
degrẹ̊t (VL DEGRADU) *m.*I step (of a stairway) 2821, 2840.
deguaster (DE-ɯaŝt-ARE) *tr.* to lay waste 2756.
dehẹ̊t (DEU-ɦat) *m.*I God's hate (*odium Dei*) ; — **ait** accursed be 1047, 1938.
deiḍe, deie (DĭGĬTA) *f. pl.*I fingers ; (linear measure) 444.
deignier (VL DĬGNARE) *intr.* to think fit, be willing, deign 1101, 1171, 1716.
deintiẹ̊t (DĬGNITATE) *f.*II rank, authority, official dignity 45.
deit (DĬGĬTU) *m.*I finger 509.
dejoste (DE-JŬXTA) *prep.* alongside, by the side of 831, in the neighborhood of 385.
delez (DE-LATUS) *prep.* by the side of 114, 2942.
delgiẹ̊t (DELĬCATU) *adj.* I*a* tender, soft, delicate 3389.
demain (DE-MANE) *adv.* tomorrow 517.
demander (DĒMANDARE) *tr.* to ask 833 ; to ask for, call for 119, 2330 ; — **Monjoie** to endorse, applaud, acclaim 1181, 1525.
demaneis *var. of* **demanés** (DEMANE-IPSO) *adv.* without delay 3419.
demener (DE-MĬNARE) *tr.* to lead to and fro, knock about 525 ; — **irance** *or* **dolor** to show distress, express vexation or pain 1845, 2695, 2946.
deménie (DŎMĬNĬCU) *adj.* I*a* own, private ; **son cors** — his very person 729.
dementer (DEMENTARE) *intr.* to lament, make outcry (of grief or distress) 1404 ; *ref.* 1630, 1795, (1836).
demi (DIMĔDIU) *adj.* I*a* one-half of 432, 785, 1218.

demis (< **demetre**) *adj.* I*a* put down; "dropped" = distilled (of pitch) 1474.

demorer (VL DEMŌRARE) *intr.* to dwell, remain, stay 162; to delay, linger 1806, 1841, 2451; *ref.* 2021, 3140; *tr.* to delay 3519.

demostrer (DEMONSTRARE) *tr.* to show, exhibit 514, 2531.

Denemarche, Danemarche 3937 (DANIAMARKA) *f.*I Denmark 749, 1489, 3856, 3937.

denier (DENARIU) *m.*I a coin ($\frac{1}{12}$ **sol**) 1262, 1880, 3338; *pl.* money 1148.

Denísie, saint (DIONYSIU) St. Denis, apostle of Gaul, first Bishop of Paris, martyred in the IIIrd century; some of his hair is preserved in the hilt of *Durendal* 2347; **le burc de** — St. Denis, suburb of Paris 973.

dent (DENTE) *m.*I tooth 1956, 2346; *pl.* 1646, 1934.

denz (DE-ĬNTUS) *adv.* within 1776.

departiḍe, departie (< **departir**) *f.*I separation 1736.

departir (DE-PARTĪRE) *tr.* to separate 2940, to break apart (3880); *ref.* 1900; *intr.* to be separated, be ended (of a battle) 3480.

depecier (DE-PETTI-ARE) *intr.* to go or fly to pieces, be shattered 837.

derieḍre, deriere (DE-RĔTRO) *prep.* behind 574; *adv.* 1832; *cf.* **darieḍre** 3317.

derompre (DE-RŬMPĔRE) *tr.* to break apart, destroy 19, 1227, 1284.

des (DE-EX) *prep.* from, starting with 1429; — **or** henceforth, from this moment 179, 3704.

desaffrer (< **safre**) *tr.* to knock off the **safre** 3426.

desarmer (DĬS-ARMARE) *tr.* to disarm 3942; *ref.* 2498.

descendre (DESCENDĔRE) *intr.* to go down, dismount 120, 406, 1797; to get down from bed 2849; to come down from above 3919.

deschevalchier (DIS-CABALLĬCARE) *tr.* to unhorse 1556.

desclore (DIS-CLAUDĔRE) *tr.* to break open 1199, 1620, (3922).

descoḍre, descorre (DISCŪTĔRE) *tr.* to knock apart, shatter; *p. ptcp.* **descos** 1946.

descoloŕeṭ (DIS-COLOR-ATU) *adj.* I*a* faded, pale 1979, 2218.

desconfire (DIS-CON-FĔCĔRĔ) *tr.* to play havoc with, demolish, ruin 1247, 1305, 3362.

desconfison 1894 *probably error for* **desfison.**

desert (DESĔRTU) *adj.* I*a* deserted, uninhabited 664, 2489; abandoned 938, 1696, 2928; *sb. m.*I waste place, uninhabited region 805; desert 3246.

deserter (< **desert**) *tr.* to lay waste, damage, despoil 1862.

deservir (DESERVĪRE) *intr.* to deserve, merit 3740.

desevrer (VL DE-SĒPĔRARE) *tr.* to dissever, divide 1201, 1977; *p. ptcp.* parted 2009, 3913.

desfaire (DIS-FACĔRE) *tr.* to undo, defeat 49; to separate combatants 450; to humble, bring low 934, (1986).

desfiḍer, desfiër (DIS-FĪD-ARE) *tr.* to bid defiance to, challenge 326, 2002, 3775.

[desfison] (< **desfire, defire,** VL DEFĔCĔRE) *f.*II undoing, destruction, finishing stroke (1894).

desguarnir (DIS-warn-ĪRE) *tr.* to strip off, divest 2598.

desherbergier (DIS-herberg-ARE) *intr.* to break camp 701.

deshonor (DIS-HONŌRE) *f.*II dishonor, shame 1828.

desiḍrer, desirer (DESĪDĔRARE) *tr.* to wish ardently for 1482.

deslacier (DIS-LAQUĔARE) *tr.* to unlace 2170.

desmailer, desmailier (DIS-MACŬL-ARE) *tr.* to scatter the meshes (of a hauberk) 1270, 2051, 3387.

desmailéṭ *probably var. of* **desmaléṭ** (< **esmal,** G. *smalt*) *p. ptcp.* the (gold or silver) enamel knocked off 2158.

desmembrer (DIS-MEMBR-ARE) *tr.* to cut limb from limb 1970.

desmentir (DIS-MENT-ĪRE) *tr.* to contradict (by actions), act unworthily of 788 ; to give the lie to 3791, 3834.

desmesureḍement (< **desmesureṭ**) *adv.* inordinately, beyond all bounds 1425.

desor, desore (DE-SŬPER) *prep.* upon 272, 1612 ; — **lui** in spite of him, by overpowering him 721 ; **aler** — to be victorious 927.

desordener (DIS-ORDĬNARE) *tr.* to degrade from their proper rank, depose 3408.

desotreier (DIS-AUCTŎRIZARE) *tr.* to refuse, reject 518.

desoz (DE-SŬBTUS) *prep.* beneath, down 2043, 2248 ; below, nearby 209, 2994 ; *adv.* 1356.

despersoner (DIS-PERSONARE) *tr.* to disfigure 2581.

desrengier (DIS-hring-ARE) *intr.* to issue from the ranks, go on scout duty 809.

desrompre 3449 *var. of* **derompre.**

destoldre (DIS-TOLLĔRE) *tr.* to take away ; *ref.* 3235.

destorbier (< **destorber**) *m.*I molestation, interference 1318. 2548.

destorner (DĬS-TŌRN-ARE) *tr.* to turn aside, avert 440, 3577.

destre (DEXTĔRU) *adj.* 1*b* right-hand 331, 727 ; *sb.* 47, 1018.

destreindre (DISTRINGĔRE) *tr.* to press apart, oppress, torment 2743. *P. ptcp.* **destreit** (989), 2743.

destreit (DE-STRĬCTU) *adj.* I*a* narrow 741 ; *sb.* narrow passage, defile, ravine 809, 3126; hardship 1010, 3417 ; difficulty, pressure, duress 3420, 3456, 3759.

destrier (VL DESTRARIU) *m.*I battle-horse 347, 756, 1001, 1490.

destruire (VL DESTRŪGĔRE) *tr.* to destroy, ruin 835.

desver (VL DE-AESTŬARE ?) *intr.* to go crazy 2789.

detordre (DE-TŎRQUĔRE) *tr.* to twist (repeatedly) 772. *Pf.* 3 **detoerst.**

detraire (VL DETRAGĔRE) *tr.* to pull repeatedly 2930.
detrenchier (VL DETRĬNCARE) *tr.* to cut off, cut to pieces 1747, 1996, 3889.
detrés (DE-TRANS?) *prep.* behind 584.
Deu (DĔUM) *m.*I God ; *pl.* gods 1907, 2715 ; *exclam.* **Deus!** 1183, 1849.
devant (*var. of* **davant** < DE-ABANTE) *prep.* in front of 4, 218 ; before 414 ; *adv.* in front 1041, 1298 1784, 3967.
deveir (DĒBĒRE) *intr.* to owe, be under obligation, be destined to 2659 ; should, ought, *etc.* *Ind. Ps.* 1 **dei**, 3 **deit**, 4 **devom** *and* **devons**, 6 **deivent** ; *Pf.* 3 **dut** ; *Cond.* 3 **devreit.** *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **deiet**, *Impf.* 3 **doüst** 5 **doüssiez.**
devenir (DE-VENĪRE) *intr.* to become (of) 102, 223, 2698.
devers (DE-VERSUS) *prep.* from *or* in the direction of 728, 1021, 1103 ; — **vos** on your side 1592, 3030, 3071.
di (DIEM) *m.*I day 2028 ; **toz dis** always 1254.
diable (DIABŎLU) *m.*I devil 746, 983, 1502.
Digon = **Dijon** (DIBIŌNE) the ancient capital of Burgundy, in the Côte-d'Or 1892.
dire (DĪCĔRE) *tr.* to say, tell, relate 61, 81, 306 ; — **une chançon** (1014). *Ind. Ps.* 3 **dist** 220 255 (306), 322, 5 **dites**, 6 **diënt** ; *Impf.* 6 **diseient.** *Pf.* 1 **dis**, 3 **dist** 27 ; *Fut.* 5 **direz** *and* **direiz.** *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **diet** ; *Impf.* 3 **desist.**
dis (DĔCEM) ten 41, 1308, (3269).
discipline (DISCIPLINA) *f.*I chastisement, massacre 1929.
disme (DĔCĬMU) *adj.* I*a* tenth 3084 ; *sb.* 3230, 3246.
doblain (DŬPL-ĀNU) *adj.* I*a* of double weight, or thickness 3088.
doble (DŬPLŬ) *adj.* I*a* double 3583 ; *sb.* layer (of rings) in a hauberk, a thickness 1284.
dobler (DŬPLARE) *tr.* to double, line 995.
doel, duel (< **doleir**) *m.*I pain, distress 304, 834, 904 ; *pl.* sorrows 3627.
dol 2936 *var. of* **doel, duel.**
dolcement (VL DŬLCIA MENTE) *adv.* mildly, with gentleness 1163, 1999, 2026 ; in a low tone 2886.
dolent (VL DOLENTU) *adj.* I*a* sorrowful, grieving 951 ; in distress, unfortunate 1104 ; *as exclam.* 2823.
dolor (DOLŌRE) *f.*II pain 489, 716, 1679.
doloros (< **dolor**) *adj.* I*a* unhappy 2722 ; grievous, dreadful 3403.
doloser (< VL DŎLŌSE = DŎLŌRE?) *tr.* to grieve for, lament 2022 ; *ref.* 2577.
dolz, *f.* dolce (VL DŬLCĬUS, -IA, *for* DŬLCIS) *adj.* I*a* sweet 16, 109, 1054 ; (of water) fresh 2640 ; **France dolce** 16, 1695, 1985, **dolce France** 109, 1054, 1927, 2379.
don (DŌNU) *m.*I gift 224, 845 ; permission 246, 3059.

donc (VL DŬNC *for* TŬNC) *adv.* then, in that case 240, 594, 752, 987.

doner (DŌNĀRE) *tr.* to give, give away 127, 859, 1178; to permit, grant 289. *Ind. Ps.* 1 **doins** 622, (2007); *Fut.* 1 **donrai**, 3 **donraṭ**, *etc. Cond.* 4 **donrioms** 1805. *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **dont** 859, **doinst** 1548, 1898, **dongeṭ** (18), 2016, (2938).

dont (DE-ŬNDE) *adv.* of which, with which, from which, whence 133, 979, 1430, 2166.

dormir (VL DORMĪRE) *intr.* to sleep; **se** — to go to sleep 718, 2494, 2521.

dos (VL DOSSU) *indec.* back 1201, 1588, 1945.

dotance (DŬBĬT-ANTIA) *f.*I dread, fear 828, 3613.

doter (DŬBĪTARE) *tr.* to fear, be afraid of 1186, 3580.

dous (DŬŌS) *num.* two 207, 444, 637; *nom.* **dui** 2706, 2765, 2976.

doze (DŬŌDĔCIM) *num.* twelve 262, 325, 547, 826; **li — per** (*see note to* 795).

dragon (DRACŌNE) *m.*I dragon 2543; as the ensign of Marsile 1480, of Baligant 3266, 3330, 3548, 3550.

drecier (DIRĒCTIARE) *tr.* to straighten, arrange in order 2829; **sei** — to stand up 195, 1139, 2234.

dreit (DĪRĒCTU) *adj.* I*a* straight, direct, erect; right 228; legitimate, lawful 308, 766, 2441; **senz** — wicked 511.

Sb. the right 3751; **aveir** — to be in the right 1015, 1212; to have legal claim 2747; to obtain justice 3290; **faire** — to decide justly 3898; **a** — rightfully 2293; **(il) est dreiz que** 1950, 2349.

[**dreiture**] (DIRĒCT-ŪRA) *f.*I justice, right (2430).

drodmont (Gk. *δρόμων*) *m.*I a large, swift galley 1564, 2624, 2730.

Droön (Drog-ŌNE) *m.*III Dreux, uncle of Gautier du Hum 2048.

druṭ[1] (Celtic DLUTO ?) *adj.* I*a* thick-growing, luxuriant 1334.

druṭ[2] (*druthṣ*) *m.*I favorite, intimate 1479, 2049, 2814.

duc (DŪCE) *nom.* **dus, dux** *m.*I duke, chieftain 14, 243, 1213.

duel, doel (< **doleir**) *m.*I pain, grief (1437). *See* **doel.**

duire (DŪCĔRE) *tr.* to draw, pull; *Pf.* 3 **duist** 215, 772.

dur (DŪRU) *adj.* I*a* hard 3249; rough, heavy 1678, 3393.

durement (DŪRA MENTE) *adv.* hard, mightily, inordinately, bitterly 1814, 2419, 2908.

Durendal (< ?) *f. indec.* Roland's sword 926, 988, 1055, 1065, 1079, 1120, 1324, 1339, 1583, 1870, 2143, 2264; a Saracen attempts to steal it 2274 ff.; Roland thrice attempts to break it 2300 ff.; lament and farewell of Roland 2343 ff.; list of relics in the hilt 2346–48; Roland dies with his sword under him 2359; (last mention in the poem 2780).

durer (DŪRARE) *intr.* to last, endure 291, 1322; *Cond.* 3 **durreit** 1707.
Durestant place in Spain? 870.

E

E! *exclamation* 2177, 2344, 2582.
e, *before vowel* **eḍ** (ET) *conj.* and; *pleonastic* 40, 508.
eḍage, eage (ÆTATĬCU) *m.*I lifetime 291.
eḍét, eét (ÆTATE) *m.*I lifetime, life 3170.
eḍrer, errer (ĬTĔR-ĀRE) *intr.* to travel; to move, take action 167; to march to war 3340.
eissir (EXĪRE) *intr.* to issue forth 1220, (1342), 2575; *ref.* **s'en —** 1776, 2260. *Ind. Ps.* 3 **ist** 1506.
el[1] (VL ALUD *for* ALIUD) *n. pron.* something else; **por —** 3397; **faire —** to do something else, act otherwise 1185, 2961.
el[2] *for* **ele** 2465? (*see note*).
ele (ĬLLA) *pers. pron. f.* 635, 639, 1123.
elme *see* **helme.**
em *see* **home.**
emb- *see* **enb-.**
empeindre (ĬMPĬNGĔRE) *tr.* to push against, thrust 1203, 1540, 1754; to launch 2629.
empennét (< **penne** PĬNNA) *adj.* I*a* feathered 439, 2156.
empereḍor, empereör *nom.* **empereḍre** (IMPERATOR) *m.*III Emperor (Charlemagne) 1, 16, 96; *applied to* Marsile 414 *var.*
empírie (IMPĔRĬU) *m.*I empire 3994.
empleier (IMPLĬCARE) *tr.* to lay on, dispense, apply 1013, 3418.
emplein (< **emplener**?) *m.*I*a* filling; a rise (of ground) 3129.
en[1] (IN) *prep.* in, into; on, upon *etc.*
I. LOCAL
1. *Rest:* **en Espaigne, en Saragoce, en Sebre** 2728, **en la citét, en une voide place** 1507, **en un vergier, aveir qqn en maison** 3978, **gesir el borc** 973; **en la Croiz** 2504, **en un pui** 2367, **el cheval, en Passe-Cerf** 1380 (*but* **as chevals** 1095, **sor son cheval** 1988), **en tere, el regne, el champ, en la place, en l'ombre** 2571, **en estal** 1108, **en 3 peḍrons** 2875, **en l'órie pont** 2345; **tenir el poign** (en son p. 466), **en sa main** 386 (**enz en lor mains** 93; 154), **el piz, en la teste** 2101, **el destre braz** 727, **en lor chiés** 3639; **el plus espés, en trente lius, en son corage** 2803, **aveir en talant** 521.
en lui meḍesme (1036), **en l'arcevesque** 1509; **creiḍre en Deu, sei fiḍer en qqn** 586; **es chartres** 1684, **en la geste francor** 1443.
estre en dolor, en destreit 3456, **en poör, en repos, en quiteḍét** 907, **en ma merciṭ**

2682 ; sorfaire en or (3758), coillir qqn en haor 3771, remaneir en martírie 965 ; en chaḍeines 3735, en sanc 968.

estre en la cort 351, el plait 1409, estre en l'ost 3752, 3769 ; en l'ansguarde 748, en rieḍreguarde 613, 624, en son bliḍalt 282.

en som 708, 2632 ; en mi sa veie 986, en dreit (*v.* dreit) 515, en avant 2228, en present 435, estre el liu de qqn 3016.

2. *Motion:* aler en France, en Rencesvals, s'en foïr en Saragoce, venir en Espaigne, porter en Arábie, en paraḍis ; monter en un pui, el palais ; enveier en Saragoce 245 ; entrer en veie 365 (en son veiage 660) ; enfoḍir en aitres 1750, porter en (aḍ 2954) un charnel 2949 ; monter es destriers 1001 (sor d. 1142), reguarder es monz 1851 ; empeindre en mer 2629, estre (= aler) en enfer 1391.

Entrer el cors, livrer el poing 484, sei drecier (metre) en piez 195, 2277 ; baisier el col 601, ferir el vis 3924, en l'escuṭ 1383, en la presse 1967 (*cf.* 961), el peḍron 2312 ; fermer helmes en lor chiefs 3865, pendre escuz en (a 2991) lor cols 3867, chaḍeir en la place 764, en viltéṭ 1064 ; metre en la curaille 1271, en obli 2382, en chalengement 394, en bandon 1220, en present 398, en son non 2238, metre crestiëntéṭ en Bramimonde 3990; brisier en meitiez 1205.

II. TEMPORAL : en avril, en l'albe, en mon vivant, en cel termine (2283) ; en treis jorz 851 ; d'ores en (a 2843) altres (2014), d'oi en un meis 2751.

III. MODAL : doner (rendre) en fieuṭ 432, 472, (3593) ; rendre en ostage 3950 ; tenir en gab 2113 ; en estant 2459, en gisant 2523, en riḍant 628 ; en guise de baron 1226, 3054; en quel mesure ? 146 ; dobler en treis 995.

en[2] (INDE) *adv. and pron.* away, from, thence, out of, *etc., and meanings corresponding to those of the prep.* de.

I. *Local:* en aler, — venir 2203, — fuir 686.

— **repaidrier** 36, — **passer** 1152, — **torner** 2376, — **eissir** 2575, — **porter** 935, — **afiler** 1665, — **saillir** 1763, — **chedeir** 1981, — **relever** 3726.

II. *Source, origin:* **en aveir** to get 99, 313, 2478, 2510.

III. *Separation* = away: **en destorner** 440, — **conduire** 685, — **voler** 723, — **mener** 502, — **chareier** 33.

IV. *Partitive* = of it, of them, *etc.*, *with* **tant** 1035, **plus** 1040, **un** 1048, **el** 3956, **alques** 1099, **altre** 1105, **mie** 1317, 2719, **niënt** 787, **nul** 2411, *and with numerals.*

V. *Instrumental:* **en ferir** 440, — **conquerre** 2322, — **faire escrider** 3148 — **combatre** 566, — **estre covert** 1084, — **loër** 34, — **vestir, saisir** 3213, — **estre parjurét** 3830, — **estre reconnoisable** 3124, — **estre sanglent** 1056.

VI. *Causal:* **en estoner** 3438, — **pasmer** 2932, — **esguarder qqn** 285, — **estre anguissable** 280, — **aveir honte (joie, doel, peines, reproece, blasme, torment,** *etc.*) — **perdre vie** 1408, — **engraignier** 1088, — **plorer** 825, — **moveir contraire** 290.

VII. *Possession:* **en prendre le chief** 209, — **aveir l'anme** 2397; *of things* 516, 3151, 3309, 3328.

VIII. *Prep.* + *pron.:* = **de nos** 1751, = **de vos** 2305, = **de lui** 498, 844; = **por lui,** *etc.*: — **aveir eschange** 840, — **prendre or** 1148, 845, 1459.

IX. *Refers to a preceding clause:* **en doner son elme** 1531, — **doner loier** 2584, — **deit perdre** 3289, — **embronchier lo vis** 3816; *repeats a* declause: **de quinze liues en ot la rimor** 817, *so* 145, 1786; *with loose reference to the preceding situation:* **en aveir bon plait** 88, — **prendre conseil** 205, — **taire** 259, — **parler** 273, — **rire** 303, — **estre fiț** 146, — **apeler qqn** 14, 63, 69, — **tendre (lever) les mains** 2373, 419, — **livrer le guant** 247, 268, 873, 2677, — **oïr noveles** 336, — **voleir ostages** 40, — **brandir l'espede** 499, — **soner (saveir) mot** 1027, 1173, **s'— targier** 1415, **s'— porchacier** 2612; — **prendre sa barbe** 2982, — **faire la contenance** 830, — **estre seant as Innocenz**

1523, — **chanter chançon** 1466, — **respondre** 879, — **merciḍer** 908, — **avenir** 3500, — **deveir estre** 3519, — **creiḍre** 577, 3458, — **desmentir** 3834, — **recreiḍre** 3908.

X. *Refers to a following matter:* **en aveir merveilles de Charlemagne . . .** 550; *so* 2665, 3416.

enbatre, emb- (VL ĬN-BATTĔRE) *tr.* to force in, plunge 1266.

enbracier, emb- (IN-BRACCHIARE) *tr.* to embrace, clasp 2174, 2202, 3440.

enbronc, emb- (< **embronchier**) *adj.* Ia bent down, bowed 214, 771, 3274.

enbronchier, emb- (IN-BRŬNCARE); *tr.* to bend over 3505, 3645, 3816; *intr.* to sink down 2019.

enceis *see* **anceis.**

encenser (< **encens** INCENSU) *tr.* to fumigate (with incense) 2959.

enchaḍener, enchaener (INCATĒN-ARE) *tr.* to put in chains, chain up 1827.

enchalcier (ĬN-CALC-IARE) *tr.* to pursue closely 1660, 2166, 2785; *absol.* 3626.

enchalz (< **enchalcier**) *m. indec.* pursuit 2446, 3635.

enchanteḍor, –eör (INCANTATORE) *m.*III enchanter, magician 1391.

enclin (ĬNCLĪNE) *adj.* Ia bent, bowed 139, 2391, 3504.

encliner (INCLĪNARE) *tr.* to salute with a bow 974, 2763.

encombrer (IN-CŬMBR-ARE ?) *tr.* to weigh upon, burden 15. 3646.

encontre (IN-CONTRA) *adv. and prep.* opposite, towards (708), (1156), (2341); in competition with, as compared with 376, 926, 1496, 1559; in opposition 1759.

encontrer (< **encontre**) *tr.* to meet with 1638, 1994, 3542.

encrisme (*var. of* **encrieme** < VL INTRĔMĪDUS, CL INTRĔPĬDUS?) *adj.* Ia unterrified, ruthless 1216.

encui (HĬNC ? + HŎDIE) *adv.* yet today, before the day is over 1167, 2142, 2808.

endementres (ĬN-DUM-ĬNTĔRIM + **s**) *adv.* in the meanwhile 1396.

endormir (VL IN-DORMĪRE) *intr.* to go to sleep 2520.

endreit (ĬN-DĪRĒCTU) *adv.* directly 478, 3607; on the spot, here and now 515; *prep.* as regards, as to, concerning 2123.

endurer (IN-DŪRARE) *tr.* to endure 1011, 1118.

enemi (VL INAMĪCU) *m.*I enemy 144, 461.

enfant (INFANTE) *m.*III child 1772, 2739; young man 3106, 3197.

enfern (INFERNU) *m.*I hell 1391.

enfoḍir, enfoïr (VL INFŎDĪRE) *tr.* to bury 1750, 2942.

Enfruns, les a pagan people in Baligant's army 3518.

Engelier (Ingalhari) *m.*I Engelier of Gascony (also called **le Gascon de Bordele** = Bor-

deaux 1289), one of the Twelve Peers; he slays Escremiz of Valterne 1291 ff., also Esperveris 1389–90; is slain by Climborin 1537 ff., is avenged by Oliver 1545 ff.; Charlemagne searches for his body at Roncesvaux 2407.

engignier (VL INGĔNIARE) *tr.* to deceive, outwit 95.

Engletere (Ēngla-TERRA) *f.*I England; Charlemagne crossed the Channel to England 372; was conquered for Charlemagne by Roland 2332.

engraignier (IN-grami-ARE ?) *intr.* to become furious, grow fierce (1088).

engrés (ĬNGRĔSSU) *adj.* I*a* violent, ferocious (3241), 3251.

enguarde (< **enguarder**, ĬN-ƿarð-ARE) *f.*I *pl.* outposts of an army 2975, 3130; **faire les** — to do guard duty 548, 561.

enhelder (IN-ɦilt-ARE) *tr.* 3866, 3887. *See* **enheldir**.

enheldir (IN-ɦilt-ĪRE) *tr.* to supply a sword with the hilt 966.

enluminer (ĬN-LŪMĬNĀRE) *tr.* to illuminate, make to shine 535.

enmi (IN-MĔDIU) *prep.* in the middle of 986, 3968.

ennuiét (< **enoier** VL ĬNŎDĬARE) *adj.* I*a* toil-worn, exhausted 2484.

enp endre (VL IN-PRĒNDĔRE) *tr.* to undertake 210.

enprés (ĬN-PRĔSSU) *prep.* after 357, 774, 1505.

énquerre (INQUÆRĔRE) *intr.* to inquire, investigate 126.

enqui 2808 *see* **encui**.

enquoi 1194, 1901 *see* **encui**.

enrengier (IN-ɦring-ARE) *tr.* to dispose in a circle 2181.

ensanglenter (< **sanglent**) *tr.* to make bloody 1067.

enseigne (ĬNSĬGNĬA) *f.*I distinguishing mark; flag, ensign 707, 3308; I'— **Charle** banderole of red silk attached to a lance and named "Monjoie" (*see note to passage*) 1179, 1181; I'— **paiënor** the pagan war-cry 1221.

enseignier (IN-SĬGN-ARE) *tr.* to point out (with a gesture) 119.

ensemble (IN-SĬMUL) *adv.* together 1635, 3000; — **o**ḍ together with 104, 502, 1410.

ensement (? + MENTE) *adv.* just as; — **come** just like 3173, 3223, 3249.

ensorquetot (ĬN-SŬPER-QUAMTŌTU) *adv.* above all, most especially 312.

entendre (ĬNTĔNDĔRE) *tr.* to hear 232, 1243; to understand 234, 776; — **a** to listen to, defer to 3782.

entercier (ĬN-TĔRTĬ-ARE) *tr.* to recognize, identify 2180.

enterrer (IN-TERRA-ARE) *tr.* to bury 2960, 3732.

entorn, entor (ĬN-TŌRNU) *prep.* around, about 410, 2092.

entre (ĬNTER *and* INTRA) *prep.* between 621, 720; among 1941, 2275; = beneath 2587; within 3939; — **dous** in between (two) 1217; — . . . **et** both . . . and 3075.

entredoner (INTER-DŌNĀRE) *ref.* to give each the other 3568, 3582.

entr'encontrer (INTER-ĬNCONTRA-ARE) *ref.* to meet each other 3567.

entrer (ĬNTRARE) *intr.* to go in, enter, enter upon 365, 747, 2709 ; to begin 2925.

[entresait] (ĬN-TRANS-ACTU) *adv.* at once, immediately (605).

[entreprendre] (INTER-PRĒNDĔRE) *tr.* to seize, envelop, overcome. Var. in V⁴ 2516 (*lentroprant*) of **tresprendre** 2355.

entresque (IN-TRANS-QUOD ?) *prep.* up to, as far as ; — **a** 870, 1265 ; — **en** 3313.

entreveḍeir (INTER-VĬDĒRE) *tr.* to see mutually ; *ref.* 3294.

envaḍir, **envaïr** (VL INVADĪRE) *tr.* to attack, rush upon 2062, 2065, 2129.

enveier (ĬN-VĬARE) *tr.* to send 40, 42, 202.

enveisier (IN-VEGETI-ARE) *ref.* to enjoy oneself, be gay 977.

envers[1] (ĬN-VĔRSUS) *prep.* opposite to, face to face with 368, 468 ; towards 723, 2165, 2532.

envers[2] (INVĔRSU) *adv.* upside down, on one's back 1657, 2269.

environ *prep.* around 13 ; *adv.* 3269.

envoluper (IN + ?) *tr.* to drape, enfold 408.

enz (ĬNTUS) *prep. and adv.* within (1523), 2966 ; — **en**, within 93, 501, 1266 ; **se ferir** — to plunge into the mêlée 1939 ; **saillir** — 2469.

Equitaigne (AQUITANIA) *f.*I 2325.

erbe, herbe (HERBA) *f.*I grass 671, 1334, 3917.

[ermain] (HĔRI-MANE) *adv.* yesterday morning (383).

ermes *see* **estre**.

Ermines (HERMINIOS) *m. pl.* the Armenians, with the Moors, form one division of the pagan army 3227.

errer (ERRARE) *intr.* to err, go wrong, act or speak extravagantly 497.

es[1] = **en les** *see* **lo**.

es[2], **as, ais** (< ECCE ?) *dem. adv.* behold ! *with nom.* (368) ; *with acc.* **as les vos** 1187 ; **as vos** 1889, 3403 ; **ais li** 2452, 3495, 3818.

esbaldir (EX-bald-ĪRE) *ref.* to rejoice 1524.

esbaneier (EX-BANN ?-IZARE) *tr.* to amuse, divert 111.

Escababi a Saracen killed by Oliver 1555.

escarboncle (EX-CARBŬNCŬLU) *m.*I a brilliant ruby (garnet ?) 2589. *See also* **carboncle**.

escalguaite (skarwahta) *f.*I body of sentinels, night-watch 2495.

eschange (< **eschangier**) *m.*I substitute (person or thing) 840, 3714 ; **prendre — de** to exchange for 3095.

eschanteler (EX-CANTH-ĔLL-ARE) *tr.* to break into sections, hew to pieces 1292.

eschaper (EX-CAPP-ARE) *intr.* to escape 3955.

escharboner (EX-CARBON-ARE) *intr.* to send up smoke 3586.

eschec, eskec (skak) *m.*I spoils, plunder 99, 1167, 2478.

eschés, eschecs (Persian SHÂH-S) *m.*I the game of chess 112.

eschewiṭ, escheviṭ (< **eschevir** EX-SCAB-ĪRE ?) *adj.* I*a* slender, slim 3820.

eschiele (ʃkara) *f.*I squadron, battalion 1034, 1451, 3026.

eschiez 2625, 2729 *var. of* **esqueis** ON ʃkeiðh) *m.*? *indec.* a swift war-ship with sails 2625, 2729.

eschine (SKĪNA) *f.*I spinal column 1201, 1333, 1374.

eschipre (Norse ʃkipari) *m.* skipper, sailing-master 1565.

eschiuer (ʃkiuhan) *tr.* to avoid 1096.

esciënce (SCIENTIA) *f.*I skill (in horses and arms) 3003.

esciënt (SCIENTE), **mien** — to my certain knowledge 524, 1936.

esciënte 3591 *var. of* **esciëntre.**

esciëntre (SCIENTER), **mien** — to my certain knowledge 756, 1791 ; **son** — 1116.

esclace (< **esclacier**) *f.*I spattering (of blood) *or* shred, fragment (of flesh) 1981.

esclairier (EX-CLAR-IARE) *tr.* to brighten, lighten, alleviate 301 ; to encourage 3302 ; *intr.* to grow bright 667, 2637.

esclargier (EX-CLAR-ĬCARE) *tr.* to make bright, cheer up 3628 ; to make clear 3891 ; to relieve, ease, lighten 3989.

esclargir *var. of* **esclarcir** (VL EX-CLARĒSCĒRE) *ref.* to lighten up, grow bright, shine 958, 1807.

Esclavot (Σκλαβ-ŏττυ) *m.*I a Slav 3225.

[Esclers] (Gk. Σκλαβοs?) *m. pl.* the Slavs (3245).

esclice (< **esclicier**) *f.*I splinter 723.

esclicier (EX-ʃliʒ-ARE) *tr.* to splinter 1359.

esclo (ʃlag-u) *m.*I foot-print, track (2445).

Escoce (SCOTTĬA) *f.*I Scotland 2331.

[escoler] (SCHŎL-ARE) *tr.* to train at school, teach (485).

escolter (VL ASCŬLTARE) *tr.* to listen to 164, 670, 1767.

escombatre (EX-COMBATT(U)ĔRE) *tr.* to win by fighting, conquer 2307.

[esconser] (ABSCONS-ARE) *tr.* to hide, dim (2990).

escordosement (EX-CŎRD-ŌSA MENTE ?) *adv.* most earnestly 3099.

escremir (ʃkerm-IRE) *intr.* to fence (with sword) 113.

Escremiz de Valterne one of the Twelve Saracens who oppose the Twelve Peers 931; he is slain by Engelier the Gascon 1291 ff.

escriḍer (EX-QUĪRĪTARE) *intr.* to cry out loud 1112 ; *ref.* 891, 900, 1180 ; *tr.* to call 1350, 1964, 2151.

escrivre (SCRĪBĔRE) *tr.* to write 487, 1443 ; to draw, design 2594.

escuḍier, escuier (SCŪTARIU) *m.*I esquire 2437.

escuṭ (SCŪTU) *m.*I shield 526, 1032, 1199.

esdemetre (EX-DĪMĬTTĔRE) *tr.* to let go, hurl forward ; *ref.* 1610.

esforciéṭ (< **esforcier**) *adj.* I*a* magnified ; advantageous, superior 3714.

esforz (< **esforcier**) *m. indec.* force, strength 1049 ; numbers

3218 ; *pl.* forces 599 ; **ad̨ —** impetuously 1197, 1582.
esfreḍer (EX-frĭD-ARE) *tr.* to distress, alarm 438.
esfreḍéṭ (< esfreḍer) *adj.* I*a* excited, agitated 2767.
[esgraner] (EX-GRĀN-ARE) *intr.* to lose particles ; to become nicked, notched (2313).
esgruignier (*var. of* **esgrumer, esgruner** EX-GRŪM-ARE) *intr.* to lose particles; **sei —** to become nicked, notched 2302.
esguarder (EX-ward-ARE) *tr.* to examine closely, gaze at 285, 2274, 3882.
esguaréṭ (EX-ward-ATU) *adj.* I*a* disturbed, disconcerted 1036.
eslais (< **eslaissier** EX-LAXARE) *m. indec.* a springing forward ; **faire son —** 2997, 3166.
eslegier (EX-LĬTICARE ?) *tr.* to purchase, acquire title to 759, 1151.
eslire (EX-LĔGĔRE) *tr.* to choose 275, 802, 877.
esmaier (EX-mag-ARE) *tr.* to frighten, disturb, disconcert 2211 ; *ref.* 27, 920, 962.
esmer, asmer (ÆSTĬMARE) *intr.* to aim 454.
esmeréṭ (EX-MĔR-ATU) *adj.* I*a* purified, pure, of refined metal 132.
esmoveir (EX-MŎVĒRE) *tr.* to set in motion ; to stir up, excite 2813.
espaḍle, espalle (SPATŬLA) *f.*I shoulder 647, 1344, 3160.
Espaigne (HISPANIA) *f.*I Spain 2, 907, 910, 1021 ; **cil d'—** the Saracens 1651.
espan (HĬSPĀNU) *adj.* I*a* Spanish (269), 612, 2828.
espandre (EXPANDĔRE) *tr.* to scatter, spread 3617, 3928, 3972.
Espaneliz a Saracen, attendant upon Baligant 2648.
espargnier (ſparanjan) *tr.* to spare (= abstain from killing) 1504, 1883, 3103.
esparmiier 1689 *var. of* **espargnier.**
espeḍe, espee (SPATHA) *f.*I sword 346, 465, 684.
esperoner *see* **esporoner.**
[Esperveris] a Saracen, son of Borel, slain by Engelier (1388).
espervier (ſparwari) *m.*I sparrow-hawk 1535.
espés (SPĬSSU) *adj.* I*a* thick ; *sb.* the thick (of the fight) 3529.
espiéṭ (ſpeut) *m.*I spear 541, 867, 1033.
espiier, espiër (ſpëẖon *and* SPĔCĔRE ?) *tr.* to spy upon, lie in wait for ; to deceive 1147.
espine (SPĪNA) *f.*I thorn ; hawthorn 3521.
espleit (< **espleitier**), **a —** hastily, diligently 3547, 3559.
espleitier (EXPLĬCĬTARE) *intr.* to be active, hasten 2165 ; to accomplish 395, 3657.
espoënter (EX-PAVENT-ARE) *tr.* to terrify ; *ref.* (1433), 1642.
esporon (ſporo) *m.*I spur 345, 1225, 1549.
esporoner, esperoner (< **esporon**) *tr.* to use the spurs 2996.
esprendre (VL EX-PRĒNDĔRE) *intr.* to catch fire 3917.
esprover (EX-PRŎBARE) *tr.* to test thoroughly ; *ref.* 3163.

esquasser (EX-QUASSARE) *tr.* to break to pieces 3879.
esragier (EX-RABI-ARE) *intr.* to go mad; *ref.* to be furious, wildly excited 286.
essaiét (< **essaier** VL EXAGIARE) *adj.* Ia well-tried, veteran 2068.
essample (EXEMPLU) *f.*I short story with a moral, edifying tale 3979; **malvaise** — unedifying tale 1016.
essil, exill (< **essillier**) *m.*I ruin, devastation, bereavement 1862 (3832).
essoign (< **essoignier** < ſunnea) *m.*I hindrance, difficulty; **n'aveir** — **de** to receive no harm from, be none the worse off because of 1232.
establer (STABŬLARE) *tr.* to put in a stall 158.
establir (STABĬLĪRE) *tr.* to establish 3027, 3036, 3068.
estache (*ſtaffa) *f.*I stake, post 3737.
estage[1] (STAT-ĬCU) *m.*I dwelling, residence 188.
estage[2] (STAT-ICA) *f.*I act of stopping; **prendre** — to take up quarters for the night 3129.
estal (ſtall) *m.*I station, post; **en** — in firm position 1108; **prendre** — 2139.
estandart (ſtand-hart) *m.*I standard, banner 3267, 3330, 3552.
estant (< **ester**) standing; **en** — stationary 2459; standing up 2522, 2655.
esteile (VL STĒLA) *f.*I star 3659.
estendre (EXTENDĔRE) *tr.* to stretch 3970.
ester (STARE) *intr.* to stand; stand up (1009), 1046, 2219, *ref.* to stand still, stop 2105, (2450); to stay, remain (2264), (2465); to be, become 1134. *Ind. Ps.* 3 (**estait**), 6 **estont** 2691; *Fut.* 5 **esterez** 1134; *Pf.* 3 **estuț**.
esterminal (< EXTERMINIUALE ?) *m.*I a precious stone 1501.
estét (ÆSTATE, *f.*) *m.*I summer 2628, 3162.
estoerdre (EX-TŎRQUĔRE) *intr.* to twist out, escape 593, 3632.
estoltie (ſtolt-ĪA) *f.*I haughtiness, arrogance 1478; reckless courage 1725, 2606, 3528.
estoner (EX-TŎNARE) *intr.* to become dazed 3438.
Estorgant (of *Astorga*, in Leon ?) *m.*I one of the Saracen Twelve 940; is slain by Aton 1297.
Estorgoz a Saracen, killed by Oliver 1358.
estorm (ſturm) *m.*I tempest, turmoil, thick of battle 1351; assault, engagement, conflict (1686), 2413; **rendre un** — 2122; **veintre un** — 3930.
estoveir (STŬPĒRE) *intr.* to be lacking, be needed, be necessary; *impers.* 119, 310, 1151, 1242; **ço nos estoet** that is what we need (*i.e.* vengeance) 3630.
estraire (VL EXTRAGĔRE *for* EXTRAHERE) *tr.* to draw from, derive from 356.
Estramariz one of the Saracen Twelve 64, 941; is slain by Berengier 1304.

estrange (EXTRĀNĔU) *adj.* I*a* foreign 448, 839, 1086; extraordinary, repugnant 3717.

estre (ESSE + RE) *intr.* to be, exist; be living 2929; be situated, lie 2367; *impers.* 577. *Ind. Ps.* 1 **sui, soi**; 2 **iés**, 3 **est**, 5 **estes**, 6 **sont**. *Impf.* 3 **ert, ereț** (726) *and* **esteit**. *Pf.* 1 **fui**, 2 **fus**, 3 **fuț**, 4 **fumes**, 5 **fustes**, 6 **furent**. *Fut.* (*a*) 3 **iert**, 4 **ermes**, 6 **ierent**; (*b*) 1 **serai**, 3 **seraț**, 5 **serez**; (*c*) 5 **esterez**. *Cond.* 3 **sereit**. — *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **seit**, 4 **seiom, seions**, 5 **seiez**, 6 **seient**. *Impf.* 1 **fusse**, 2 **fusses**, 3 **fust**. *P. Ptcp.* **estéț**. **estre a** to be engaged in 2772; *cf.* **ester, estant**.

estreḍe, estree (STRATA) *f.*I paved highway 3326; **aller l'—** to travel the highway, lead the way 3326.

estreit (STRĬCTU) *adj.* I*a* close, crowded; *n. adv.* in close array 1001; closely 2202.

estreu (ʃtreuƀ) *m.*I stirrup 348, 2033, 2820.

estroër (< **tro** VL TRAUGU ?) *tr.* to pierce through 2157.

estrosser (EX-THYRS-ARE) *tr.* to break into pieces 722.

esveillier (EX-VĬGĬLARE) *ref.* to awake 724, 2554, 2846.

esvertuḍer, esvertuër (< **vertuț**) *ref.* to put forth all one's strength 2298.

Ethiope (ETHIOPIA) *f.*I Ethiopia is among the domains of the Algalife 1916.

Eudropin a Saracen, one of Marsile's messengers 64.

eue *var. of* **ewe** (AQUA) *f.*I water; *pl.* streams 3667.

[**Euglés**, *v.* **Uglez**.]

evesque (EPĬSCŎPU) *m.*I bishop 2955, 3667, 3976.

ewe (AQUA) *f.*I water; *pl.* 1778, 2640; stream, river 1831, 2225, 2465, 3968.

exill *var. of* **essil** 1862.

F

faillir (FALL-ĪRE) *intr.* to be lacking, fail 397, (801), 1048, 2019; to come to a stop 4002.

failliț (< **faillir**) *adj.* I*a* traitorous, false 3815.

faire (FACĔRE) *tr.* to make, act, do, cause. *Ind. Ps.* 1 **faz**, 2 **fais**, 3 **fait**, 5 **faites**, 6 **font**. *Pf.* 1 **fis**, 2 **fesis**, 3 **fist**, 4 **fesimes**, 5 [**fesistes**] *and* **feïstes**, 6 **firent**. *Fut.* **ferai**, *etc.* *Cond.* **fereie**, *etc.* *Sbj. Ps.* 1 **face**, 3 **faceț**. *Impf.* 3 **fesist**. *Imper.* 2 **fai**, 5 **faites**. *P. ptcp.* **fait**.

se — to become: **se — fiers** 1111; **forz** 2125; **balz** 96.

Verb. vic. = do 427, 765, 890, 1476, 2155, 2441, 3123.

faire a + *infin.* to act so as to deserve: — **a blasmer** 1174, **a preisier** 1559; **bien fait a remaneir** this surely should be stopped 3798; *cf.* 46 *a*.

faire que proz to act like a hero 1209, 2423; **que fols** 1053, **que traḍitre** 201.

faire lo to do so, do that 1709, 2000, 2361; **comment**

lo poḍrom faire ? how can we manage it ? *or*, how can we carry on the fight ? 1698 ; **qui donc [lo] li fesist plus** whoever, then, would molest him further 240.

faire lo bien to do well the business in hand 699, 807 ; to fight well 3400 ; **assez lo faites bien** you are fighting extremely well 1876 ; **com proz vos lo feïstes** you fought like a hero (1723).

faire + *infin.* to cause to be done (*a*) by others: 158, 160, 679 ; (*b*) by oneself: **ferat retorner** 1060 = **retornerat** 1052, **font cherchier = cherchent** 3661 ; *cf.* 678, 700, 701, 1249, 2992 ; *doubtful cases:* 610, 3964, *etc.*

ne — que to do nothing but, *or*, to have just done 987 (*v. note to line*).

fait = made of (material) 115, 2268, 3045, 3052 ; **fait** *omitted* 609.

faire la guerre 210, — **tort** 833, — **coḍardie** 2351, — **message** 294, — **servísie** 298, — **bataille** 882, — **lo dreit** 3898 (3849).

fais (FASCE) *m. indec.* burden 977.

[fait] (FACTUM) *m.*I transaction (3846).

faiture (FACTŪRA) *f.*I the face, the features 1328.

falcon (FALCŌNE) *m.*I falcon, trained hawk 1572.

faldestoel (faldestoel) *m.*I camp-chair, folding seat 115, 407, 609, 2804.

Faldrun de Pui a Saracen, killed by Roland 1871.

fals (FALSU) *adj.* Ia false 3638 ; dishonest, treacherous 307.

Falsaron Duke of the land of Dathan and Abiram, brother of King Marsile, one of the Saracen Twelve 879 ; he is slain by Oliver 1213 ff.

falser (FALSARE) *tr.* to declare false, claim to be invalid ; — **un jugement** 3844.

falserie (FALS-ARĪA) *f.*I deception, sorcery 3665.

falve (falu) *adj.* Ia brownish-yellow, or reddish-yellow 1495.

feḍeil, feeil (FĪDĒLE) *adj.* II faithful, loyal 29 ; *sb.* trusty friend, loyal companion 84, 505.

feindre (FĪNGĔRE) *intr.* to feign ; *ref.* 2275 ; **sei — de** to be undecided as to, hesitate as to 1792.

feiṭ (FĪDE) *f.*II faith, loyalty 86, 3416 ; **plevir sa —** to plight one's honor 403, 507 ; **par —** loyally, affectionately 2897, 3801.

feiz (VĬCE) *f. indec.* time, occasion 567 ; **une —** once 3441, 3457.

felon (LL FĪLLŌNE) *nom.* **fel**, *adj.* III cruel, treacherous, wicked 69, 910, 1471. *sb.* criminal, scoundrel, villain 213, 844, 1024, 1216 ; **toz seit fel** let him be branded infamous 1924, 2062, 3559.

felonie (< **felon**) *f.*I cruelty ; wickedness, crime 2600, 3833 ; *pl.* 1472.

feme, femme (FĒMĪNA) *f.*I woman, wife 637, 1402.

fendre (FĬNDĔRE) *intr.* to split, fly to pieces 304, 1432, 1631 ; *tr.* 3604.

fenir (FĪNĪRE) *tr.* to finish, accomplish, carry out 169, 193.

fer (FĔRRU) *m.*I iron 1362, 3249 ; the head of a lance 1602, 3154.

ferir (FĔRĪRE) *tr.* to strike 440, 1055 ; *ref.* 1939. *Fut.* 1 **ferrai** ; *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **fierget** 3462.

fermer (FĪRMARE) *tr.* to make fast, attach 683, 1033, 3865 ; to plant (a lance-handle in the ground) 707.

feste (FĔSTA) *f.*I feast, celebration 53, 2860 ; fête-day of a saint 37, 152, 3745.

feu. fiu (866, 432) *varr. of* **fiét, fieut** fief ; *fig.* a valuable gift 866.

fiance, fiance (FĪD-ANTIA) *f.*I assurance, promise, guaranty 1529, 2329 ; **doner** — to guarantee, promise 914 ; confidence 3009, (3786).

fier, fier (FĪD-ARE) *ref.* to entrust oneself, have confidence (in) 586.

fieble (FLĒBĬLE) *adj.* II feeble, weak 2228.

fieblement (FLĒBĬLE MENTE) *adv.* feebly 2104.

fier (FĔRU) *adj.* I*a* proud, fierce 28, 105, 796.

fierement (FĔRA MENTE) proudly, haughtily 219, 2984 ; fiercely 729, 1162.

fiertét (< **fier**) *f.*II fierceness, 1183, 2152.

fiét, fieut (LL FĔODUM) *m.*I fief 76, 472. *See also* **feu.**

fil (FĪLIU) *not in Rol.; see* **filz.**

fillastre (VL FILIASTRU) *m.*II step-son 743.

fille (FĪLIA) *f.*I daughter 2744.

filz (FĪLIUS) *m.*I son 2208, 2671 ; **filz** *in obl. sg.* 149, 313 ; *pl.* **fiz** 3411.

fin[1] (FĪNE) *f.*II end, conclusion 3395, 3872 ; **prendre** — 1519 ; death 3723.

fin[2] (< FĪNE) *adj.* I*a* fine, pure 652, 1245, 1583 ; *sb.* a fine thing, a creditable act 2978.

finer (< **fin**) *tr.* to bring to an end, complete, conclude 62, 166 ; *absol.* 2662 ; to execute (a person) 436, 902.

fírie (VL FĪDĬCU ; *see* G. Paris, *Mél. ling.* p. 532 ff.) *m.*I the liver 1278.

fit (FĪDU) *adj.* I*a* sure, assured 146, 1130, 3290.

fiu, feu 820, 3399 *vars. of* **fiét, fieut** fief.

flambe (FLAMMŬLA) *f.*I flame ; *pl.* 2535.

flambeios (< **flambeier**) *adj.* I*a* gleaming 1022.

flambiër *var. of* **flambeier** (FLAMMŬL-IZARE) *intr.* to flash, blaze 3659.

flambor (< **flambe**) *f.*II blaze, flash, scintillation 1809.

Flameng (ʃlaming) *m.*I*a* Fleming ; the Flemings and Frisians form the eighth division in Charlemagne's army 3069.

flanc (ɦlanc ?) *m.*I flank, side of body 3158, 3467 ; interior of body (3102).

Flandre (FLANDRIA) *f.*I Flanders 2327.

flor (FLŌRE) *f.*II flower 1856, 2197; painted flowers (on a shield) 1354; **la — de France** the flower of French knighthood 2431, 2455.

Floredée a pagan kingdom furnishing a contingent to Baligant's army 3312.

floriţ (< **florir**) *adj.* I*a* blooming; ornamented with flower-like designs 3361; (of hair or beard) mixed with white 117, 970, 1771.

Floriţ a pagan king, whose territory (in North Africa?) is promised to Malprimes 3211.

floter (VL FLŬTTARE *for* FLŬCTŬARE?) *intr.* to float, swim 2472.

foḍrel, forrel (foḍr-ĔLLU) *m.*I scabbard (444).

foildre (VL FŪLGĔRE) *f.*I bolt of lightning 1426.

foïr (FŬGĪRE) *intr.* to run away 1255; *ref.* 686, 1047, 1418; *Fut.* 3 **fuiraţ** 2607.

fol (FŎLLE) *adj.* I*a* crazy, foolish; *n.* foolish thing, fool 286; *sb. m.*I 229, 1053, 2294.

folage (FŎLL-ATICU) *m.*I folly, foolishness 292.

folc (fulf) *m.*I herd, crowd; army division 1439.

folie (FŎLL-ĪA) *f.*I madness, folly 1724, 2714; **dire —** to indulge in wild talk 496.

fonz[1] (VL FŬNDUS) *m. indec.* bottom (of a river) 2471.

fonz[2] (FONTES) *m. pl.* baptismal fonts 1568.

forbir (furbjan) *tr.* to furbish, polish 1925, 3482.

force (VL FŎRTĬA) *f.*I strength (of body) 1618, 2902; (of troops) 3331; **par —** by force 3957, in force 3995.

forcele (FŬRC-ĔLLA) *f.*I collar-bone 1294, 2249.

forcheḍure, -eüre (FŬRC-ATŪRA) *f.*I bifurcation, crotch 1330, 3157.

forfaire *var. of* **forsfaire** (3758).

fors (FŎRIS) *adv.* forth, out 1776; **geter —** 1202; **— de** out of 1355; **metre —** to put clear through 1947, put outside 3122. *prep.* excepting 6, 3806.

forsfaire (FORIS-FACĔRE) *intr.* to go wrong, become a criminal *ref.* 608; *tr.* **— a qqn** (*with n. obj.*) to do one an injury 2029, 3827.

forsfait (< **forsfaire**) *ptcp. adj.* I*a* **estre — a qqn** to be an offender against, be guilty towards, some one 1393.

fort[1] (FORTE) *adj.* II strong, great 1306, 2278; hard 1460, 1590; extreme 1118; *n.* strongly, hard (2297), 2946.

fort[2] (AS FORDH?) *adv.* **a —** ever onward 2631.

fortment, forment (FORTE MENTE) *adv.* strongly, loudly 2251, 2514.

fosse (FŎSSA) *f.*I den 3105.

fossȩ́ (FOSSĀTU) *m.*I ditch 2590, 3166.

fou (FŎCU) *m.*I fire 2535, 3106; sparks of fire 3586, 3912, 3917.

fraindre (FRANGĔRE) *tr.* to break 486, 1199; to demolish 663; *intr.* 2302. *Pf.* 3 **frainst**; *p. ptcp.* **frait**.

fraisne (FRAXĬNU) *m.*I ash tree 2537.
fraisnin (FRAXĬN-ĪNU) *adj.* I*a* of ash, ashen 720.
franc (Franƈ) *f.* **franche** *adj.* I*a* free, noble 274, 2324, 3479.
Franc (Franƈ) *m.*I Frank, Frenchman 50, 265, 1187; — **de France** 177.
France (Franƈ-IA) *f.*I 16, 36, 1423–1438; **cil de** — the French 2999; **espeḍe de** — 3615; **dolce** — 109, 702, 1695, 1927; — **la bele** 1695, — **l'asoluḍe** 2311.
Franceis (Franƈiſſ-S) *adj.* I*a* French 396, 3089; *sb.* 205, 716, 1438; — **de France** 808, 1438.
Francés *var. of* **Franceis** 3789.
francor (FRANCŌRUM) *only in* **Geste** — 1443, 3262 (*see note*).
freḍre, frere (FRATRE) *m.*II brother 330, 490, 880; *as a term of address* (*Roland to Oliver*) 1376, 1395, 1698, 1866.
frein (FRĒNU) *m.*I bridle 91, 2485, 2491.
freis (friƨſ-S) *f.* **fresche**, *adj.* I*a* fresh 2492.
freit (FRĬCĬDU) *adj.* I*a* cold; *sb. pl.* colds 1011, 1118.
fremir (VL FRĔMĪRE) *intr.* to hum, rustle 3484.
fremor (FRĔMŌRE) *f.*II a humming, murmur 2693.
[frenge] (FĪMBRIA) *f.*I fringe; *pl.* (1158).
fresche *see* **freis**.
Frísie (FRȳS-IA) *f.*I Friesland 3069.
Frison (FRȳS-IONE) *m.*I Frisian 3700.
froissier (VL FRŬSTIARE) *intr.* to break in pieces, shatter 237, 1317, 2289.
front (FRONTE) *m.*I forehead 1217, 2248, 3919.
fust (FŪSTE) *m.*I wood 3953; spear-handle 1602; stick, club 1825; wooden frame (of shield) 3583; **arbre de mal** — gallows-tree 3953.

G

gab (Norse gabb) *m.*I jest, joke; **tenir en** — to make light of 2113.
gaber (< **gab**) *intr.* to joke, brag, act boastfully 1781.
Gabriël *indec.* the angel Gabriel 2262; **saint** — 2390, 2395, 2526, 2847, 3610, 3993.
Gaignon (< GANNĪRE ?) *m.*I "Watch-dog," name of Marsile's horse 1890.
gaillardement (< **gaillart**) *adv.* vigorously 2959.
gaillart (VL GALLE ?-hard) *adj.* I*a* of vigorous build 2895, 3086, 3115.
Galafe a Saracen Emir, mentioned in connection with the shield of Abisme 1503.
galazin (< GALATA ?) *adj.* I*a* 2973 (*see note*).
galee (Greek GALAIA) *f.*I galley 2729. *Cf.* **galie**.
Galice (GALLÆCIA) *f.*I Galicia, province in N. W. Spain 1476, 3073.
galie *f.*I galley 2625.
galop (< **galoper**) *m.*I; **les galos** at a gallop 731.
gambe *see* **jambe**.

garçon (LL WARCIŌNE < wrafja) *m.*I servant of low rank 2437.

Garmalie probably for *Gamarie*, country of the Gamara, a Berber federation 1915 (*see note*).

Geboïn (Gebawin) *m.*I a French knight, joint-commander of Charles' second division 2432, 2970, 3022 ; he is slain by Baligant 3469.

Gefreiț *or* **Geifreiț** (Geufrid) *m.*I Jeffrey of Anjou, one of the Twelve Peers 106 ; he helps to support Charlemagne who has fainted 2883; recalls Charles to the need of burying the dead 2945 ff. ; he carries the Oriflamme in battle 3093 ; Ogier appeals to him for help 3535 ; he overthrows Amborre, standard-bearer of Baligant, at a critical moment 3546 ff. ; he is brother of Thierry, Charles' champion 3806, 3819 ; hastens with Charles and others to congratulate Thierry 3938.

geleḍe, gelee (GĔLĀTA) *f.*I hoarfrost 3319.

[Gelne] a town in Spain, not identified 662 (MS. **galne**).

Gemalfin henchman of the Emir Baligant ; he commands the pagan army in Baligant's absence 2814 ; announces to Baligant the deaths of the Emir's son and of his brother 3495.

gemme (GĔMMA) *f.*I precious stone 3616.

gèmmét (< **gemmer** GĔMMARE) *adj.* I*a* set with precious stones 1031, 1373, 1585.

genoil (GENŬCLU) *m.*I knee 2192, 2664.

gent[1] (GĔNĬTU) *adj.* I*a* pleasing, handsome, elegant, pretty 118, 594, 1159, 1274.

gent[2] (GENTE) *f.*II people, race, tribe 393, 396, 2511 ; group of followers, army of retainers 19, 564, 945 ; — **paienor** 2639.

gentement (GENĬTA MENTE) *adv.* prettily, skilfully 2099, 3121.

gentil (GENTĪLE) *adj.* II noble, noble born 150, 2177, 3811 ; courtly 1853.

Gerart (Gerhard) *m.*I Girard of Rossillon, surnamed **le Vieil**, one of the Twelve Peers 797 ; he is slain by Marsile 1896 ; Roland finds his dead body 2189 ; Charles searches for him at Roncesvaux 2409.

Gerier (Garhari) *m.*I one of the Twelve Peers, companion of Gerin 107, 794 ; he slays the Emir of Balaguer 1269 ; with Gerin he attacks Timozel 1380 ; he is slain by Grandónie 1623 ; Roland finds his dead body 2186 ; Charles calls his name at Roncesvaux 2404.

Gerin (Gerin) *m.*I a French count, one of the Twelve Peers, companion-in-arms of Gerier 107, 794 ; he slays Malprimes of Brigal (1261) ; he attacks Timozel 1379 ; he is slain by Grandónie 1618 ; Roland finds his dead body 2186 ; Charles calls his name at Roncesvaux 2404, 1585.

gernon (Celtic GREN-ŌNE) *m.*I moustache 215, 249 ; *pl.* 1823.

gesir (JACĒRE) *intr.* to lie, lie down 973, 1230, 1657; *ref.* 2375, 2513. *Pf.* 3 **jut**, 6 **jurent**; *Fut.* 1 **jerrai**, 5 **jerreiz**.

geste (GESTA) *f.*I military expedition 788, epic recital of same 4002; historical narrative 1685, 2095, 3742; celebrated family 3181; **la — Francor** the *Gesta Francorum* 1443, (*see note*) 3262.

geter (VL JETTARE < JACTARE) *tr.* to throw 281, 1341, 1809; to draw (a sword) 444; — **fors** to cast forth 1202; — **mort** (2161), 3530; — **qqn de** to rescue from 3787.

[geton] (< **geter**) *m.*I scion, offspring (3812).

giel (< **geler**) *m.*I *pl.* frosts 2533.

Gîlie (ÆGIDIU) *m.*I Saint Giles 2096.

Gironde (GERONDA ?) the estuary formed by the Garonne and the Dordogne 3688.

giu (JŎCU) *m.*I game, play; **par — for sport** 977.

glatir (GLATTĪRE) *intr.* to yelp 3527.

glorios (GLORIŌSU) *adj.* Ia glorious; *sb.* 124, 429, 2196.

gloton (GLŬTTŌNE) *m.*III greedy fellow, depraved wretch, miscreant 1212, 1230, 1337.

Godselme (Godeshelm) *m.*I one of the leaders of the Poitevins and the Arvernians 3067.

gonfanon (gundfan-ONE) *m.*I pennon, military ensign 999, 1033, 3005; one who carries the ensign 3551.

gonfanonier (gundfan-ON-ARIU) *m.*I ensign-bearer 106.

governer (GŬBERNARE) *tr.* to steer 2631.

graciër (GRATI-IZARE) *tr.* to thank 698, 2480.

graignor (GRANDIORE) *adj.* III greater, larger 710, 977, 2564; **as —s porz** at the summit of the passes 719 (*cp.* 583); **le — paredis** the upper part of Paradise 1135.

graisle (GRACĬLE) *adj.* slender 3820; *sb. m.* clarion, trumpet (of shrill sound) 700, [738], 1004, 1319.

Gramimont name of Valdabron's horse 1571.

Grandónie *m.*I a Saracen, son of Capuëil, king of Cappadocia; he slays Gerin and others, but is in turn slain by Roland 1613, 1636 ff.

grant (GRANDE) *adj.* II (*fem.* **grande** 281) large, big, 103, 182, 335; great 301; high-born 356; — **demi piet** a full half-foot 1218; *cf.* 1756; — **gent** a large army 3339.

greanter, greanter (CRĒD-ANTARE) *tr.* to concede, grant 3805.

gresil (grisil) *m.*I sleet 1425.

gret (GRATU) *m.*I **de** — willingly, purposely 2000.

grief (VL GRĔVE *for* GRAVE) *adj.* II heavy, severe, grievous 1678, 1687, 2801; serious 2531.

grifon (GRŸPH-ŌNE) *m.*I griffin 2544.

gros (GRŎSSU) *adj.* Ia big, huge 3153, 3159, 3221; *sb.* **el — in** the thickest part 2295.

Gros a pagan people, the ninth division of Baligant's army 3229 (*see note*).

guagier (< **guage**) *tr.* to offer security, assure, guarantee. *Ind. Ps.* 1 **guaz** 515.

Guaifier (Waifari) *m.*I one of the leaders in Charlemagne's rear-guard 798.

guaires (wari-s) *adv.* **ne . . . —** not much, hardly any 1923, 2108, 3822.

guaitier (waht-ARE) *tr.* to watch over 3731 (2527).

gualt (walthu) *m.* a woods 2549.

Gualtier (Walthari) *m.*I Gautier **du Hum** (*or* **de Hums** 800), a French count, vassal of Roland 800–01 ; he occupies the hills around Roncesvaux 804–13 ; grievously wounded, seeks aid from Roland 2039–55 ; slays six Saracens 2059 ; with Turpin, charges into the press 2067–70 ; he is slain 2076.

guant (want) *m.*I glove 247, 764, 2365 ; **ne preisier un —** to have a low opinion of 3189.

guarait, guarét (VL VERACTU *for* VERVACTU) *m.*I fallow field 1385, 2266.

guarant (frk. warjand) *m.*I warranter, protector 329, 1081, 1161, 1254, 1303.

guarantir (< **guarant**) *tr.* to protect 1864, 3277 ; to support, make good 3836.

guarantison (werent-ĪTĪŌNE) *f.*II protection, safety 924.

guarde (< **guarder**) *f.*I watchfulness, vigilance 192. *See also* **riedre-guarde, ansguarde, enguarde.**

guarder (ward-ARE) *tr.* to watch, guard, protect 316, 1192, 1819 ; to keep 687 ; *intr.* to look, watch, gaze 1013, 1018 ; to see to it 650, 2061 ; **se —,** protect oneself 9, 95.

guarét *see* **guarait.**

guarir (warjan) *tr.* to protect, keep safe 21, 1241, 1440, 3828 ; *intr.* to be safe, escape harm 156, 2036, 2063. *Pf.* 2 **guaresis.**

guarison (< **guarir**) *f.*II safety 3271, 3774.

guariṭ (< **guarir**) *adj.* I*a* kept safe ; *pl.* **li mielz —** those least exposed to danger (of drowning) 2473.

Guarlan lo Barbéṭ a Saracen chief, one of Marsile's messengers 65.

guarnement (warn-AMENTU) *m.*I equipment (of knights) 100, 343, 1003.

guarnir (warnjan) *tr.* to protect, furnish for protection, equip 3040, 3676.

Guascoigne (VASCŎNĬA) *f.*I Gascony, country of the Basques 172, 819, 1537.

Guascoing (VASCONIU) *adj.* I*a* of Gascony ; *sb.* 1289, 2407.

guast (< **guaster**) *adj.* I*a* uninhabited, waste 3127 ; **— de** shorn of, stripped of 1985, 3127, 3450.

guaster (wast-ARE) *tr.* to lay waste 703.

guaz *see* **guagier.**

gueḍredon, guerredon (widar-DŌNU) *m.*I reward, recompense 3409.

Guenelon (Wenilo-NE) *m.* III, *nom.* **Guenles** *or* **Guenes** Ganelon the traitor, brother-in-law of Charlemagne, stepfather of Roland 178 ; in the Emperor's Council, he advises the acceptance of Marsile's offers 217 ff. ; he is nominated by Roland to be ambassador to Marsile 277 ff. ; his implacable hatred against Roland 286 ff., 301, 306, 322, 381 ff., 396 ff., 473 ff., 544 ff., 557 ff., 575 ff., 581 ff., 596 ff., 1770–84, 3758–60, 3771–78 ; agrees to do Charles' mission 298, 308–09 ; equips himself and sets out 342 ff. ; plots with Blancandrin to betray Roland 366 ff. ; arrives at Saragossa and acquits him of his mission 406–500 ; he is won over by Marsile and arranges the details of the treason 501–660 ; returns to Charles and gives a false report of his embassy 661–99 ; Charles sees Ganelon in a dream 721 ; G. succeeds in nominating Roland to command the rearguard 743 ; makes an ironical reply to Roland 760 ; at the sound of Roland's horn, seeks to allay Charles' suspicions 1760, 1770 ; is seized at Charles' order 1816, 3734 ; appears, to stand trial, before the court at Aix 3742–79 ; Pinabel, his friend and peer, champions his cause, but is slain by Thierry d'Anjou 3780–3930 ; his thirty relatives are hanged, he is put to death by quartering 3947–74.

guerpir (werp-IRE) *tr.* to leave, give up 465, 536, 1659.

guerre (werra) *f.*I war 210, 906; **faire** — 2660.

guerreier[1] (< **guerre**) *tr.* to make war upon 579, 2681 ; *intr.* to make war, fight 1557.

guerreier[2] (< **guerre**) *m.*I warrior 2066, 2242.

gueţ (w-ADU) *m.*I ford 2994.

Gui (Wido) *m.*I Guy of St. Anthony, French knight slain by Grandónie 1624 (*see note*).

guiḍer, guiër (witan ?) *tr.* to lead, betake 912, 2926, 2972.

guige (wid-ICA) *f.*I strap (suspending the shield to the neck) 3151.

Guineman (Winiman) *m.*I French knight chosen by Charles to bear Roland's *olifant* 3014–17; with Rabel, he opens the conflict with Baligant 3348 ; he slays a king of the Wilzes, probably Dapamort 3360 ; is slain by the Emir Baligant 3464.

Guinemer (Winimar) *m.*I uncle of Ganelon, holds the traitor's stirrup 348.

guise (wisa) *f.*I way, manner 1226, 2002 ; **en — de baron** in heroic style 1889, 3054 ; **en — de prodome** 3264.

Guitsant (AS hwît + sand) a small French port, half way between Calais and Boulogne 1429.

guivre (w-IPERA) *f.*I viper 2543.

H

haḍir, haïr (ɦatʃ-ĪRE) *tr.* to hate 1244.

haḍor, haor (ɦat-ŌRE) *f.*II hatred ; **coillïr qqn en** — 3771.

haitier (ɦeit-ARE) *tr.* to suit, appeal to ; **que vos en haiteṭ** ? what is your plan ? what do you think should be done about it ? 1693.

halberc (ɦalsbĕrc) *m.*I hauberk, coat of mail 683, 711. *Cf.* **osberc** 994.

halçor (ɦ-ALTIORE) *adj.* rather high, high (1017), 3698.

halt (ɦ-ALTU) *adj.* I*a* high, great 366, 814, august, solemn 53, 3745; aloud, loud 891; high-spirited 1097; *n.* loudly 2111.

Halteclere (ɦ-ALTA CLARA ?) *f.*I name of Oliver's sword 1363, 1463, 1550, 1953.

haltement (ɦ-ALTA MENTE) *adv.* loudly 1974, 2597, 3767.

Haltïlie 209 *and*

Haltoïe 491 locality in Spain where Basan and Basile, messengers of Charles, were executed by Marsile (*see note to v.* 209).

Hamon (Ɦaimon) **de Galice** commands the Flemings and Frisians 3073.

hanste (HASTA *and* ɦanb ?) *f.*I the (wooden) handle of the spear 442, 720, 1043 ; **pleine sa** — the full length of his spear-handle 1204, 1541.

hardement (ɦarb-AMENTU) *m.*I heroic deed, bold act 1710.

hardiṭ (< **hardir** ɦardjan) *adj.* I*a* hardened, robust 1667, 2027, 2603.

hasteier (ɦastiz-IZARE) *ref.* to be in a hurry 992.

haster (< **haste**) *intr.* to hurry ; **sei** — 2277 ; *tr.* to urge, provoke 3445.

hastif (ɦastiz-ĪVU) *adj.* I*a* hurried 140 ; spirited 1661.

heingre (< ?) *adj.* I*a* spare, lean 3820.

heir (VL HĒRE) *m.*I heir 504, 2744, 3411.

helme, elme (ɦelm) *m.*I helmet (a conical iron cap, with a nose-piece) 629, 712, 996, 1031.

helt (ɦilt) *m.*I handle (of sword) (1364) ; *pl.* 621 (the handle being composed of two pieces soldered or welded together).

henir (HĬNNĪRE) *intr.* to whinny 3526.

Henri (Ɦeinrik) *m.*I (1) Henry, nephew of Richard I of Normandy 171 ; (2) Henry, brother of Jeffrey of Anjou 2883.

herbe, erbe (HERBA) *f.*I grass 671, 2492 ; *pl.* plants 2871.

herberge (ɦeribergа) *f.*I encampment 668, 2488.

herbergier (< **herberge**) *intr.* to encamp (for the night) 2482; *ref.* 709, 2799.

herbos (HERBŌSU) *adj.* I*a* grassy, verdant 1018 (*also* 3925, *in error for* **herbuṭ**).

[herbuṭ] (HERB-ŪTU) *adj.* I*a* grassy (3925).

herite (VL ERĔCITU *for* HÆRĔTĬCU ?) *m.*I heretic 1484.

Herman (Ḥariman) *m.*I Herman, a duke (of Alsatia ?), leads the fourth division of Charles' army 3042.
herseir (HĔRI SĒRU) *adv.* yesterday evening 2745.
hoese (ḥofa) *f.*I boot 641.
home (HŎMĬNE) *nom.* **hom** 223, 1117 **huem, hoem** 3265, **om** 2127, 3323, **em** 2868 *m.*III man; (in the feudal relation) 223, 801, 3593, 3893.
Hongres (HUNGĂROS) *m.*I *pl.* the Hungarians, subjects or tributaries of Charlemagne 2922 ; they form a division of Baligant's pagan army 3254.
[Honguerie] (HŬNGARĪA) *f.*I added to Charlemagne's Empire by Roland (2328).
honir (ḥaunian) *tr.* to put to shame 631, 969, 1734.
honor *see* **onor.**
hontage (**honte**-ATICU) *m.*I shame, disgrace 1091.
honte (ḥaunitha) *f.*I shame 21, 1532, 1701 ; . **faire — à** to treat shamefully 2582.
hore (HŌRA) *see* **ore.**
host *see* **ost.**
hostage *see* **ostage.**
hosteler (< **hostel**) *tr.* to lodge, give shelter to 160.
hostor (VL AUSTŬRE, CL ASTŬRE) *m.*I (Asturian) hawk 31, 129, 184.
hu (*onomat.*) **lo — e lo cri** the hue and cry (in pursuit) 2064.
hui, hoi (HŎDĬE) *adv.* to-day 2147. *see also* **ui, oi** ; **— cest jorn** this very day 2107, 2751 ; **— matin** early this morning 3629.
Hum, Gualtier del, *see* **Gualtier.**
húmele (HŬMĬLE) *adj.* II humble, modest 1163.
humilitét (HUMILITATE) *f.*II humility 73.
Hums (HŪNOS) *m.*I *pl.* the Huns ; they form a division of Baligant's pagan army 3254.

I

i (ĬBĪ) *adv.* here ; there (of persons and places) 4, 22, 980 ; 26, 42, 533, 1561. **(il) i aṭ** there is, there are 177, 1318, 1593 ; **i avraṭ** 132.
icel (ECCE-ĬLLU) *nom.* **icil,** *adj. and pron.* this, that ; *n.* **icel** ; **aḍ — que** in accord with, on the same scale as 3624.
icest (ECCE-ISTU) *nom.* **icist,** *adj. and pron.* this, that.
ici (ECCE-HĪC) *adv.* here 558, 1697, 2735.
içe *see* **çe.**
idonc (VL -DŬNC *for* TUNC) *adv.* then, at the moment 2206, 3870.
ier, hier (HĔRI) *adv.* yesterday 2701, 2772, 2791 ; *cf.* 2745.
if (AS ïw) *m.*I yew tree 406.
il, *n. nom. pron.* it (*rare in Rol. ; see also* **lo,** *n. pron.*).
1. *with* **estre,** *introduces logical subject :* **il est jugiéṭ que** . . . 884 ; *cf.* 1443, 1684, 2349, 2561, 3742, 3913.
2. *with* **covenir** 192(?).
3. *with* **aveir i** : 2399, 2401(?), 2418, 2467(?).
4. *expressed exceptionally after* **si** (SIC) 1743 (*cf.* 2983) ; *after* **issi** 61 (*cf.* 606).

iloec, iluec (-LŎCO) *adv.* there, in that place 332, 2188, 3095 ; — **endreit** right there 3607.

[**Imance**] unknown locality (3257).

Imphe locality (unknown) where Vivien is hard beset by pagans 3996 (*v. note*).

Innocenz (INNOCENTES) *m.*I *pl.* the children slaughtered by Herod 1523.

iraistre (VL ĪRASCĔRE) *ref.* to get angry ; *p. ptcp.* **irascuț** 777.

irance (ĪR-ANTIA) *f.*I distress, chagrin 1845.

ire (ĪRA) *f.*I irritation, vexation, anger 489, 971, 1662 ; **aḍ** — furiously 1920 ; **porter** — to bear ill-will 1722.

iriedement, iriéement (IRATA MENTE) *adv.* angrily 733, 762, 1834.

iriéț (ĪRĀTU) *adj.* I*a* angry, wrathful 1558, 2164, 2414.

iror (ĪR-ŌRE) *f.*II vexation, distress 1023 ; rage, fury 1098, 1224.

Islande *for* **Irlande** (ME IRELOND) *f.*I Ireland, added to Charlemagne's empire by Roland 2331.

isnel (ȝnĕl) *adj.* I*a* agile, active, swift 1312, 1535, 1572.

isnelement (< **isnel**) *adv.* nimbly 2085 ; swiftly 2109, 2453, 2536.

issi (ÆQUE ? + SĪC) *adv.* so, thus 61 ; — **neir** 1474 ; — **com** 606, 2435. *See also* **si**.

itant (i-TANTU) *adv.* so much 2473 ; so far 2734 ; **a** — therewith, thereupon, forthwith 1519.

itel *see* **tel**.

Ivon (<Ȝb-ŌNE) *nom.* **Ive**, *m.*III Ivon, one of the Twelve Peers ; he is slain by Marsile 1895,2406

Ivórie, Ivoire (Ȝb-ORIU) *m.*I one of the Twelve Peers ; slain by Marsile 1895, 2406.

J

ja (JAM) *adv.* just now, at this time 1546 ; at one time, once 1391, 1775 ; at once, immediately 1704, 2114 ; behold ! 1711, 1760, 1771, 2001 ; *with a neg.* never : **ja . . . ne** (*or* **nen**) 313 ; — **mais** 579 ; — **mar** 196.

jaconce (Syriac **jakunta** <*ὑάκινθος*) *f.*I jacinth 638.

jaiant (GĬGANTE) *m.*I giant ; the **Jaianz de Malprose** 3253, and the **Jaianz de Malpreis** 3285, possibly one and the same division, are under the personal command of the Emir Baligant ; he rallies them towards the close of the battle 3518.

jalne (GALBĪNU) *adj.* I*a* yellow 1494, 3427.

jambe, gambe (VL GAMBA) *f.*I leg (of a horse) 1491.

jamel (VL GAMBA + ĔLLU) *m.*I gambril (crooked stick on which carcasses are hung) 3739.

Jangleu surnamed **l'Oltremarin** *m.*I henchman and counsellor of the Emir Baligant 3507, 3508.

jazerenc (< Arab. AL-DJEZAIR) *adj.* I*a* made in this Algerian town, hence = Algerian 1647.

Jericho (Ἱερεμχώ) town in the Jordan valley ; its people form

a division in Baligant's pagan army 3228.

jerrai *see* **gesir.**

Jerusalem captured treacherously by Valdabron, god-father of King Marsile 1566.

jesque *see* **josque.**

jeter *see* **geter**

Jhesu *m.*I Jesus ; **al** — in Jesus' name 339.

jo (ĔGO) I 18, 75, 254.

Joceran 3113 *see* **Jozeran.**

joḍe, joe (GAVATA) *f.*I cheek 3921.

joër (JŎCARE) *intr.* to play 111, 901, 1477.

joie (GAUDIA) *f.*I joy, gladness 1627, 3682, 3944.

joindre (JŬNGĔRE) to join ; — **a** to joust with 923 ; *p. ptcp.* **joint** 223, 696, 2015.

jointure (JŬNCTŪRA) *f.*I joint 1333.

joios (GAUDI-ŌSU) *adj.* I*a* joyous 2803.

Joiose *f.* "Joyous", name of Charlemagne's sword 2501, 2508, 2989.

Jonas the prophet Jonah 3101.

jonchier (JŬNC-ARE) *tr.* to bestrew 3388.

jorn, *nom.* **jorz, jors** (DIŬRNU) *m.*I day 54, 390 ; **toz** —**z** always, all the time 1882 ; **tote** — all day long 1780.

josqu'a, jesqu'a 2538 (DE-USQUE-AD) *prep.* up to, as far as 510, 976, 3395 ; *conj.* until 1838, 2663.

joste (JŬXTA) *prep.* next to 2626.

joster (JŬXT-ARE) *intr.* to joust, fight with the lance 1191 ; to come together, crumple up(?) 2020 ; *tr.* to bring near 2181 ; to join (battle) 2761, 3874 ; *ref.* 1976, 3460.

Joüner Saracen chief, one of Marsile's embassy to Charles 67.

jovente (VL JŬVENTA *for* JŬVENTAS) *f.*I young life 1401 ; youth 2916.

Jozeran *or* **Joceran** (Gauzramnu) **de Provence** one of Charles' chief barons 3007 ; he shares, with Naimon, the duty of forming Charles' army into ten divisions 3023, 3044, 3075 ; he himself shares with Godselm the command of the Poitevins and Auvergnats 3067 ; he is appealed to by Ogier the Dane 3535.

juḍísie, juïse (JŪDĬCIU) *m.*I judgment, judgment day 3368 ; **lo Deu** — the Judgment Day 1733.

jugeḍor, jugeör (JŪDĬCATŌRE) *m.*III judge ; a functionary who (1) determines what legal procedure is to be followed, and (2) oversees the procedure 3699, 3765.

jugement (JŪDĬC-AMENTU) *m.*I legal decision of one's peers 307, 3855 ; a public statement as to what legal procedure is to be followed 3836, 3843.

jugier (JŪDĬCARE) *tr.* to judge ; to appoint by judgment (of the council) 262, 321, 656 ; to decide, settle a matter 884 ; to doom, condemn 1058, 3772, 3831. *Ind. Ps.* 1 **juz** 3831.

Juliane (JULIANA) Christian name given to Bramimonde, upon her conversion and baptism 3986.

Jupiter the pagan god ; he conducted the pagan enchanter Siglorel into hell 1392.

jurer (JŪRARE) *tr.* to attest by oath 605 ; to swear 1457, 3232. *Fut.* 5 **jurrez** 605.

Jurfaleu or **Jurfalé le Blont** son and heir of King Marsile 504 ; he offers to slay Ganelon 495 ; he is decapitated by Roland at Roncesvaux 1904 ; the bourgeois of Saragossa lament his death 2702.

jus (DEORSU) *adv.* down, downwards 1955, 2040, 2291 ; **metre** — to lay aside 2491, 3941.

Justin de Valferree Saracen killed by Oliver with one prodigious blow 1370.

justísie (JUSTĬTĬA) *f.*I justice ; **faire** (la) — **de qqn** to put him to death 498, 3904, 3988.

jut *see* **gesir.**

K

Kar *see* **car, quar.**

Kartágene (CARTHAGĬNE) *f.*I probably Carthage in Africa, one of the four regions under the rule of the Algalife 1915 (*see note*).

ki *see* **qui.**

L

la[1] *art. see* **lo.**

la[2] ([il]-LAC) *adv.* there 289,1174, 1718 ; — **o** where 108 ; — **sus** up there 2634.

lacier (LAQUE-ARE) *tr.* to lace 712, 996, 1042.

laidement (I ĭḍ-A MENTE) *adv.* unpleasantly ; disgracefully 2573.

[laidir] (I ĭḍ-ĪRE) *tr.* to insult, disparage (2581).

laier (< **lai** *imper. of* **laissier**) *tr.* to let go, let alone, omit 457 ; to leave, abandon 2141 ; *Fut.* 1 **lerrai** 785, 893 ; 3 **lerrat** 574 ; *Cond.* 1 **lerreie** 457.

laissier (LAXARE) *tr.* to leave, leave behind, abandon 229, 1114 ; to pass over, omit, neglect 279, 859, 1206.

lait (I aiḍ) *adj.* I*a* ugly 3238.

lance (LANCEA < Celtic ?) *f.*I lance 541, 713, 913 ; the sacred lance 2503.

lancier (LANCEARE) *tr.* to throw, cast 2074, 2154, 3323.

lanterne (LANTERNA) *f.*I lantern 2633, 2643.

large (< LARGA) *adj.* I*a* wide, broad 284, 654, 1217.

lariz (LATERĪCIU) *m. indec.* slope, hillside 1085, 1125, 1851.

las (LASSU) *adj.* I*a* weary 871, 2484 ; *as interj.* Alas ! 2723.

laschier (VL LASCARE *for* LAXARE) *tr.* to let loose 1290, 1381, 1617.

laver (LAVARE) *tr.* to wash, cleanse 1778, 2969.

laz (LAQUĔU) *m. indec.* lacing 3434.

Lazaron (LAZARUM) *m.*III (*nom.* **Lazdre(s)** ; **saint** — Lazarus 2385.

legerie (< **legier**) *f.*I foolishness 206, 300, 513 ; recklessness, heedlessness 1726.

legier (LĔVI-ARIU) *adj.* I*a* light, nimble 113, 1312, 2171.

lei (LĒGE) *f.*II law ; religion 38, 126, 2256 ; **a** — **de** according to

the rule, or manner, of 752, 887, 1143.

leial (LĒGĀLE) *adj.* II loyal 1735, 3764.

leier (LĬGARE) *tr.* to bind (2173), 3965. *See also* **liier.**

leisir (LĬCĒRE) *m.*I leisure 141, 459.

lent (LENTU) *adj.* I*a* slow, backward 1938.

leon, lion (LĔŌNE) *m.*I lion 30, 1111, 1888, 2549.

lerrai, lerreie *see* **laier.**

les *art. and pron. see* **lo.**

leṭ (LATU) *adj.* I*a* wide, broad 1918, 3149, 3570.

leupart *see* **liepart.**

Leus *m. pl.* possibly the Livs of Livonia ; they form a part of Baligant's army 3258.

Leutice (LEUTĪCĬA) *f.*I the land of the Wilzes 3360.

leutiz (LEUTĪCĬU) *adj.* I*a* of the Wilzes, a Slavic people occupying what is now Mecklenburg 3205.

levant (< **lever**) *adj.* II rising 3098.

lever (LĔVARE) to raise 1748, 2194 ; to raise from the baptismal font, christen (618), 1563 ; **sei** — to rise 163, 669.

lez (LATUS) *prep.* alongside of, by the side of 1315 ; *cf.* **delez.**

li *art. see* **lo.**

liepart, leupart (LĔŎPARDU) *m.*I leopard 728, 1111, 2542.

lievre (LĔPŎRE) *m.*I hare, rabbit 1780.

liéṭ (LÆTU) *adj.* I*a* joyful, gay, happy 96, 1745, 2803.

lige (LL LITICU) *adj.* I*a* bound by the tie of lord and vassal 2421.

lign, ling (LĪNĔU) *m.*I line, family descent 2379.

liier, liër *var. of* **leier** (LĬGARE) *tr.* to tie, bind 434, 3738, 3965.

lion, leon (LĔŌNE) *m.*I lion 2436.

[**lire**] (LĔGĔRE) *tr.* to read (485).

listéṭ (liṡt-ATU) *adj.* I*a* edged, bordered 3150.

liu (LŎCU) *m.*I place 2160 ; **el — (de)** 3016.

liue, liwe (LEUCA) *f.*I league (= 2222 meters) 688, 2425.

livre[1] (LĪBRA) *f.*I pound 516.

livre[2] (LĪBRU) *m.*I book 610.

livrer (LĪBĔRARE) *tr.* to hand over, give over, deliver 247, 484, 2492 ; — **bataille** 658, 813. *Fut.* 1 **liverrai** 658, 813.

liweḍe, liuee (LEUCA-ATA) *f.*I the distance of one league (2759).

lo, la, *pl.* **les** (-LŬM, -LAM ; -LOS, -LAS) *atonic dem. pron., dem. adj., def. article, and pers. pron.*
Masc. sg. nom. **li** (*may elide bef. vowel*), *obl.* **lo** (*later* **le**) ; *pl. nom.* **li** (*does not elide bef. vowel*), *obl.* **les.**
fem. sg. **la,** *pl.* **les.**
(*a*) *dem. pron. masc.* **li nostre emperedor** they of our emperor 1444 ; *fem.* **la Charlon** that (one) of Charles = Charles' 3145 ; *neuter* **lo** = it, this, what follows 619, 1483, 2091 ; it, that, the matter in question 278, 295, 321, 699, 1884 ; **l'espleitier** to make quick work of it

2165 ; **faire lo bien** to put up a good fight ; *see* **faire** ; **lo** = *Lat.* EO 1184 (*v.* note) ; (**lo**) **laissier** to yield 2126.

lo *enclitic* >·**l** : **del, si·l, qui·l** 833, **que·l** 318, 1635, **mei·l** 456, **se·l** 657, 1672. *After fem. e* : (364), 959 (1596), 1760, 1808, 2668, 3811.

(*b*) *dem. adj.* = **cest, cel** : **lo jorn** that day, **la nuit** that night 162, 3731.

(*c*) *def. article* the. *As enclitic, sg.* **del, a·l, e·l** = **en lo** ; *pl.* **des, as, es** = **en les.**

li dis en sont ocis 1308 ; *cf.* 3656.

(*d*) *pers. pron.* him, her, it ; *pl.* them.

As enclitics : **jo·l** 84, **ço·l** 3831, **ne·l** 95, 273, **qui·l** 119, **si·l** 121.

jo·s = **jo les** 2180 (**je·s** 2919), **ne·s** 1186, **si·s** 689, **que·s** 1912, **qui·s** (2063).

loḍement, loëment (LAUDAMENTU) *m.*I approval, consent 1709.

loḍer[1], loër (LAUDARE) *tr.* to praise, laud, recommend, advise 206, 420, 1589 ; **sei** — **de** (**qqch**) to congratulate oneself upon 1950.

loḍer[2], loër (LŬT-ARE) *tr.* to smear (as with mud) 2276.

Loḍereng, Loherenc (Ⱡotharing) *m.*I a Lorrainer ; the Lorrainers are in Charles' ninth division 3077 ; they are summoned to the trial of Ganelon 3700.

loḍéṭ (< **loḍer**) *adj.* I*a* renowned 3315.

Loḍewis, Loëwis (Ⱨlodwic-s) *indec.* Lewis the Pious, son of Charlemagne 3715.

Loḍrant (Ⱨlotramnus) *m.*I one of Charles' knights, commanding, with Geboïn, the Second Division (3022), 3469.

Loḍum, Loüm (Celt. LAUDŪNU) *m.* Laon, city 87 miles N. E. of Paris ; **le moustier de** — 2097 ; **chambre de** — 2910.

loër (LŎCARE) *tr.* to hire, pay wages to 34, 133.

loier (LŎCARIU) *m.*I recompense, reward 2584.

loing (LŎNGĒ) *adv.* far away 250, 1897.

loinz (LONGĒ-S) *adv.* far, far away 1100, 1784, 2429.

loitier (VL LŬCTARE) *intr.* to wrestle 2552.

Lombardie (Ⱡangobard-īA) *f.*I Lombardy, in upper Italy 2326.

lonc, long *f.* **longe** (LŎNGU) *adj.* I*a* long 925, 1493 ; far-reaching 1755 ; *prep.* along, by the side of 3732.

longement (LONGA MENTE) *adv.* over a long period 1858.

lor[1], ([il]LŌRUM) (*a*) *poss. adj. indec.* their 379, 996, 1142 ; **la lor** 50, (827). (*b*) *poss. pron. indec.* their men (= troops, forces) : **les lor** 1357, 1445, 2442.

lor[2] = **là où** ? (2465).

lorier (LAUR-ARIU) *m.*I laurel tree 2651.
los (LAUS) *m. indec.* good reputation, fame, glory 1054, 1194.
lou (LŬPU) *m.*I wolf 1751.
luisant (< **luisir**) *adj.* II shining, glittering 2272, 2512, 2646.
luiserne (LŬCERNA) *f.*I illumination 2634.
luisir (LŪCĒRE) *intr.* to shine 980, 1031, 1326.
lune (LŪNA) *f.*I moon 3659.

M

ma *and* **meie** (VL MĬAM) *fem. poss. adj.* my.
(*a*) *atonic: sg.* **ma**, *pl.* **mes.**
(*b*) *tonic: adj.* I*a* **meie** 361, 2369 ; *with* **la** 2198, 3295, *with* **ceste** 47, 301, 1719. *As pron.* **oḍ la meie** 988.
Machiner a Saracen, one of Marsile's messengers 66.
Maḍelguṭ, Maëlguṭ (Mabalgudis?) unknown place or personage 2047 (*see note*).
maḍrane, marrane (MATRANA) *f.*I god-mother 3982.
magne (MAGNU) *adj.* I*a* great 1195 (applied only to Charlemagne) ; **empereḍor** — 1, **rei** — 3611, 3622.
Maheu (MATHÆU ?) *m.*I a pagan chief, uncle of Machiner and one of the ten messengers of Marsile 66.
Mahom 416, 921, 1906, *also* [**Mahome**] 3641, *and*
Mahomet 8, 853, 868 (MUḤAMMAD) *indec.* Mohammed, the prophet of Allah, one of the three gods of the Saracens ; adoration of his image at Saragossa 853 ; his image thrown in a ditch 2590 ; his standard carried by Baligant 3267, 3552.
mahomerie (LL MACHUMARIA) *f.*I Mohammedan mosque at Saragossa 3662.
mai (MAIU) *m.*I the month of May 2628.
Maience (MOGŬNTIA) Mayence 3008.
mail (MALLĔU) *m.*I hammer, maul 3663.
maile, maille (VL MACLA) *f.*I link, ring (in a hauberk) 1329.
main[1] (MANE) *m.*I morning (2569) ; **par** — (< PER MANE) very early 667 ; soon, immediately, at once (2586).
main[2] (MANU) *f.*II hand 72, 2194, 2893.
lo Maine (CENOMANNĬCU) *m.* Le Maine, ancient province of France 2323.
maior (MAJŌRE) *adj.*III greater ; **Tere** — the " Main Land " (= the Empire of Charles) 600, 818, 952, 1532, 1667.
mais (MAGIS) *adv. and conj.* more ; further, longer : **estre** — **oḍ qqn** 2561 ; *cf.* 2219. **quant iert il** — when will he ever be ? 528, 543 ; **ne . . . mais** never, no more : **n'iert** — **tel hom** 1733 ; *cf.* 273, 2305, 3651, 3840 ; **ne . . . jamais** 579, 1984, 2311, 2901, 2915.
ne — excepting 382, 1689, 3672 ; **ne** — **que (sol)** 217, 1309, 1934, 3333.

mais que provided that 234, *conj.* but: 187, 425, 1212, 1709, 2382; — **neporquant** 1743.

maisniede, maisniee (VL MASION + ATA) *f.*I members of a household collectively, family 1407, 1794, 1820.

maison (VL MASIŌNE) *f.*II house, household 1817, 3978.

maistre (MAGĬSTRU) *m.*II master; *adj.* I*b* chief 1818, 2939.

mal (MALU) *adj.* I*a* bad; evil in character (1014), 1190, 2900, in reputation 3953; vicious 727; *n.* badly, wrong: **prendre** — to go wrong, start off badly 179; — **seit de** may ill befall. *Sb. m.*I harm, evil, the bad 60, 1898, 2140; pain 2101; **tot** — the worst possible evil 1632

Malbien d'Oltremer a pagan chief 67.

Malcud a Saracen king, father of Malquidant 1594.

maldire (MALĔDĪCĔRE) *tr.* to curse 1667.

maldit (< **maldire**) *adj.* I*a* accursed 1916.

Malduit (MALE-DŎCTU ?) *m.*I treasurer of Marsile 642.

maledire (VL MALADĪCĔRE) *tr.* to curse 2579.

malement (MALA MENTE) *adv.* badly 2106.

maler (Norse **mal** 'suit' 'indictment') *tr.* to accuse by legal process, indict 3855.

malmetre (MALĔ MĬTTĔRE) *tr.* to spoil, ruin 3483; *ref.* to damage oneself seriously, compromise oneself 3830.

Malpalin de Nerbone former owner of Tencendor, killed by Charlemagne 2995.

Malpreis, les jaianz de — one of the three divisions under the direct command of the Emir Baligant 3285.

Malprimes: (1) — **de Brigal** one of the Saracen Twelve; makes his boast 889; he is slain by Gerin 1261.

(2) **Malprimes**, son of the Emir Baligant 3176; asks and obtains the honor of the first blow 3200–13; aids his father in the arrangement of his forces 3215; he fights with fury 3369; he is slain by Duke Naimon 3421 ff.; Baligant receives news of his death 3498.

Malprose, les jaianz de — 3253; apparently the same as the **jaianz de Malpreis** 3285; *see* **Malpreis.**

Malquidant (< **mal** + **cuidant** 'presumptuous'?) a Saracen from Africa; he slays Anseïs the Fierce, but is himself slain by Turpin 1594 ff.

[**Malsaron**] a Saracen, slain by Oliver (1353).

maltalant (MALU-TALANTU) *m.*I displeasure, anger 271, 327.

maltalentif (< **maltalent**) *adj.* I*a* angry 2056.

Maltét (MAL-ĬTATE ?) "Evil"(?); name of Baligant's spear 3152.

Maltraïen a Saracen king, confidential messenger of the Emir Baligant, father of Clarifan and Clarïen 2671.

malvais (VL MALIFATIU) *adj.* Ia bad, poor, inferior of its kind 481, 763, 1406, 2710.

malvaisement (< **malvais**) *adv.* basely, scandalously 1517.

manace, menace (MĬNACIA) *f.*I threat 293, 1232.

mander (MANDARE) *tr.* to send word to, offer by messenger 28, 2319, 2614 ; — **noveles** to send word 1699.

maneviṭ (< **manevir** manwjan) *adj.* Ia ready, vigilant, alert 2125.

mangier (MANDŪCARE) *tr.* to bite, eat 1751, 2542, 2659.

mangon (< ?) *m.*I Saracen gold coin (worth two besants) 621, 1570, 3686.

manovrer (VL MAN-ŎPĔRARE) *tr.* to mount (often with hand-carvings) 2506.

mantel (MANT-ĔLLU) *m.*I cloak, large cape 462, 830, 2707.

mar, *see* **mare.**

marbre (MARMOR) *m.*II marble 12, 2268, 2966.

Marbrise *and* **Marbrose** places, or islands, passed by Baligant's fleet 2641.

marche (marĸa) *f.*I military boundary ; border zone 2209, (3038), 3128 ; *pl.* border lands 190.

marchiéṭ (MERCĀTU) *m.*I market ; **faire — de** to strike a bargain for, sell out 1150.

marchis (MARK-ĒSE) *m. indec.* prefect of a march, marquis 630, 2031, 2971.

Marcules d'oltre mer an esquire of Baligant 3156.

mare, mar (MALA HŌRA) *adv.* in an evil hour ; in vain, to no purpose. I. *with Pf.* (*a*) **estre : — fus, fustes** 350, 1604, 1983, 2027, 2195, 2221, 2304. (*b*) **venir** : 1057. (*c*) **noḍrir** : 1860. (*d*) **baillier** : 3446. (*e*) **veḍeir** : 1731. II. *with Fut.* 791, 3558, 3951. **si — 2146,** (2933) ; **tant** — 350, 1860, 2221.

[**Marganice**] *m.*I name given, in O, to the **Algalife** (*which see*) 1914, 1954 ; at 1943 called **Le Marganice.**

Margarit (Greek μαγαρίτης) *m.*Ia Count of Sibílie, one of the Saracen Twelve, renowned for his beauty 955 ; with Chernuble, he is the last of the Twelve to survive 1309–10 ; he attacks Oliver without success, and is not heard of again 1311 ff.

Marie, sainte the Virgin Mary 1473, 2303, 2938.

Marmórie (< MARMOREU like marble in color ?) name of Grandónie's horse 1615.

Marose unknown place ; furnishes a contingent to Baligant's army 3257.

Marsílie (*nom. also* **Marsilions**) *m.*I *and* III Marsile, Saracen king of Saragossa 7 ; holds a great council 10–61 ; sends an embassy to Charlemagne 62–95 ; receives Ganelon 407–500 ; induces him to betray Roland 501–660 ; prepares to attack Charles, choosing the Twelve Saracens to offset the Twelve Peers 848–993 ; comes to the rescue of his vanguard

1448–55, 1467–69 ; slays four French barons 1889–96 ; Roland severs his right hand 1897–1903 ; retires with his army 1906–13 ; flees to Saragossa 2570–94 ; hears of the arrival of Baligant in Spain 2638 ; receives two messengers from the Emir 2709–64 ; is visited by Baligant in person 2827–39 ; dies of grief 3644–47.

Marsone place (not identified) where Charles obtained his horse *Tencendor* as spoils of battle 2994.

martir (MARTŸRE) *m.*I martyr 1134.

martírie (MARTYRIUM) *m.*I martyrdom, slaughter 591, 965, 1166, 1467.

martre (marth-) *m.*II marten 281, 3940.

masse (MASSA) *f.*I mass, quantity, heap 182, 651.

mast (maſt) *pl.* **maz** *m.*I mast 2632.

mater (< **mat**) *tr.* to deaden 893.

matin (MATUTĪNU) *m.*I morning 163, 669 ; **hoi** — 2601, 3629.

matines (MATUTĪNAS) *f.*I *pl.* matins 164, 670.

[**matinet**] (< **matin**) *m.*I early morning (2845).

matir (< **mat**) *tr.* to deaden, bring low, humble 3206.

matiste, matice (-MĔTHYSTU) *f.*I amethyst 638, 1500.

me, mei (MĒ) *pers. pron.* me.

• *Enclitic after* **si** 21, 878, 2829 ; *after* **se** 1728, 3557 ; *after* **ne** 2029, 2915, 3908 ; *after* **la** (967) (*but not* 2321, *nor after* **quei** 1722, *nor after* **que** 2293, 3909, 3948).

meḍisme, meïsme (<METĬPSĬMU) *adj.* I*a* self same, the very same 204 ; **de** — similarly 592 ; **sei** — 1483, 2315, **lui** — 1036, 2382.

meḍre, mere (MATRE) *f.*I mother 1402.

meie *poss. adj. and pron., see* **ma.**

[**meier**] (MEJARE) *intr.* to urinate ; *ref.* (983).

meillor (MĔLĬŌRE) *nom.* **mieldre** *adj.* III better 231, 620 ; *with art. or poss. adj.* best, chief 51, 502, 1850, 3020 ; most important (or highest ? cf. vv. 719, 2939) 583 ; *sb.* 449.

meis (MENSE) *m. indec.* month 83, 693, 2751.

meitiéṭ (MĔDĬĔTATE) *f.*II the half 473, 1264 ; *pl.* 1205.

[**mel**] *var. of* **mal** (MALU) *m.*I harm damage (2006).

membre (MEMBRU) *m.*I limb 1408, 3971.

mençonge (< **mentir**) *f.*I lie, falsehood 1760.

mendeier *var. of* **mendiier** (MENDĪCARE) *intr.* to beg 46.

mendistéṭ, -iéṭ 542 (MENDĪCĬTATE) *f.*II beggary 527, 542.

meneḍe, menee (MĬN-ATA) *f.*I blast, flourish 3310 ; **soner la** — to sound the charge, or pursuit 1454.

mener (MĬNARE) *tr.* to lead, conduct 211, 906, 3204 ; **en** — 510, 2817.

menor (MĬNŌRE) *adj.* III smaller ; *with art.* the smallest 3219.

mentir (VL MENTĪRE) *intr.* to tell a lie 1253 ; **qui onques ne mentiṭ** who was ever faithful (epic formula ; *cf.* II *Thess.* ii, 3) 1865, 2384.

menton (MENT-ŌNE) *m.*I chin 626, 3273.

menuṭ (MĪNŪTU) *adj.* I*a* small 1329, 1956 ; (of hair) thick 3605 ; *n. adv.* at small intervals, often 738, 1426, 2364.

mer (MARE) *f.*II sea 3, 372, 1564 ; **d'oltre** — from beyond the sea 3156.

merciḍer, merciër (< **merciṭ**) *tr.* to thank 908.

merciṭ (MERCĒDE) *f.*II mercy 82, 239, 1132, 2682 ; **Deu** — thanks to God 1259, 2183 ; **vostre** — thanks to you 3209.

[merir] (MĚR-ĪRE) *tr.* to recompense, pay back; *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **merisseṭ** (519).

merveille (VL MERĬBĬLĬA *for* MĪRABĬLĬA) *f.*I marvel, wonder 1774, 2877 ; *pl.* **aveir —s** to be filled with wonder 550.

merveillier (VL MERIBILI-ARE) *ref.* to wonder, be astonished 537, 571, 3179.

merveillos (VL MERIBĬLI-ŌSU) *adj.* I*a* wonderful, amazing 370, 598, 1094 ; frightful 2474, 3963.

merveillosement (< **merveillos**) *adv.* amazingly, stupendously 3385.

mes (MĬSSU) *m. indec.* a messenger 3191.

mesleḍe, meslee (< **mesler**) *f.*I quarrel, fight 450.

mesler (VL MĬSCŬLARE) *tr.* to mix, mingle ; **sei** — to get into a quarrel 257.

mespenser (MĬß-PENSARE) *intr.* to have evil thoughts, give way to fear 1515.

message (MĬSS-ATICU) *m.*I mission, duty of a messenger 92, 2672 ; messenger 120, 2725, 2765 ; **dire son** — to report as to one's mission 3131.

messagier (< **message**) *m.*I*a* bearer of messages 2763.

messe (VL MĬSSA *for* MISSIO) *f.*I mass (the Church service) 164, 670, 1606 ; *pl.* 3860.

mestier (VL MĬSTĔRĬU *for* MINISTERIU) *m.*I trade, business ; **aveir** — to be of use 1742.

mesure (MENSŪRA) *f.*I measure 1035 ; manner, way 146, 631 ; moderation, avoidance of extremes 1725.

mesurer (< **mesure**) *tr.* to measure 1218, 3167.

metre (MĬTTĔRE) *tr.* to send 149, 1908 ; to put, place 926, 1115 ; to appoint 1821 ; to trim (with) 91, 2653 ; *ref.* 1139.

mi (MĔDIU) *m.* **par** — in the middle of, in the midst of 700, 1018, (2635) ; through the middle of 1248 ; *adv.* in the middle 3386 ; **en** — 1385, 1638.

Michiel (MICALE < MICHAELEM) *m. indec.* St. Michael 37, 53 ; **saint — (de la Mer) de l Peril,** St. Michael as patron of the monastery of Mont St.-Michel 152, 1428, 2394.

midi (MĔDĬU DĪE) *m.*I noon 1431.

mie (MĪCA) *f.*I crumb; **ne(n) . . . mie** not a bit, by no means 140, 296, 724; **n'aveir — de** to have no help from 1172, 2697, 2702, 2719, 3886.

mielz (MÉLIUS) *n. adv.* better 58, 1743; (*with* **valeir**) more 516, 639; (*with art.*) most 1872, 2473; **voleir** — to prefer 1091, 2738; *sb.* **les** — the best 1822; **dous cenz anz aţ e** — (= **plus**) 539.

mien *poss. adj. and pron., see* **mon.**

mil (MILLE) a thousand 31, 84, 1307.

Mílcenes, Milçnes *m.*I *pl.* the Milcěni, a pagan tribe from Upper Lusatia (Meissen) 3221.

mílie (MĪLLĬA) thousands 13, 410, 682, 1041.

millier (MĪLLIARIU) *m.*I *pl.* thousands 109, 1685; *pl.* **milliere** (MILLIARIA) 1417.

Milon (Milon) *nom.* **Miles** *m.*III Milon, count in Charles' army, cousin of Thibaut de Reims 173, 2433, 2971.

miracle (MĪRĀCŬLU) *m.* or *f.*? I miracle; **ferir a** — to strike a stupendous blow 1499.

mirre (MYRRHA) *f.*I myrrh (gum resin) 2958.

moḍler, moller (MŎDŬL-ARE) *tr.* to shape 3159, 3900.

moillier (VL MŬLĬĔRE) *f.*II legitimate wife 42, 361, 1960.

molt (MŬLTU) *adj.* I*a* many 3090; *n.* very 1050; much 126; long and well 2584.

mon *and* **mien** (MĔUM) *masc. poss. adj.* my.

(*a*) *atonic: sg. nom.* **mis** (also **mes** in O), *obl.* **mon**; *pl nom.* **mi**, *obl.* **mes.**

(*b*) *tonic:* **mien** *adj.* I*a nom.* **est miens** 2183, *obl.* **mien esciënt** 524; *with* **un** 149, *with* **lo** 1709, 1936, 3591, *with* **cest** 249, 743, 2718. *As pron.* **lo mien** 43, 339.

Moneigre a place in Spain, probably in the region of Los Monegros 975 (*see note*).

mônie, moine (VL MONĬCU) *m.*I monk 1881, 2956.

Monjoie! (*probably Ital. montgioia* < MONTE GAUDIA) *f.*I eminence on the pilgrim-route to Rome, near the city, adopted by the French as their war-cry (*see note*) 1181, 1974, 2151, 2510, 3092, 3095, 3565.

mont (MONTE) *m.*I mountain 856, 1851, 2112; **a** — above, high up 1995.

montaigne (MONT-ANEA) *f.*I mountain 6, 1084, 2040.

monter (VL MONTARE) *tr.* to ascend, mount 92, 1017; *intr.* — **a plus** to prevail 228, continue 242.

Mor (MAURU) *m.*I a Moor, or Arab, inhabitant of Mauretania 3227.

mordre (MORDĔRE) *tr.* to bite, gnaw 727, 2591.

mordrie (maurtȟr-IA) *f.*I murder 1475.

more (murr-A ?) *f.*I head (of a spear) 1156, 1285, 1539.

Moriane[1] *f.*I **un Almaçor de** — an Emir of Moriana, one of the Saracen Twelve 909; he is slain by Duke Sanson 1275 ff.

Moriane[2] = **Maurienne** ; **les vals de** — the two valleys of Maurienne and Briançon, opposite the Italian valley of Duse, with Mt. Cenis between 2318.

morir (VL MŎRĪRE) *intr.* to die 536, 904. *Ind. Ps.* 1 **moer**, 3 **moert** ; *Sbj. Ps.* 1 **moerge**, 4 **morjons, moerjom, moerjons.** 6 **moergent.** *P. ptcp. is tr.* 555, 1683, 3513. **por** — *see* **por.**

mort[1] (< **morir**) *m.*I a dead man 1852, 2435.

mort[2] (MORTE) *f.*II death 227, 1058 ; **de** — in a deadly manner, implacably 902 ; *pl.* 1926 ; **ferir a** — to wound mortally 1952.

mortel (MŎRTĀLE) *adj.* II mortal, deadly 461, 658 ; (= human) 1993 ; — **rage** terrible fit of madness 747, 2279.

mostier (VL MONĬSTĔRĬU) *m.*I main church (attached to an abbey) 1750, 1881, 2097.

mostrer (MONSTRARE) *tr.* to show, exhibit 2568, 3314 ; — **une raison** to furnish the "keynote" speech 3325.

mot (VL MŎTTU *and* MŬTTU) *m.*I word 990, 1027 ; short speech 1164, 1524 ; **ne saveir** — **de** to know nothing about 1173 ; **al altre** — immediately afterwards 2597.

moveir (MŎVĒRE) *intr.* to move, go 1335 ; *tr.* — **contraire** to stir up an opposition, start a feud 290.

muḍable (MŪTABĬLE) *adj.* I*a* in moult 184.

muḍer, muër (MŪTARE) *tr.* to change 441 ; *intr.* to vary, change 2502 ; **ne poet** — **que . . . ne** he cannot keep, or refrain, from 773, 1642, 2873.

muḍier, muier (MŪTARIU) *adj.* I*a* which have moulted 31.

mul (MŪLU) *m.*I mule 32,757, 2811.

mule (MŪLA) *f.*I mule (female) 89, 757.

mulet (MŪL-ĬTTU) *m.*I mule 158, 861, 3154.

mur *m.*I wall 5, 97, 1430.

Murglais name of Ganelon's sword 346, 607 ; addressed by Ganelon 445–49.

múserat (Arab MIZRAK) *m.*I a throwing spear 2075, 2156.

N

nafrer, naffrer (< **nafre** < narwa) *tr.* to lay open the flesh, wound. 1656, 1965, 2504.

nagier (VL NAVIARE ?) *intr.* to row (with oars) 2631.

Naimon (Ŋam-ONE) *nom.* **Naimes** *m.*III Naimon, a duke, private counsellor of Charlemagne 230 ; is of Ganelon's opinion 232–42 ; offers to go to Saragossa 246 ; advises Charles not to oppose the selection of Roland but instead to give him a strong force 774–82 ; rides by Charles' side 831–32 ; hears Roland's horn 1767 ; urges Charles to turn about 1790–95 ; is distressed at the sight of the battle-field 2417 ; is the first to recover, and urges Charles to vengeance 2423 ;

helps to raise Charles from the ground 2882; remarks on Charles' distress 2944; Charles calls him to his side 3008; desires vengeance for Roland's death 3013; aids in organizing Charles' forces against Baligant 3036, 3044, 3061, 3068, 3075; holds Charles' stirrup 3113; slays Malprimes, the Emir's son 3423 ff.; is smitten and stunned by King Canabeus but rescued by Charles 3429 ff., 3544; comes to Charles' side as Baligant is killed 3621; congratulates Thierry 3937.

naistre (VL NASCĔRE) *intr.* to be born 2146, 2371; *p. ptcp.* **neț.**

nasel (NASALE) *m.*I nose-piece (of helmet) 1645, 1996, 3927.

navílie (NAVĬGĬU) *m.*I fleet 2627, (2642).

navírie = **navílie** 2642.

ne[1] (< **nen** < NŌN) *adv.* not. *Alone a sufficient negation in Rol.* 55, 83, 229, 1365, 1402; — **dire** 1113, *cf.* 2337; — **vos** 567; — **por quant** nevertheless 1743, 2838; — **mais** (que) except 382, 1309, 1934, 3672.

ne *accompanied by* **pas** 250, 681, 980, 1528; *by* **plus** 1520, 2366; *by* **niënt** 397, 787, 1436; *by* **mie** 494, 518, 2034; *by* **mais** 273, 595; *by* **ja** 316, 447, 2088; *by* **ja mais** 376, 653, 1557; *by* **onc, onques** 1486, 2046; *by* **onques mais** 1461; *by* **guaires** 2108; *by* **nul** 330, 1040, 2091; *by* **que** (987), 1352.

ne *expletive in subordinate clauses:*

1. *after negative principal clause* 95, 459, 773, 825, 859, 893.
2. *after comparatives* **mielz, plus** 516, 890, 1475 1535, 2265.
3. *after* **por poi(que)** 304, 2789, **a bien petit** 305.
4. *after* **ainz** 301.

ne *is not enclitic after vocalic final.*

ne[2] (NEC) *conj.* neither, nor; or (*modern* **ni**).

1. *connects two neg. verbs* 2313, 2340.
2. *connects two nouns, pronouns, etc.*, 60, 216, 221, 260, 1992.

nef (NAVE) *f.*II vessel 2625, 2806, 3688.

neielét (NĬGĬLLATU) *ptcp. adj.* nielloed 684.

neier (NĔCARE) *tr.* to drown 690, 2474, 2477; *absol.* 2798.

neif (NĬVE) *f.*II snow 3319.

neir (NĬGRU) *adj.* Ia black 982, 1474, 1917.

nen (NŌN) *atonic form of* **non**; *found in Rol. before vowels; adv.* not 7, 18, 19, 101, 313, 1697, 2877. *See also* **non, ne.**

neporquant (NE PRO QUANTU) *adv.* nevertheless 1743, 2838.

Nerbone (NARBŌNA as in Suetonius, CL NARBO) *f.*I (1) Narbonne(?) 2995; (2) Arbonne, one league from Biarritz 3683.

nerf (NERVU) *m.*I ligament 3970.

nes (NASU) *m. indec.* nose 1646, 1918.

nesun, nisun (NE-ĬPSU-ŪNU) *adj.* I*a* not a single; *sb.* not one (690), 806.

Nevelon (Nibelunc) *m.*I a count, lieutenant of Eudon 3057.

nevoț (NĔPŌTE) *nom.* **niés** *m.*III nephew (171), 784, 838.

niënt (NĒC-ENTE?) *adv.* nothing, not; *with* **ne** not in the least 306, 787, 1415, 2069.

Nigres (NĬGROS?) *m.*II the Negroes; they form a division in Baligant's army 3229.

Niniven (*f.*?) Nineveh, the capital of Assyria 3103.

nisun *see* **nesun.**

nobílie (NŌBĬLĬU) *adj.* I*a* of noble birth, distinguished, illustrious (1123), 2237, 3442.

noble (NŌBĬLE) *adj.* I*a* noble 352, 421, 2066.

noḍrir, norrir (NŬTRĪRE) *tr.* to feed; support, maintain (as a member of the household) 1860, 2380, 3374.

noef, nuef (NŎVU) *adj.* I*a* new; *sb. pl. f.* [**noeves**] news (1257).

noefme (VL NŎVĬMU) *adj.* I*a* ninth 3076; *sb.* 3229, 3245.

noise (NAUSEA) *f.*I loud outcry, clamor, din 1005, 2151, 3842.

nom, non (NŌMEN) *m.*I name 1235, 1901; **par — de** at the risk of 43, 149; **aveir —** 1363; *pl.* 3694.

nombrer (NŬMĔRARE) *tr.* to enumerate, specify 3262.

non (NŌN) *adv.* not 221, (255), 3681; **voeilleț o —** whether he would or no; **se . . . —** 221, 3681; **— ferez** (255). *See also* **nen, ne.**

nonain (NŬNN-ANE) *f.*III nun 3730.

noncier (NŬNTIARE) *tr.* to announce, declare, report 204, 2674, 2977, (3278).

Noples Spanish city conquered by Roland, but not certainly identified 198, 1775.

Norman (Nordhmann) *adj.* I*a* Norman; *sb.* 3045, 3702, 3794, 3961.

Normendie (< **Normant**) *f.*I Normandy 2324.

nosche (nuʃʃa) *f.*I breast-pin, brooch, necklace 637.

nostre (NOSTRU, NOSTRA)

(*a*) *poss. adj.* I*b* our
masc. sg. 1 1349, 1652; *masc. pl. nom.* **nostre** 1255, 1441, *obl.* **noz** 57, 3085; *with article* 2600. *fem. sg.* 189, 1274; *pl.* **noz** 42, 949.

(*b*) *poss. pron.* our men, ours.
masc. pl. nom. **li nostre** 1628; *obl.* **les noz** 1191, 2286; *as pred. nom.* 1211, 1259.

novel (NOVĔLLU) *adj.* I*a* new; *sb. f. pl.* **noveles** news 55, 336, 665; speeches in reply (in court) 412, pleadings 3747.

noveler (< **novel**) *intr.* to revive, grow stronger 2118.

Nubles (NŪBAS) *m. pl.* a heathen people of southern Egypt, Nubians 3224 (*see note*).

nuit, noit (NŎCTE) *f.*II night 517, 717, 2495; **tote —** 2528.

nul (NŪLLU) *adj.* I*a* no, none, not any 231, 381; *sb.* no one, nobody 251, 1258.

nuț (NŪDU) *f.* **nuḍe, nue** *adj.* I*a* naked, bare 1324, 3581; **— a**

— without the protection of shields 3585.

O

o[1] (ŭbi) *adv.* where 2402, 2667, 3709 ; seeing that, the case being 241 ; in case that 3790 ; **se je truis o** if I find a suitable place, or occasion 2676 ; *cf.* **oi.**

o[2] (aut) *adv.* or, either . . . or 41, 1880, 2401.

o[3] *see* **oḍ.**

oan (hŏc anno) *adv.* this year ; *with a neg.* never 250.

obliḍer, obliër (VL oblītare) *tr.* to forget 1179, 1973 ; *ref.* be forgetful, negligent 1258.

obliṭ (< **obliḍer**) *m.*I state of being forgotten ; **metre en** — 2382.

Occian-t (obsicianu ?) region furnishing an important contingent to Baligant's army 3246, 3474, 3517, 3526.

ociḍre, ocire (occīdĕre) *tr.* to kill 102, 391, 963. *P. ptcp.* **ocis.**

ocision (occīsione) *f.*II killing, execution 3946.

oḍ, oṭ, o (apud) *prep.* with, by means of 98, 237, 1778 ; **o tot** (= *avec*) 1357.

oḍiḍe, oïe (< **oḍir**) *f.*I the distance a horn can be heard, *i.e.* its carrying power 1765 ; the sense of hearing 2012.

oḍir, oïr (audīre) *tr.* to hear 15, 1767, 1795. *Ind. Ps.* 1 **oi,** 3 **ot,** 4 **oḍom,** 5 **oḍez,** 6 **oḍent.** *Pf.* 3 **oḍiṭ.** *Fut.* 3 **oḍraṭ.** *Sbi. Impf.* 3 **oḍist.** *P. ptcp.* **oḍiṭ.**

Oeḍon (Eudon) *m.*III Eudon, lord of the Bretons 3056.

oeil, ueil (ŏcŭlu) *m.*I eye 682, 1131, 1328.

oés (ŏpus) *m. indec.* **aḍ** — for the use (of) 373, 1859, 3678.

offrende (offerenda) *f.*I offering (in church service) 3861.

Ogier (Autgari) **le Daneis** Count Olger the Dane, leader of the Bavarians 170 ; is nominated to command the vanguard by Ganelon 749 ; commands Charles' third division 3033 ; is alarmed at the situation of the French 3531 ff. (3546) ; arranges the preliminaries of the wager by battle 3856 ; congratulates Thierry 3937.

oi[1] (ŭbi) *adv.* where ; **trover** — to find an occasion 3004, 3025 ; *cf.* **o**[1].

oi[2] (hŏdie) *see* **ui, hui.**

oiḍme, oitme 3229 (VL octĭmu) *adj.* Ia eighth 3068 ; *sb.* 3245.

oïl (hŏc + **il,** *n. pron.*) *adv.* yes, it (is) 644 ; yes 3180.

oisel (avĭcĕllu) *m.*I bird 1616.

oissor (ŭxōre) *f.*II wife 821.

olifant, oliphant (elephantu) *m.*I ivory 609, 2653 ; ivory horn 1059, 1171, 1702, 3686.

olive (ŏlīva) *f.*I olive tree 72, 2571, 2705.

Olivier (Norse Óliefr?) *m.*I one of the Twelve Peers, companion in arms of Roland, brother of Alda ; he witnesses Blancandrin's arrival 104 ; assists in Charles' Council 176 ; offers himself for the dangerous mission 258 ; stays behind with Roland 793 ; is the first

to perceive the gravity of the situation 1003–1046; thrice urges Roland to be prudent 1049–92; his portrait 1093–97; predicts the defeat of the French 1105; places the whole responsibility upon Roland 1170–74; he slays Falsaron 1211 ff., Malsaron, and two others 1351 ff., Justin 1351 ff., Climborin, and nine others 1502 ff.; he is wounded, but not seriously, by Margariz of Seville 1311–17; is mortally wounded by the Algalife, whom he slays 1943–64; dies in Roland's presence 1965–2023; strikes Roland by mistake 1989–2009; Roland "regrets" Oliver 2024–30; Roland brings Oliver's dead body to Turpin 2200–05; Roland's eulogy of Oliver 2207–14; Charles carries his body back to France 2963; and buries it at Blaye 3960.

oltrage (ŭLTRA-ATICU) *m.*I excessive *or* extravagant thing 1106.

oltre (ŭLTRA) *prep.* beyond 1318, 1520; **metre** — to put through 1540; — **culverz**, consummate rascal 1207.

oltremarin (ŭLTRA MARĪNU) *adj.* I*a* from beyond the sea 3507.

Oluferne, Amborrés d'— ensign-bearer of Baligant 3297; overthrown by Jeffrey 3548.

om, *see* **home.**

ombre (ŭMBRA) *f.*I shade, shadow 11, 383, 2571.

Omer (HOMĒRU) *m.*I the poet Homer 2616.

omnipotente (Latinism) 3599.

onc *see* **onques.**

onches *see* **onques.**

oncle (AVŭNCŭLU) *m.*I uncle 66, 348, 1914.

oncor, oncore (*variant of* **encor**; **onc** < ŭNQUAM) *adv.* yet, still, even yet 156; one of these days 382; also 1623.

onor (HONŌRE) *f.*II honor 39, 533, 1223; **l'**— **del champ** victory 922; feudal rank or office 315; land-estate conferred by an overlord 820 2833, 3181, 3733; **par** — honorably 2774.

onques (ŭNQUA(M) + S), **onc** *adv.* ever; *with neg.* never 662, 1040, 1168; **ne . . . onc mais** 1040.

or[1] (AURUM) *m.*I gold 888, 1056; **aḍ** — with gold trimmings 1276, 1354, 2491.

or[2] (VL ŌRU) *m.*I border, fringe, trimming (of sable tails ?) 516.

or[3], **ore** (HAC HŌRA) *adv.* now, at this moment, at once 1242, 1781, 2123; *with imper.* 27, 424; **des** — from now on 3704, 3946.

ordre (ŌRDĬNE) *f.*? *pl.* holy orders, ordination 3639.

ore (HŌRA) *f.*I hour 2371; fateful hour 3212; **d'ores en (aḍ) altres** from time to time (2014), (2843), (3371).

oreille (AURĬCŭLA) *f.*I ear 732, 1495, 2260; *cf.* **orille.**

orer (ORARE) *intr.* to pray 3110.

orệt[1] (AURATU) *adj.* I*a* gilded 1283, 1811, 2506.

orét[2] (AURA-ATU) *m.*I high wind, wind storm 689, 1424, 2534.
orgoeill (urgoli) *m.*I haughtiness, pride 228, 934, 1592.
orgoillos, orgueillos (< **orgueil**) *adj.* Ia haughty, arrogant 474, 2135; (of horses) spirited 3966; *sb.* 2211.
orgoillosement (< **orgoillos**) *adv.* proudly 3199.
oriant (558) *var. of* **oriënt.**
órie (AUREU) *adj.* Ia of gold, golden 466, 1225, 2345.
órieflambe (AUREA FLAMMŬLA) *f.*I the oriflamme, Charlemagne's banner 3093.
oriënt, oriant (ŏRĬENTE) *m.*I the Orient 401 (558).
oriënte 3594 *var. of* **oriënt.**
orille = **oreille** (1918).
Ormaleis (*var.* **Ormaleus** 3243) a pagan people, a division in Baligant's army 3284.
ormier (AURE-MARE) *m.*I seashell, mother-of-pearl (used in inlaying) 115, 1314, 1549, 2538.
ors (ŭRSU) *m. indec.* bear 30, 128, 1827.
os[1] (VL OSSU) *indec.* bone 1200, 2289, 3607.
os[2] (AUSU) *adj.* Ia bold, daring 2292.
osberc (halsberc) *m.*I hauberk, coat of mail 994, 1032; *cf.* **halberc** 683, 711.
oser (AUSARE) *intr.* to dare 1782, 2073.
ost (HOSTE) *pl.* **oz** 1086, *f.*II army 18, 49, 211, 598; **estre en l'—** to go to war 3752, 3769.
ostage (OBSĬD-ATĬCU ?) *m.*I hostage 40, 572, 3852.
osteier (HOST-ĬZARE) *intr.* to make war, campaign 35, (528), 543.
ostel (HOSPĬTALE) *m.*I lodgings, dwelling 342.
o *prep.* 3286, *see* **od.**
Oton, *nom.* **Otes** (Otto-s) *m.*III a French marquis in Charles' army 2432, 2971, 3058.
otreier, otriër (VL AUTŌRĬZĀRE) *tr.* to grant, concede, approve 194, 433, 1008, 1672, 1855, 3202, 3395, 3760, 3805, 3962.
ovrir (VL ŏPĔRĪRE) *tr.* to open 2258, 2285, 2964. *Past ptcp.* **overt.**

P

padrastre, parrastre (PATRE-ASTRU) *m.*II step-father 277, 753, 1027.
paien (PAGĀNU) *adj.* Ia pagan, heathen 692, 974; *sb.* 484, 940, 1543.
paienisme (PAGANISMU) *m.*I heathendom, Mohammedanism; *as adj.* paynim 1921 (3367).
paienor (PAGANŌRU) *only in* **gent** — heathen people, pagan race 1019, 2427, 2639.
pais (PAX) *f. indec.* peace 73, 391, 423.
païs (VL PAGĒSE) *m. indec.* country 17, 134, 1859, 3207.
palais (PALATIU) *m. indec.* palace, official (royal) residence 151, 2563, 2693.
pale (PALLĬDU) *adj.* Ia pale 1979.
palefreit (PARAVERĒDU) *m.*I light riding-horse 479, 756, 1000.

Palerne (PĂNŌRMŬ) *m.*I Palermo in Sicily 2923.

pálie (PALLIU) *m.*I brocaded silk ; piece of this stuff 110, 846, 2965.

palme (PALMA) *f.*I palm (of the hand) ; a hand's breadth 3606.

palmeier (PALM-ĬZARE) *tr.* to clasp firmly (or repeatedly) in the hand ; to handle 1155.

pan (PANNU) *m.*I strip, or section ; (of territory) 869, 3207 ; the streamers of the gonfanon 1228 ; the two sections of the skirt of the *broigne*, or *osberc* (slashed to facilitate walking and riding) 1300, 3141.

par (PER) *prep.* through, by, by means of ; **aler — le champ** 1605, **guarder — mi un val, tenir — l'espaḍle** 647, **mander — son ângele** ; expresses the manner, — **iror, onor, bien** (fittingly), **ahan, vasselage, veir** ; time or place, — **main** (MANE), **matin, som** ; **estre — els**, to be by themselves 3065 ; **— nom d'ociḍre** in the name of slaughter, at the risk of certain death 43 ; *intensifies an adj. or verb*, **molt — est** 142, **tant — est** 285, *with* **aveir** 3331.

paraler (< **par** + **aler**) *intr.* to reach 2638.

parçonier (PAR[TI]TION-ARIU) *m.*I one who shares, partner 474.

pardoner (< **par** + **doner**) *tr.* to pardon, forgive 2005, 2007.

pareḍis, pareïs (PARADĪSU) *m. indec.* paradise 1135, 1855.

pareiṭ (VL PARĒTE) *f.*II partition-wall 3644.

parent (PARENTE) *m.*I member of the same family, relative 1063, 1421, 2562 ; *pl.* family connections 1706, 2905, 3766.

parentêṭ (PARENT-ATU) *m.*I parentage, family 356, 3907.

parfondement (< **parfont**) *adv.* deeply 1588, 1649 ; profoundly, elaborately 974.

parfont (PROFŬNDU *with change of prefix*) *adj.* Ia deep 1831, 2466, 3126.

pargeter (VL PER-JETTARE) *tr.* to throw out, cast abroad 2634.

parjurer (PERJŪRĀRE) *tr.* to deny with a false oath ; *ref.* to perjure oneself 3830.

parjurêṭ (PERJŪRĀTU) *m.*I perjurer, false swearer 674.

parlement (**parl**-AMENTU) *m.*I conversation, interview 2836.

parler (VL PARAULARE) *intr.* to speak, talk 603, 1170, 1206.

parmi (PER MĔDIU) *prep.* through the midst of 700, 739 ; *cf.* **mi**.

parole (VL PARAULA) *f.*I word 1772; speech, talk 55, 140, 1097.

part (PARTE) *f.*II part, side 3433 ; **de totes —z** on all sides 1378 ; **de** — in the name of 361, 2674, 2847 ; **estre del altre** — to be on the other side 885 ; **d'altre** — on the other hand 916 ; **metre aḍ une** — to set aside, select 1115 ; **quel — que** in whatever direction 2034 ; **de male** — of bad character 2135.

partir (< **part**) *tr.* to divide, penetrate 3529.

parvenir (PERVĔNĪRE) *intr.* to come as far as, arrive (at) 2398, 2874.

pas (PASSU) *m. indec.* step; **tenir lo —** to keep at a walk 1165, 2857; **son petit —** with short steps 2227; *as neg. part.* 250, 681, 980, 1528.

pasmeison (< **pasmer**) *f.*II swoon, faint; *pl.* 2036, 2233, 2592.

pasmer (VL PASMARE *for* SPASMARE) *intr.* to faint, swoon 1348, 2220; *ref.* 1988, 2880.

passage (PASS-ATĬCU) *m.*I passage, defile 657, 741.

Passecerf (< **passer** *and* **cerf** CERVU) *m.*I name of Gerier's horse 1380.

passer (VL PASSARE < PASSUS) (1) *intr.* to go by, go past, pass 54, 693, 1071. (2) *tr.* to pass, spend — **le jorn** 524, 816; to traverse 372, 3125, 3683; to cause to pass 1272.

paterne (PATERNA) *f.*I image of God the Father; God 2384, 3100.

patriarche (PATRIARCHA) *m.* the Patriarch, or Bishop, of Jerusalem 1568.

peceier (Celtic PĔCIA + IZARE) *tr.* to break in pieces 97, 2210; *intr.* 3584.

pechiét (PECCATU) *m.*I calamity 15, 3646; sin 240, 1140, 1882.

pedre, pere (PATRE) *m.*I father 2337.

pedron, perron (PĔTR-ŌNE) *m.*I block of stone, horse-block 12, 2268, 2312; perron 2556, 2704, 3697.

peil (PĬLU) *m.*I hair (on the face) 503, 1012, 3954.

peindre (PĬNGĔRE) *tr.* to color, paint 1810, 2594, 3055.

peine (PŒNA) *f.*I labor, hardship 267, 864, 1761; **metre en —** to subject to punishment (3832).

[peinte] (VL PĬNGĬTA) *f.*I push, thrust; effort in blowing a horn (1790).

peior (PEIŌRE) *adj.* III; *sb.* **les —s** the worst, the most worthless 1822.

Peitevin (PĬCTAV-ĪNU) *adj.* I*a* of Poitou; *sb.* 3062, 3702, 3794, 3961.

Peitou (PĬCTAVU) *indec.* Poitou 2323.

peiz (PĬCE) *f. indec.* pitch 1474.

pel (PĔLLE) *f.*II skin, pelt, fur 281, 515, 3940.

peler[1] (PĬLARE) *tr.* to pull out hairs 1823.

peler[2] (< **pel** PĔLLE) *tr.* to peel 3323.

pelerin (PEREGRĪNU) *m.*I pilgrim 3687.

pendre (PENDĔRE) *tr.* to hang 1409, 2586, 2991, 3953.

pene (< ?) *f.*I upper edge, or point, of the shield 1298, 3425.

penitence (PŒNITENTIA) *f.*I act of penitence 1138.

penos (PŒN-ŌSU) *adj.* I*a* painful, laborious 4000.

penser (LL PENSARE) *intr.* to reflect 138, 2788; **sei — qqch** to bethink oneself of something 355.

per (PARE) *m.*I mate, equal, companion 64, 1781, 1975; *f.*II lawful wife 3710; **li doze —** 262, 325, 547, 826, 2410, 2776,

2793 ; (*see note to* v. 795) the Twelve Peers.

percier (VL PERTŪSIARE) *tr.* to pierce 2050, 2077.

perdicion (PERDĬTĬŌNE) *f.*II destruction, annihilation 3969.

perdre (PĔRDĔRĔ) *tr.* to lose 305, 755, 1012, 1054 ; **sei** — to be lost, be destroyed 2305. *Pf.* 3 **perdiẹt**.

peril (PERĪCŬLU) *m.*I danger, peril 2387. *See also* **Michiel**.

pers (PERSU) *adj.* I*a* bluish, livid 1979.

Pers (PERSU) *m. indec.* Persians (at this time, Turks) 3240.

persis (< PERSĪA + ĭſſ-s) *adj.* I*a* Persian (= Turkish) 3204, 3354.

perte (PERDĬTA) *f.*I loss 335, 568, 1691.

pesance (VL PĒS-ANTIA) *f.*I depression of spirits, dejection 832, 2335, 3711.

pesant (< **peser**) *adj.* II heavy, grievous 1412, 1687, 2470.

peser (PENSARE) *intr.* to weigh ; *imps.* to matter, be a matter of concern 1279, 2514.

pesme (PĔSSĬMU) *adj.* I*a* very bad, to be dreaded, fierce 56, 256, 392 ; **lo jorn** — on that evil day 813.

petit (< ?) *adj.* I*a* little, small 1087, 3357 ; *n.* **a bien** — very nearly 305 ; **i aveir** — to be few there 1239, *cf.* **aveir poi**.

piece (Celtic PĔCIA ?) *f.*I piece, portion 3437.

pieḍre, pierre (PĔTRA) *f.*I stone 982, 2300 ; precious stone 1452.

Pieḍre, Pierre (PĔTRU) *m.*I Saint Peter 921, 2346 ; Peter's pence imposed upon England 373; the Oriflamme of St. Peter 3094.

piéṭ (PĔDE) *m.*I foot 1356, 1969 ; **a** — on foot 120, 890 ; **en piez** to one's feet 195, 2804 ; **sor piez** 1139, 2234 ; **porter les** — 260 ; (*as a linear measure*) 1218, 2400.

piment (PĪGMENTU) *m.*I spiced wine 2969.

pin (PĪNU) *m.*I pine tree 114, 2357, 2375.

Pinabel of Sorence *m.*I friend and peer of Ganelon 362 ; he comes to Ganelon's trial, with twenty-nine other relatives 3783 ; he promises Ganelon immunity 3788 ; he accepts Jeffrey's challenge 3838 ; his duel with Jeffrey of Anjou 3858–3930.

Pinceneis (PINCIN-ĭſſ-s) *adj.* I*a sb.* the Pincinnati, or Petschenegs, a Tartar horde 3241.

Pine, la Tere de — a district conquered by Roland (*see note*) 199.

pitiét, pitéṭ (PIETATE) *f.*II feeling of tenderness, emotion 822, 1749, 2206 ; **aveir** — **de** to be moved at the sight of 3871.

piz (PĔCTUS) *m. indec.* breast 48, 1107, 1200.

place (VL PLATTIA) *f.*I open space, square ; **en la** — on the ground, on the spot 764, 1108, (1273) ; **par cele** — 1342.

plaidier (PLACĬTARE) *intr.* to give audience, hold court 2667 ; to go into court, plead 3933.

plaie (PLAGA) *f.*I wound 2173.
plaigne (PLAN-EA) *f.*I plain 1085, 3305.
plain (PLANU) *adj.* Ia smooth, flat 3294.
plaindre (PLANGĔRE) *intr.* to lament, mourn (for) 834, 2696 ; *ref.* to complain (of) 915 ; *tr.* to pity, grieve for (1404), 1695, 2315, 2343. *Pf.* 3 **plainst.**
plaisir (PLACĒRE) *tr.* to please 358, 1062, 3108 ; *sb.* **a ton —** 3894. *Ind. Ps.* 3 **plaist**; *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **placet.**
plait (PLACĬTU) *m.*I decision of a court of law, verdict ; convention, arrangement 88, 226 ; trial 1409, 3704, 3799 ; **tenir —** to come forward as plaintiff in a suit 3826.
plat (VL PLATTU) *adj.* Ia flat ; (of a horse's legs) slender 1491.
plege (plew-IU ?) *m.*I hostage 3846.
pleier (PLĬCARE) *tr.* to fold 2677.
plein (PLĒNU) *adj.* Ia full 2906, 3686 ; complete, entire 2, 2400 ; **pleine sa hanste** with the full length of his shaft 1204, 1229, 1250, 1577.
plenier (PLĒN-ARIU) *adj.* Ia full, complete ; powerful 2463, 3401.
plevir (plewi-IRE ?) *tr.* to pledge, promise 507, 968, 1058 ; to go sponsor for 3847.
plorer (PLŌRARE) *intr.* to weep, shed tears 349, 773 ; *tr.* to weep for 1853, 2420. *Fut.* 1 **plorrai.**
pluie (VL PLŎJA) *f.*I rain 981, 1425.
plus (PLŪS) *adv.* more 13, 2339 ; as comparative 150 ; **ne . . . plus** 1603 ; **que fereient il** ⌐ 2812, (3956).
plusor (< PLŪS) *m.*I *pl.* many 1434 ; **li —** the majority 2422 ; **tuit li —** the great majority 995.
poeir, poeir (VL PŎTĒRE) *intr.* to be able, have the power (*Eng.* can, could, *etc.*) *Ind. Ps.* 1 **pois, puis,** 2 **poez,** 3 **poet,** 4 **poems,** 5 **poez, poëz,** 6 **poent** ; *Impf.* 3 **poeit** ; *Pf.* 1 **poi,** 3 **pout.** *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **poisset, puisset,** 5 **puissiez,** 6 **poissent** ; *Impf.* 3 **pust,** 4 **pussom.** *Fut.* 1 **porai,** 3 **porat,** 4 **porom, poroms** ; *Cond.* 3 **poreit.**
Absolute (*no infin. expressed*) 615, 1037, 1584, 2228, 2520, 3049.
molt me puis merveillier I have good cause to marvel 537 ; *cf.* 1182, 2216.
poeste, poëste (POTESTA-S) *f.*I power, vigor 2926.
poestedif, poëstëif (PŎTĔSTATĪVU) *adj.* Ia powerful 460, 2133.
poestet, poëstet (PŎTESTATE) *f.*II power, force, violence 434, 477, 2609 ; **par —** in full force 3653.
poi (PAUCU) *adj. n.* a little, a few 300, 1050, 1940 ; **por —** de nearly, by a close margin 304 ; **por — que . . . ne** very nearly 2789, 3608.
poign *see* **poing.**
poignedor, *nom.* **poignedre** (PŬGNATOR) *m.*III fighter, warrior 3033, 3677, 3775.
Poillain (A-PŬLIĀNI) *m.*I *pl.* the Apulians 2923.

Poillánie, Poillaigne (POLIAN-ĬA) *f.*I the principality of the Poliani, of which Kiev was the chief city until *c.* 1150 A.D. 2328.

Poille (A-PŬLIA) *f.*I Apulia 371.

poindre (PŬNGĔRE) *tr.* to prick, use the spur 889, 1844, 2841.

poing, poign (PŬGNU) *m.*I fist, closed hand 415, 720, 1359.

poissant (VL PŎSSIENTE) *adj.* Ia powerful, mighty 2731, 3111.

poldre (PŬLVĔRE) *f.*I dust 3633.

poldros (PŬLVĔR-ŌSU) *adj.* Ia dusty 2426.

polmon (VL PŬLMŌNE) *m.*I lung 1278.

pome (PŌMA) *f.*I apple 386.

pomier (PŌM-ARIU) *m.*I apple tree 2537.

pont[1] (PONTE) *m.*I bridge 2690.

pont[2], **pon** (VL PŬNNU *for* PŬGNU) *m.*I handle of a sword, including the knob, or pommel (< PŌMU) 466, 684, 1364, 2345, 2506.

poor (PAVŌRE) *f.*I fear 828, 843, 1815 ; **aveir** — 2046, 3613.

por (PRŌ) *prep.* for.

1. in the name of : — **Deu** 82, 1177.
2. in the interest of : — **vos** 807, 3407.
3. in place of : — **vos** 295 ; as — **sire tenir** 364.
4. because of : — **mei** 1090, 1863, **corner** — **paien** 1075 (*cf.* 686, 810, 1092, 1437, 2309, 2990), — **ço que** 324, 2102, — **quei , que** 286, 1722, 3759, — **home, nul home** 924.
5. in exchange for, at the price of : — **mort** 3417, — **morir** 1048, 1096, 3041, 3812 ; even to the point of : — **ferir** 514, — **la cervele espandre** 3617 ; — **poi . . . ne** to come little short of 304, 2789.
6. for the purpose of : — **la raison conter** 68 (*cf.* 26, 41, 126, 1557, 2210, 2256), — **ço que** 1004.
7. takes the place of **par** 1241, 2153 (ML III § 457).

porc (PORCU) *m.*I pig 1751, 2591, 3223.

porchacier (PRO-CAPTIARE) *tr.* to pursue hotly ; **sei** — **de** to take great pains as to, look carefully to 2612.

poroffrir (VL PRO-ŎFFĔRĪRE) *tr.* to proffer, offer frankly 2365, 2389.

porparler (VL PRO-PARAULARE) *tr.* to discuss in detail 511 ; to arrange by discussion 3856.

porpenser (PRO-PĒNSARE) *ref.* to take careful thought 425, 1177, 3589.

porprendre (PRO-PREHENDĔRE) *tr.* to surround, occupy 805, 3332.

port (PORTU) *m.*I pass (in mountains) 583, 719, 1057 ; harbor, (1429), 2626.

porte (PORTA) *f.*I gate 2258, 2690.

porter (PORTARE) *tr.* to carry 72, 203 ; to carry away 1619 ; — **les piez** to betake oneself 260 ; to wear (a crown) 930, (a sword) 1464 ; **en** — to carry away 935, 1268 ; — **ire** to bear ill-will 1722.

prametre (PROMĬTTĔRE, *influenced by* **trametre**) *tr.* to promise 3416 ; *imps.* 1519.

Preciose (PRĔTĬŌSA) *f.*I name of Baligant's sword, also his war-cry (3146), 3298, 3471, 3564.

preẹde, pree (PRATA) *f.*I meadow 1375, 3873.

preẹder, preër (VL PRÆDARE) *tr.* to pillage, plunder ; *intr.* to prey, go plundering 385.

preier (VL PRĔCARE) *intr.* to make a prayer 451, 2176 ; *tr.* to supplicate 854, 1132, 1837.

preisier (VL PRĔTĬARE) *tr.* to praise 1559 ; to esteem, appraise 532, 1683, 2739 ; to prize 636.

preisiẹt (< **preisier**) *adj.* I*a* valued, famous ; *sb.* 1872.

premerain (PRIMAR-ANU) *adj.* I*a* first of all 122, 879, 1189.

premier (PRĪMARIU) *adj.* I first 83, 693 ; aforementioned 732 ; *n.* —**s** first in order 2656, 2842 ; **el — chief** at the very head 3018.

prendre (VL PRĒNDĔRE) *tr.* to take, take possession of, seize, capture 97, 333, 825 ; to remove 209, 1904 ; — **a** (*with infin.*) to set about, begin 2026. (*impers.* 2377) ; **sei — a** 343. *Pf.* 3 **prist**, 5 **presistes**, 6 **pristrent**; *Ps.* 5 **pernez** (= **prenez**) 2829; 6 **prenent** 2552.

pres (PRĔSSU) *adv.* near 1100, 2259 ; **en** — afterwards 357 ; — **de** 2735.

present (PRÆSENTE) *adj.* II present ; **en** — in (your) presence 308 ; **at hand** 1435, 3107 ; **metre en** — to set before 952, exhibit, make a display of 398 ; **laier en** — to give over to 785.

presenter (PRÆSENTARE) *tr.* to offer, present 388, 3851 ; *ref.* 3792.

presse (< **presser**) *f.*I dense crowd 933, 961, 1220.

prest (PRÆSTU) *adj.* I*a nom.* **prez** ready, willing 295.

preṭ (PRATU) *m.*I meadow 1334, 1778, 2448.

Priamon a Saracen, one of Marsile's messengers 65.

primes (PRĪMAS) *adv.* to begin with, at the first 589, 1924, 2845 *var.*

Primes, lo amirail de — 967.

principal (PRINCĬPALE) *adj.* II principly, magnificent 3432.

pris 3189 *see* **preisier**, *and* 199, 491, **prendre**.

prison (VL PRĒSIŌNE) *f.*II captivity 3680 ; **aveir** — be taken prisoner 1886.

proẹece, proëce (PROD-ĬTTIA) *f.*I prowess, heroism 1731 ; *pl.* 1607.

prodome (< **proṭ d'ome**, *see* **proṭ**) *nom.* **proz d'ome** 1528, *and, later*, **proz d'om -d'oem** *m.*III valiant man, sagacious man 26, 314, 3875 ; **colp de** — a valorous stroke 1288.

prophete (PROPHETA) *f.*I prophet 2255.

proṭ (PRŌDE) *adj.* I*a* brave, heroic 172, 1093 ; excellent 604 ; *sb. m.*I hero (1723); advantage, profit 221, 507, 699 ; *adv.* much, to a great extent 1277, 2098.

proveiḍre, proveire (PRESBYTĔRU) *nom.* **prestre** *m.*III priest 2956.
Provence (PROVĬNCĬA) *f.*I 2325, 3007, 3916.
pui (PŎDIU) *m.*I hill 209, 491, 1017.
puis (VL POSTEIS) *adv.* afterwards 2086, 2914; — **que** after 1095, 2665; since, because 318; *prep.* 3382.
pulcele (PŬLLICĔLLA) *f.*I maiden 821.
put (PŪTĬDU) *adj.* I*a* bad-smelling, foul; **de** — **aire** of low origin 763.

Q

qoiḍement = coiḍement (VL QUĒTA MENTE) *adv.* quietly, in a low voice 1483.
quaḍrel, carrel (QUADR-ĔLLU) *m.*I bolt, quarrel 2265.
quant[1] (QUANDO) *conj.* when 51, 142, 328; inasmuch as, seeing that 251.
quant[2] (QUANTU) *adj.* I*a* as much as; *n.* 1198; (**a**) — **que** 1175, 2298; **ne por** — nevertheless 1743, 2838. *sb.* **ne sai** —**z** I know not how many 2650, 2730.
quar *see* **car**.
quart (QUARTU) *adj.* I*a* fourth; *sb.* 3036, 3225, 3241.
quartier (< **quart**) *m.*I **escuṭ de** — a quartered shield 3867.
quasser (QUASSARE) *tr.* to break 2078, 3448.
quat, a un — (< **quatir** < VL COATTĪRE) *m.*I all in a heap 1267.
quatre (QUATTUOR) *num.* four 185, 565, 1686.

que[1] *conjunction*
1. *temporal* (QUO, QUAM, QUOD): when 197, 694, 915, 971, 1242, 2372 (**que** *not expressed* = *parataxis* 653); **ainz (einz) que** 84, 688, 2035 *and* **enceis que** before 811, 3480; **puis que** 818, 896 after; **tresque** until 162; **josque** up to 972; **tant . . . que** so long . . . that 1829.
2. *local:* **tresque** as far as 3, 1330, 1429; **entresque** 870, 3436; **desique** 1733; **d'ici que** 558, 1956; **d'ici josque** (1996); **josque** 510, 1428; **tant . . . que** 2689.
3. *quantitative:* **plus . . . que** 2339; **quantque** 1175, 2298, 3202, 3232; **tant que** 2110, (**que** *omitted* 2152, 2835); **a ço que** according to what (2330).
4. *causal* (QUOD, QUIA): because. **quel dolor que** 716, 1209, 1697, 2723, 2784, 4002; **por que** (324), 325; **por ço que** 2102; **d'iço que** 3829; **puis que** 318. **Que** = in that. *Fr.* 'en ce que' 454, 1209, 1316, 1407, 3171.
5. *concessive:* **qui que** whoever 1589, 1912; **qui que** to whomsoever 1279; **quel que** whichever 593, 2034; **por poi que . . . ne** it falls little short of 2789, 3608; **coment que** howsoever 3522.
6. *final:* **que** = so that, in order that 9, 623, 1046, 1517, 2263; **por que** (O: **quei**) 3981; **por ço que**

1004, 2102 ; **por cel** (que *wanting*) 1779.

7. *consecutive:* **que** = so that, in such a way that 549, 724, 2021, 3136, 3183 ; **que mort l'abat** 1273, 1279, 1307 ; **si . . . que** so . . . that 1631, 1993, 2293 (**que** *wanting* 834, 1526, 2199, 2604, 2908); **tel . . . que** such a one . . . that 1633, 3037 (**que** *wanting* 1909, 2781, 3212) ; **tant . . . que** so much . . . that 403, 406, 533 (**que** *wanting* 397).

8. *comparative* (QUAM) : **mielz . . . que** 516, 1091 ; **plus que, plus . . . que** 890, 1111 ; 978, (2265).
mais que provided that 234 ; **ne mais que** excepting 217, 1309, 1934. **Que** = than that 45, 59, 1091, 1701, 2336.
ne . . . que only 1352 ; unless, but that 759, 2399–2401, 2418–19, 3791.
en sor que tot above all, especially (as) 312.

9. *dependent clauses* (QUOD): **que** = that 82, 404, 769, 884, 2030; *often wanting* = *parataxis* 293, 681, 825, 1058, 1177, 1377, 1923, 2366 (*cf.* 2355), 2753, 2761, 3674, (3681). **Que** *introducing an independent wish-clause is as yet not found, cf.* 2196, 2197, 2245, 3013 ; *but an approach to it occurs* 2436 ; *cf. also* 1517.

que[2] *relative adv.* (314). *See note.*

que[3] *relative pron., see* **qui**[1].

que[4] *interrog. pron., see* **qui**[2].

quei, queiḍ (QUĬD). *See* **qui**[2].

queiṭ (VL QUĒTU) *adj.* *Ia* quiet (3555), 3797.

quel (QUALE) *adj.* II (*but fem.* **quele** 395)
1. *interrog.* which ? what ?
a. direct 146, 395.
b. indirect 15, 191, 227.
2. *exclamatory* what (a) ! 716, 1544, 1579, 1849, 3164.
3. *indef. with* **que** whichever 593, 2034.
II. *pron.* which one (*indirect*)
1. *with art.* 735, 927, 2567.
2. *without art.* 2567.

quens *see* **conte.**

quer[1] (QUARE) *conj.* for, because (356) ; *see* **car.**

quer[2], **cuer** (VL CŎRE) *m.* I heart 2356, 2965. *See also* **coer.**

querre (QUÆRĔRE) *tr.* to seek, seek out 404, 1166, 1333 ; to plan for, manage so as to get 1700 ; *Pf.* 1 **quis.**

qui[1] (QUI) *rel. pron.* who.
nom. sg. and pl. **qui, ki** 7, 18, 19, 750 ; **qu'** (*elided*) 6, 382, 1276, 1354, 1474, 2414, 2575, 2833, 3361, 3412 ; *neuter nom.* **que** 179, 731, 982, 1003, 3519 ; *acc. sg. and pl.* **que** whom, which 33, 90, 213 ; *after preps.* **qui, cui** 586, 2096, 3782 ; **cui devons aorer** 429.
qui = he who, Mod. Fr. ' celui qui ' : 391, 833, 1418, 2109, 2524, 2903, 3657. **qui** = if some one, Mod. Fr. ' si l'on ' 596, 1181, 2584.
qui *wanting* (*parataxis*) 102,

854, 958, 1442, 1803, 1873, 1924, 2254, 2294, 2798. **que** 'whom' *wanting* (2793). **que** what = Mod. Fr. 'ce que' 460; **faire que traïtre** 201, — **que fols** 1053, — **que proz** 1209, 2423. **cui** (CUJUS) whose 417.

qui[2] (QUI-S) *interrog. pron.* who? (*a*) *direct: nom. sg.* **qui** 353, 748; *acc.* **qui** whom 252; *dat.* **cui** 1405, 1806. *neuter nom.* (QUĬD) what? 1693, 3519; 2698, 2722; *obl.* **que fais tu?** 3611; 374, 3948. (*b*) *indirect: nom.* 742, 781. *n. obl.* **saveir que faire** 1982, 2123; 338. (*c*) **que, quei** (QUID) why? 603, 1185, 2961, 3956; **por quei** 1722, 2582, 2583.

quidier, quier *see* **cuidier, cuier.**

quint (QUĪNTU) *adj.* I*a* fifth. *sb.* 1687, 3226, 3242.

quinze (QUINDĔCIM) fifteen 109, 1323.

quir *see* **cuir.**

quisine *see* **cuisine.**

quisse *see* **cuisse.**

quite (< **quitier**?) *adj.* I*a* legally free (from) 1140; **clamer** — to renounce all legal title to 2748, 2787; **rendre** — to give back, with an unimpaired legal title (2832).

quiteḍéṭ, quiteéṭ (< **quite**-ATATE) *f.*II quietude, peace 907.

R

Rabel (= Breton RABILI) *m.*I a count, one of Charles' lieutenants: he is appointed to take Oliver's place 3014; he opens the battle against Baligant 3348; he slays Torleu, the Persian king 3354.

racater, rachater (Arab RAḤATARE?) *intr.* to clang in reply 1833, 3194.

rachater = **racater.**

rage (VL RABIA *for* RABIES) *f.*I madness, rage 747, 2279.

raier (< **rai** RADIU?) *intr.* to spurt, flow out 1980.

raison (RATIONE) *f.*II affair, business-matter 68; account, explanation 193, 3784; discourse, speech 875, 1231; subject of conversation = personal opinion, point of view 2863, 3325.

raler (< **re-aler**) *intr.* to go again 2065.

raliier (RE + **aliër**, *var. of* **aleier** ADLĬGARE) *tr.* to rally 1319, 3525.

rancune (*var. of* **rancure** *for* RANCŌRE) *f.*I bitterness, spitefulness 2301.

rapeler (RE-APPĔLARE) *tr.* to call back 1912.

receivre, receveir (RECĬPĔRE) *tr.* to receive 38, 770, 1178; to assure 1376; to raise up a suppliant 2825. *Ind. Ps.* 1 **receif** 1376; *Imper.* 2 3597.

recercelét (RE-CĬRCĔLL-ATU) *adj.* I*a* with curly hair, with ringlets 3161.

recerchier (RE-CĬRCARE) *tr.* to search again 2200.

recét (RECĔPTU) *m.*I stronghold 1430.

recevoir *see* **receivre**.

reclamer (RE-CLAMARE) *tr.* to call upon, invoke 8, 2044, 2998 ; to call out, confess 2014.

recoevrement (< **recovrer**) *m.*I recovery ; **sanz** — irremediably 1650.

recoillir (VL RECŎLLIG-ĪRE) *tr.* to collect for preservation 2965 ; to receive (a gift) 3210.

recomencier (RE-CŬM-ĬNĬTĬARE) *tr.* to begin again 1677, 1884, 1937, 2064.

reconoissable (< **reconoistre**) *adj.* I*a* recognizable, discernible 3124.

reconoissance (< **reconoistre**) *f.*I signal by which one is identified 3620.

reconoistre (RE-CŌGNŌSCĔRE) *tr.* to recognize 1993 ; to acknowledge oneself as vassal 2680, as being in the wrong 3588.

recovrance (RECŬPĔR-ANTIA) *f.*I recovery, restitution to life 3619.

recovrer (RECŬPĔRARE) *tr.* to obtain 344, get back 3803 ; *intr.* to attack anew 3441.

recreḍant, recreant (< **recreiḍre**) *adj.* II recreant (applied at first to those who changed their religion under pressure) 393, 2063, 3973 ; **estre** — **de** to be ready to forego 528, 906.

recreḍantise, recreantise (< **recreiḍre**) *f.*I apostasy, desertion ; **estre en** — to be a renegade 2715.

recreiḍre, recreire (RE-CRĒDĔRE) *intr.* to change religions under pressure, give up, yield 871, 2088 ; *ref.* 3892 ; to set at liberty (after hostages are given) 3848, 3852.

reḍne, resne (VL RĔTĪNA) *f.*I bridle-rein 1290, 1381, 1617.

redoter (RE-ḍott-ARE) *intr.* to become old and childish, be feeble-minded 905.

redrecier (RE-DĪRĒCT-IARE) *tr.* to straighten ; **sei** — to straighten up 142, 2481, 2804.

referir (RE-FĔRĪRE) *tr.* to strike again, renew the battle 1868.

reflambeier (RE-FLAMMŬL-ĬZARE) *intr.* to shine brightly, glint 1003.

reflamber (RE-FLAMMŬL-ARE) *intr.* to reflect (the beams of the sun), glint 2317, 3616.

refreidier (RE-FRĬGĬDARE) *intr.* to cool off 2486.

regne (REGNU) *m.*I kingdom 1961, 2911, 3032.

regnéṭ (REGNĀTU) *m.*I kingdom 694, 1029, 2623.

regreter (RE + AS ġrēt -ARE) *tr.* to call on loudly by name, hail repeatedly (in distress) 1512 ; to lament for 2026, 2886 ; *impers.* 1609.

reguarder (RE-ẅard-ARE) *tr.* to look at 745, 2984 ; *intr.* to gaze 1162, 2239.

reguart (< **reguarder**) *m.*I look, glance, gaze 1641, 2802.

rei (RĒGE) *m.*I king 125, 885, 1009.

reialme (VL REGALĬMEN) *m.*I kingdom 2914, (3716).

reïne (REGĪNA) *f.*I queen 634, 2595, 3672.

Reinier (Reginhari) *m.*I René, elsewhere called **de Gennes**, father of Olivier and Alde 2208.

Reins (RĒMOS) Reims, in northern Champagne 173, 264, 2077.

relever (RE-LĔVĀRE) *tr.* to raise 3726 ; *ref.* to rise up 3575.

relique (RELIQUIA) *f.*I sacred relic (part of holy person's body, or garments) 607, 2345.

reluisir (RE-LŪCĒRE) *intr.* to shine, shine back, glint 1808, (2317), 2637.

remaneir (REMANĒRE) *intr.* to stay behind (838), be left over, remain 4, 1108, 1696 ; to come to an end 598, 3552 ; to halt 714. *Ps. sbj.* 3 **remaignet** 4 ; *fut.* 3 **remaindrat** 907 ; *Pf.* 6 **remestrent** 715 ; *p. ptcp.* **remés** 5, 101.

Rembalt (Reginbalb) *m.*I Rambaud, joint commander of the Flemings and Frisians 3073.

remembrance (RE-MĔMŎR-ANTIA) *f.*I recollection, self-possession 3614.

remembrer (RE-MEMŎRARE) *impers.* to be mindful (of) 489, 820, 1182.

remuder, remuër (RE-MŪTARE) *tr.* to move, stir, change 779.

renc, reng (hring) *m.*I circle (of spectators), row, line, rank 264, 2192.

Rencesvals (RUNCIAVALLIS) *indec.* town and mountain-pass on the road between Pampelune and St.-Jean-Pied-de-Port 892, 901, 923, 934, 2225, 2398, 2483, 2716.

rendre (VL RENDĔRE *for* CL REDDĔRE) *tr.* to give up, give back, return 589, (954), 1829, 2560 ; to cause to be, render 2198, 2733 ; to put off again 2849 ; — **bataille** to offer a firm defense 589, 3004.

reng *see* **renc.**

[renom] (< **renomer**) *m.*I fame (3684).

renomét (RE-NŎMĬN-ATU) *adj.* I*a* famous 3565.

renoveler (RE-NŎVĔLL-ARE) *tr.* to renew, revive ; to shout anew 3300.

repaidre, repaire (< **repaidrier**) *m.*I a return home 2801 ; dwelling place, residence 51, 661.

repaidrier, repairier (RE-PATRIARE) *intr.* to return, return home 289, 573, 1869 ; *ref.* 36.

repentir (RE-PŒNĬT-ĪRE) *tr.* to give up, renounce 3011 ; *ref.* be repentant 3590.

repos (< **reposer**) *m. indec.* repose, peace 600.

reproece (VL REPRŎPIU) *m.*I reproach, discredit 1076, 2263.

reprover (REPRŎBARE) *tr.* to reproach, make a matter of reproach 768, 3909.

reprovier (< **reprover**) *m.*I reproach, disgrace 1706.

requerre (REQUÆRĔRE) *tr.* to seek 374, 1445 ; to attack, offer battle to 1782, 3528, 3886.

resailir (RE-SALĪRE) *intr.* to leap up again 2085.

resembler (RE-SĬMŬLARE) *tr.* to resemble 1772, 3172, 3502.

resortir (RE-SŎRT-ĪRE) *intr.* to spring back 2341.

respondre (RESPOND-ĔRE) *intr.* to answer, make reply 22, 156, 879 ; to re-echo 1756.

respons (RESPŌNSU) *m. indec.* reply 420.

restif (< **rester** RE-STARE) *adj.* I*a* stationary, inactive ; **faire qqn** — to give a quietus to 1256.

resurrexis (Latin RESURREXISTI) thou didst resurrect 2385.

retenir (RE-TĔN-ĪRE) *tr.* to retain, take into one's service 786, 789 ; to detain as hostages 3948 ; to select 2442 ; *ref.* to hold one's ground 1176 ; — **lo champ** to sustain the combat 1260.

retorner (RE-TORNARE) *tr.* to turn about, reverse 1052, 1060 ; *intr.* to return 1072, 1704, 1912.

retraire (VL RE-TRAGĔRE) *tr.* to report, repeat, recount 1701.

reveḍeir, reveeir (RE-VĬDĒRE) *tr.* to see again 1402, 1421, 3802.

reveler (REBELLARE) *intr.* to rebel 2921.

revenir (RE-VĔNĪRE) *intr.* to return 2439 ; recover from 2036, 2233

revont *see* **aler**.

Richart (Rikhard) **lo Vieil** Richard, Duke of Normandy, one of Charles' barons 171 ; he commands the fifth division of Charles' army 3050 ; he is slain by Baligant 3470.

riche (rihhi) *adj.* I*a* rich and powerful 422, 527, 718.

riḍant, riant (RĪD-ANTE) *adj.* II laughing 1159.

riḍre, rire (RĪD-ĔRE) *intr.* to laugh 302, 619, 628 ; **sei — de** to laugh at 303.

rieḍre-, riereguarde (RĔTRO-warda) *f.*I rear-guard 574, 613, 742.

rieḍreguarder (< **rieḍreguarde**) *tr.* to guard the rear 2774.

rimor (RŪMŌRE ?) *f.*II confused sound of voices, clamor 817.

rive (RĪPA) *f.*I shore, bank (685), 2799.

roche (VL RŎCCA) *f.*I rock, boulder 815, 1622 ; cliff 3125.

roḍéṭ, roëṭ (RŎT-ATU) *adj.* I*a* ornamented with circular figures, with rose-work 3151, 3569.

Roḍlant, Rollant (Hruodland) *m.*I Roland, French Count and Marquis, nephew of Charlemagne, one of the Twelve Peers, companion-in-arms of Oliver ; he witnesses the arrival of Blancandrin 104 ; assists at the King's Council 175 ; advises the rejection of Marsile's offers 194–213 ; nominates Ganelon as ambassador to Marsile 277 ; high words between him and Ganelon 287–307 ; his death plotted by Ganelon 381–404, 473–83, 557–58, 575–616 ; mentioned as the chief enemy of the Spanish Saracens 623, 630, 657 ; his former destruction of the city of Gelne 663–64 ; he encamps on the return to France 707–08 ; symbolized as Charles' right arm 597, 727 ; is nominated by Ganelon to command the rear-guard 743–60 ; his wrath against Ganelon 761–65 ; accepts the appointment 766–802 ; despatches Gautier du Hum to occupy the heights 803–13 ; the Saracen prince

Aëlroth asks for the first blow at Roland 866 ; King Corsablis boasts he will check Roland 893 ; similar boasts of other Saracens 902, 914, 923, 935, 947, 963, 986 ; disagrees with Oliver as to asking help from Charles 1006–1123 ; suspects Ganelon of treason 1145–51 ; his portrait 1152–68 ; he slays Aëlroth 1196–1212, Chernuble, and others 1325–44 ; chaffs Oliver upon not using his sword 1360–67 ; commends Oliver for his skill in despatching Justin 1376–77, and praises others 1395 ; grief of Nature, presaging his death 1423–37 ; he appeals to Oliver's pride 1456–66 ; the French shout his name 1512 ; suggests to Oliver that he avenge Engelier 1545–57, and commends Oliver's exploit 1558–60 ; avenges the death of Duke Sanson 1580–92 ; slays Grandónie 1629–52 ; goes to the aid of Turpin 1671–77 ; regrets his former attitude and proposes to recall Charles 1691–1714 ; his quarrel with Oliver 1715–52 ; his miraculous triple blast on the oliphant 1753–95 ; weeps at the slaughter of the French but returns to the fight 1851–85 ; perceives that the French are doomed 1922, 1936 ; faints on his horse 1988, and is struck by Oliver 1995 ; " regrets " Oliver 2022–30 ; Gautier du Hum comes to him for aid 2044 ; his desperate struggles 2056–2104 ; surrounded and at bay, his horse is killed 2163 ; binds Turpin's wounds 2169 ; brings in the bodies of the Peers 2176–2205 ; second lament for Oliver 2207–14; faints again and, later, a third time 2220–70 ; slays a skulking Saracen 2274–96 ; is anxious as to the fate of *Durendal*, whose conquests he reviews 2297–2354 ; his death 2355–96 ; Charles searches for his body 2859 ff. ; Charles' lament for Roland 2887–2944 ; his body prepared for transport 2962–69 ; he is buried at Blaye 3689 ; Ganelon accuses Roland's memory of cupidity 3758, of envy 3771, and of attempting to compass his death 3772.

Romain[1] (ROMĀNI) *m.*I *pl.* the people of Romagna 2923.

Romain[2] (ROMĀNU) the church of St. Romain, at Blaye 3693.

" **Romaine** " (RŌMĀNA) *f.*I former name of the oriflamme 3094.

Românie (ROMANĬA) *f.*I Romagna, province, formerly the exarchate of Ravenna, in Italy 2326.

Rome (RŌMA) *f.*I Rome ; **l'avoir de** — 639 ; **saint Pierre de** — 921 ; **l'apóstele de** — the Pope 2998.

rompre (RŬMPĔRE) *tr.* to break apart 1265, 1764, 1786 ; *p. ptcp.* **rot** (2102).

roncin (RŬNCĪNU ?) *m.*I packhorse 758.

roseḍe, rosée (RŌS-ATA) *f.*I dew 981.

Rosne (RHŎDĂNU) *m.*I the river Rhône 1626.

Rossillon (RŬSCINIŌNE) 1896 probably a castle near Châtillon-sur-Seine, Côte-d'Or; (*see note*).

[rot] (RŬPTU) 2102; *see* **rompre.**

rover (VL RŌGUARE *for* RŌGARE ?) *tr.* to beg, urge 1792; *Ind. Ps.* 3 **roeveṭ.**

[rubeste] (RŌBŬSTU ?) *adj.* I*a* cruel, harsh (1862).

rue (RŪGA) *f.*I street 2691.

S

sa *and* **soe** (SŬA) *fem. poss. adj.* his, her.

(*a*) *atonic: sg.* **sa**, *pl.* **ses.**

(*b*) *tonic: sg.* **soe** 3123. *As pred. nom.* 917, 932, 1527: *with* **la** 403, 2232.

sabelin (Russian sobolj-ĪNU) *adj.* I*a* of fur of the sable marten, trimmed with sable 462.

safréṭ (< **safre** SAPPHĪR) *adj.* I*a* blue-bordered 3141; **osberc** — blue-bordered hauberk 1032, 2499, *cf.* 1372.

sage (LL SAPIU) *adj.* I*a* wise, prudent 648, 1093, 3691; *sb.* 229; *cf.* **sávie.**

saignier (SANGUĬNARE) *intr.* to bleed 1991.

saillir (SALĪRE) *intr.* to leap, leap forth 2469, 1763, 3917.

saint (SANCTU) *adj.* I*a* sacred, holy 1522, 1856, 2197; *sb.* saint (1089).

saintisme (SANCTĬSSĬMU) *adj.* I*a* most sacred 2344.

saisir (ʃaʒi-ĪRE) *tr.* to seize 721, 972; **estre saisiṭ de** to be seized of, have taken legal possession of 3213.

Saisnes (SAXŎNES) *m.*I *pl.* the Saxons: will rebel against Charlemagne 2921; are among the judges at Ganelon's trial 3700, 3793.

Saisónie (SAXŎNĬA) *f.*I Saxony, conquered for Charlemagne by Roland 2330.

saive 3703, *var. of* **sávie.**

sale (ʃal-A) *f.*I chief living-room of feudal dwelling, hall 730, (3707).

salf (SALVU) *adj.* I*a* safe, trustworthy; conferring salvation, efficacious to save souls 189, 649, 1509.

Salomon, lo temple — Solomon's Temple, the sacred precincts on Mt. Moriah, Jerusalem 1567.

sals (SALSU) *adj.* I*a* salted, salty 372.

salt (SALTU) *m.*I leap 3342; **les salz** with leaps and bounds 731.

Saltperduṭ (SALTU + VL PERDŪTU) *m.*I name of Malquidant's horse 1597.

saluḍer, saluër (< **saluṭ**) *tr.* to salute, greet formally 121, 361.

saluṭ (SALŪTE, *f.*) *m.*I salutation 2710.

salvement (SALV-AMENTU) *m.*I safety, salvation 786.

salver (SALVARE) *tr.* to save 123, 428, 2713.

salvetéṭ (SALV-ATATE) *f.*II salvation 126.

Samuël, la gent: they form one of the divisions of Baligant's army 3244 (*see note*).

sanc (VL SANGUE *for* SANGUĬNE) *m.*I blood 950, 968, 1119.

sanglent, sanglant (VL SANGUILENTU) *adj.* Ia bloody 1056, 1343, 1550.

Sanson (Sanz-ONE ?) *nom.* **Sanses**, *m.*III Sanson, one of the Twelve Peers 105, 1275; killed by Valdabron 1574 ff.; his body found by Roland 2188.

sapeiḍe, sapeie (SAPP-ĒTA) *f.*I wood of pine trees 993.

sarcou (VL SARQUAGU) *m.*I stone coffin 2966, 3692.

[sardaigne; sardónie *in* O] *probably* sard; *see note, v.* 2312.

Sarragoce (CÆSAR-AUGUSTA) the city of Saragossa, on the Ebro, in Aragon 6, 10, 211, 245, 253, 299, 310, 406, 476, 852, 1407, 1526, 2462, 2570, 2598, 2617, 2645, 2673, 2818, 2833; the Keys of — 654, 677, 2752, 2762, 2768; is captured by Charlemagne 3633–78.

Sarragozeis (< **Saragoce**) *adj.* Ia made at Saragossa 996.

Sarrazineis (SARACĒN-ĬSCU) *adj.* Ia of Saracen make 994.

Sarrazin (SARACĒNU) *adj.* Ia Saracen (= Arab, Moslem) 367; *sb.* 147, 932, 2706.

Sathanas (SATANAS) *indec.* Satan 1268.

saveir (VL SAPĒRE) *intr.* to know, know how 310, 530, 716; to know the meaning of 1436; *sb. m.*I wisdom 234, 3509; *pl.* 74. *Ind. Ps.* 1 **sai**, 3 **set**, 4 **savom**, 5 **savez**, 6 **sevent**. *Pf.* 3 **sout**. *Fut.* 2 **savras**. *Impr.* 5 **savez** 784.

sâvie, saive (SAPĬDU?) *adj.* Ia wise 20, 3174, 3703.

sceptre (SCĒPTRU) *m.*II scepter 2585.

Sclavers = Esclavers = Esclavons Slavs 3245 (*read* **Esclers** ? *see note*).

se[1], *before vowel* **seḍ** (SĬ) if 74; **se . . . non** if not, unless, except 221, 3681.

se[2], **sei** (SĒ) *ref. pron.* himself, herself; themselves. **Se** *enclitic after* **ne** 95, 2517, 3011 (*not enclitic* 915, 1345, 1924, 2021); *after* **qui** 1565, 3854, *after* **que** 3183; *not enclitic after* **si** 1404, 2850, 2861.

[Sebílie] Sibílie (HISPALIA) *f.*I the city of Sevilla, in Andalucia (200), 955.

Sebre (Catalan **s'Ebro** < IBERU) *m.* the river Ebro 2465, 2642, 2728, 2798.

seḍant, seant (< **seḍeir**) *adj.* II **bien** — well-sitting (a horse) 3115; **en** — in a sitting posture 2829.

seḍeir, seeir (SĔDĒRE) *intr.* to sit, sit down 251; — **en** to sit upon 1379, 1488; to possess a seat 1523.

seḍme (SĔPTĬMU) *adj.* Ia seventh; *sb.* 3061, 3228, 3244.

seiel (SĬGĬLLU) *m.*I seal 486.

seieler (< **seiel**) *tr.* to seal 2613.

seiḗṭ (SĒT-ATU) *adj.* Ia covered with bristles 3223.

seignier (SĬGNARE) *tr.* to make the sign of the cross over (upon) 340, 1141, 2957.

seignor (SENIŌRE) *nom.* **sire** (< *SĔJOR *for* SĔNIOR) *m.*III feudal

overlord, lord, master 26, 297, 1010; **nostre Sire** our Lord (Jesus Christ) 2504.

seignoril (SĔNIŌR-ĪLE) *adj.* II belonging to an overlord or king 151.

seinz 3578, 3914 *var. of* **senz** without.

seir (SĒRŪ) *m.*I evening 3412; **her** — yesterday evening 2745; **l'altre** — day before yesterday 3412.

seisante (SEXAGINTA) *num.* sixty 1689, 1849, 2111.

sele (SĔLLA) *f.*I saddle 91, 1295, 2485.

selve (SĪLVA) *f.*I forest 3293.

semblant (< **sembler**) *m.*I appearance 270; opinion, point of view 1514.

sembler (SĪMŬLĀRE) *intr.* to seem; *imps.* 1050, 1484, 3511.

sempres (SEMPER-S) *adv.* continuously 1055, 3598; immediately, at once 49, 2053, 2954, 3836.

senefiance (SĪGNĪFĪC-ANTIA) *f.*I symbolic meaning 2531.

senefïer (SIGNIFICARE) *intr.* to mean, symbolize 73.

senestre (SĪNĪSTRU) *adj.* **Ib** left-handed, the left 2830, 3143.

sens (SENSU) *m. indec.* sense, senses 305; **par** — with common sense 1724.

sentier (SEMITARIU) *m.*I pathway 2399.

sentir (SENTĪRE) *intr.* to feel, perceive 1965, 2010; *ref.* 2083.

senz, seinz (< SĪNE) *prep.* without 1775; except 2039; — **dreit** wicked 511.

les Senz *possibly* = **les Sainz** (SANCTOS) Xanten, duchy of Cleves 1428 (*see note*).

serf (SERVU) *m.*I servant 3737.

serjant (SERVI-ANTE) *m.*I servant 161, 3957, 3967.

sermon (SERMŌNE) *m.*I discourse, sermon 1126, 2243, 3270.

serpent (SERPENTE) *f.*II snake 2543.

servir (SĔRVĪRE) *tr.* to serve 8, 863, 922, 1858; *intr.* to be a servant to 3801, 3810.

servïsie (SERVĬTIU) *m.*I feudal duty, feudal service 1406, 1727, 3072; commission 29; church services 3666.

set (SĔPTEM) seven 2, 31, 811.

seür, soür (SECŪRU) *adj.* Ia secure, safe 241, 549, 562; **estre a — de** to be sure of, certain as to (604).

seürement, soürement (SECŪRA MENTE) *adv.* in safety 790.

Séverin (SEVERĪNU) *m.*I Saint Seurin, patron of a collegiate church at Bordeaux 3685.

sevrer (VL SĒPĔRARE) *tr.* to sever, cleave 1371, 2781.

[sez] (SATIS) *adv.* **estre — a qqn** to have one's fill, have a surfeit (1966); **aveir — que faire** to have enough (more than enough) to do (2123).

si (SĪC) *conj. and adv.*

I. *conj.* and, and then.

1. *copulative:* **venez si recevez** 320, **montent si chevalchent** 1001, **iras . . . si socorras** 3996; *often* **Et si** 174, 2235, *and* **Puis si** 602, 855,

3801 ; **jo si nen ai** moreover, I am without 2744.

2. *consecutive:* **irai si'n vois veḍeir** 270, **juraṭ si s'est forsfaiz** 608, **sonez si l'oḍraṭ** 1052 ; *cf.* 878, 953, 1744, 2226.

3. *causal* (*Fr.* donc) : **si'n apelaṭ** 63, 1020 ; **si'n aṭ iror** 1224, **si est cheḍeiz** 2231, **si tendraṭ mon reialme** 3716 ; *cf.* 1080, 3817.

4. *adversative* and yet **si as jugieṭ** 288, **anceis ne'l vit si'l conuṭ** 1639.

5. *in a subordinate clause:* **ainz que . . . si's acoilliṭ** 689, **ki voelt . . . si's prit** then, in that case 3272 ; *cf.* **Puis si** 3801.

II. *adv.* so, so much, thus.

1. *absolute* (*Fr.* ainsi) : **ne vos dementez si** 3824, **si ferom** 2441, **si se vait escriḍant** 2843 ; *cf.* **issi** 61.

2. *with adj.:* **si bones (nosches)** 640, **si mal** 727, **si vaillant** 1168, **si fieble** 2228, **si penose est ma viḍe !** 4000 ; **altresi blanc** just as white 3319 ; *cf.* **issi est neir** 1474.

3. *with advv.:* **si loing** 250, **si longement** 1858 ; *cf.* **si mare** 2146, 2304.

4. *parataxis* (**que** *unexpressed*) : **si est bleciez . . .** 1848, **si s'esbaldissent Franc . . .** 1524 ; *cf.* 2604, 3844, 3916.

5. **si com (si come** 3153) just as, like as : **issi com sont** 2435 ; **si com il poet** as best he can 2203 ; *cf.* 667, 3646, 3833 ; **si com . . . si** 1874–75 ; **altresi com** precisely like 1827 ; **issi seit com** 606.

Sibílie *see* **Sebílie**; probably Sevilla 955.

siecle (SÆCŬLU) *m.*I this world 1435.

siege[1] (< **siegier** *SĔDĬCARE) *m.*I seat 435, 1135.

siege[2] (VL *AB-SĔDĬU *for* OBSĬDIUM) *m.*I siege 71, 212.

sieṭ (< **seḍeir**) *m.*I seat, see ; capital (of the Empire) 478, 3706.

sigler (ſiglα-ARE) *intr.* to sail (in a ship) 688, 2631.

Siglorel a Saracen enchanter, slain by Turpin 1390 ff.

signacle (SĪGN-ACŬLU) *m.*I the sign of the cross 2848.

Silvestre, saint — Pope Silvester I (†335) 3746.

sinagoge (*συναγωγή*) *probably f.*I synagogue 3662.

sire *see* **seignor.**

siste (SĔXTU) *adj.* Ia sixth 3052 ; *sb.* 3227, 3243.

siure (SĔQUĔRE) *tr.* to follow 84, 37, 3215. *Ind. Ps.* 3 **siut**, *Fut.* 1 **siurai.** *Ps. ptcp.* **siuant, siwant.**

soavet (SUAV-ĬTTU) *adv.* gently 394[2]

[socorence], -ance (< **socorre**) *f.*I succor, rescue (1405).

socorre (SŬCCŬRRĔRE) *tr.* to come to the assistance of, bring reinforcements (to) 1061, 2786, 3378 ; *intr.* 2617.

socors (VL SŬCCŬRSU) *m. indec.* help, assistance, rescue 2562.

soe *poss. adj., see* **sa.**

soëf (SŬAVE) *adj.* II *n.* softly 1999 ; gently, carefully 1165, 2175.

soen *poss. adj. and pron., see* **son.**

soer, suer (SŎROR) *f.*II sister 312 ; *as a form of address* 3713. *See also* **soror,** *f.*III.

soffraite, sofraite (SUFFRACTA) *f.*I lack, want 939, 2257 ; *pl.* privations 60, 2925.

soffrir (VL SŬFFERĪRE) *tr.* to suffer, endure (harm, evil, etc.) 1010, 1117 ; to endure, tolerate (a person) 456, 1774 ; to stand up against the attack of 1658 (1666).

soign (< **soignier** ſunnea-ARE) *m.*I care ; **n'aveir — de** to despise, disdain 3250.

sojorn (< **sojorner** VL SŬBDIŬRNARE) *m.*I temporary stay, sojourn 3696.

sol (SŌLU) *adj.* I*a* sole, single, alone 22, 359, 1780 ; *n.* alone 1034, 1934, 1951.

soldeier (SŎLĬD-ĬDIARIU) *m.*I hired soldier, mercenary 34, 133.

soleil (SOL-ĬCLU) *m.*I sun 157, 980, 1808.

soleir (SŎLĒRE) *intr.* to be accustomed (to). *Ps.* 3 **soelt** 352, 2001, 2452 ; *impf.* 1 **soleie** 2049.

som (SŬMMU) *m.*I, **en —** on top, at the end 708, 1157, 2632 ; **par —** on top (of) 714, 3922.

someier (VL SAGM-ĬZARE) *intr.* to bear a load 978.

somier (VL SAGM-ARIU) *m.*I packhorse 481, 701, 758.

somondre (SŬBMŎN-ĔRE) *tr.* to summon, call upon 251, 3994.

son *and* **soen, suen** (SŬŬM) *masc. poss. adj.* his, her.

(*a*) *atonic: sg. nom.* **sis** (also **ses** in O), *obl.* **son** ; *pl. nom.* **si,** *obl.* **ses.**

(*b*) *tonic:* **soen** *adj.* I*a* ; *with* **un** 941, 3149 ; *with* **lo** 82, 389. *As pron.* 806, 1691.

soner (SŎNARE) *tr.* to sound, blow 1004, 1051, 1171 ; — **mot** to utter a word 411, 1027.

songier (SOMNĬARE) *tr.*, to dream 719, 725.

sor[1] (ſaur) *adj.* I*a* sorrel (reddish brown) colored 1943.

sor[2] *see* **sore** (< SŬPER).

Sorbres (SORĂBOS) *m. pl.* the Sorbs, a Slavonic people 3226.

sordre (SŬRGĔRE) *intr.* to rise up 1448, 2975.

sore, sor (SŬPER *and* SŬPRA) *prep.* over, above, upon 12, 754, 2018, 3962. *cf.* **desor, desore.**

Sorel (ſaur-ĔLLU) *m.*I Sorrel, name of Gerin's horse 1379.

Sorence, le castel de — Pinabel's toponymic, possibly Sarance near Oloron 3783 (*see note*), 3915.

[sorfaire] (SŬPER-FACĔRE) *intr.* to go to excess, be overweening (3758).

soror (SORŌRE) *nom.* **soer, suer** *f.*III sister 312, 1720, 3713.
sorvivre (SŬPERVĪVĔRE) *intr.* to outlive, survive 2616; *Pf.* 3 **sorvesquiẹt.**
sorz (SORTES) *pl. indec.* practices of magic, of divination 3665.
Sorz (SRB-S ?) *m. pl.* a Slavonic people, in Baligant's army 3226.
sospirer (SŬSPĪRARE) *intr.* to sigh 2381.
sostenir (SŬBTUS-TĔN-ĪRE) *tr.* to uphold, support 1129, 2903, 3907.
soür, soürement *see* **seür, seürement.**
sovent (SŬBĬNDE) *adv.* often (738), 1426, 2364.
soz (SŬBTUS) *prep.* under, beneath 366, 830; adjacent to 2626.
sozcliner (SŬBTUS-CLĪNARE) *tr.* to bend low 3274.
sozduiant, sosduiant (< **sozduire** SŬBTUS-DŪCĔRE) *adj.* II deceptive, false, lying 942.
Suatílie the king of — sent Marsile ten white mules 90 (*see note*).
Sulian (SȳRIĀNU) *m.*I a Syrian Arab, chief of Baligant's messengers to Charles 3131, 3191; *cf.* 2976.
sus (VL SŪSU *for* SURSUM) *adv.* up, upwards 2085, 2708; **la** — up there 2634.

T

ta *and* **toe** (TŬA) *fem. poss. adj.* thy.
(*a*) *atonic:* [*sg.* **ta**, *pl.* **tes**].
(*b*) *tonic: sg.* **la toe** 1668, 3107; *pl.* **les toes** 2369.
tables (TABŬLAS) *f.*I a game like tric-trac, or backgammon 111.
tabor (Persian TABIR ?) *m.*I drum 852, 3137.
Tachebrun "Brownspot," name of Ganelon's horse 347.
taillier (VL TALIARE) *tr.* to cut 1339.
taisir (TACĒRE) *intr.* to be silent 1026; *ref.* 217, 259.
talant *see* **talent.**
talent, talant (TALENTU) *m.*I wish, desire 400, 1088, 3628; **aveir en** — to feel a desire 521; **aveir** — **de** (**que**) to have a desire to 1255, 3133; 3476, 3681.
tant (TANTU) *adj.* I*a* so much, so many 349, 525, 3376; *n.* as much as 76; — **de** so much (many) of 132, (1035); — **com** as long as 544; — **que** as many as 2110.
[**tarder**] (TARDARE) *intr.* to delay, be long in coming; — **a qqn,** *imps.* (1634).
targe (Norse targa) *f.*I shield (round or square) 3361, 3569.
targier (TARDE-ARE) *intr.* to hang back, delay, linger 338, 659, 2451; *ref.* 1345, 1415, 2805, 3366.
tart (TARDE) *adv.* late 2483.
teche (tiffa ?) *f.*I spot, mark, trait (of character) 1472.
Teḍbalt (Teodbalb) *m.*I Thibaut of Reims, a French baron 173, 2433, 2970, 3058.
teindre (TĬNGĔRE) *tr.* to dye 985.
teint (TĬNCTU) *adj.* I*a* (of the skin) bloodless, wan 1979.

tel, itel (TALE) *adj.* II such, of such a kind 19, 304, 529 ; — **ore** (*with* **ne**) at no time 3212 ; *sb.* such a one 1633 ; — **qui** 19 (**dont** 1609).

tempeste (VL TEMPESTA) *f.*I storm 689.

[**tempier**] (TEMP-ARIU) *m.*I storm, tempest (2534).

temple[1] (TEMPLU) *m.*I temple (edifice) 1567.

temple[2] (TEMPŎRA) *m.*I temple (side of forehead) 1764, 1786, 2102.

Tencendor name of Charlemagne's horse 2993, 3342, 3622.

tencier (TENT-IARE) *intr.* to quarrel with 2581.

tendre[1] (TĔNĔRU) *adj.* I*b* tender, soft 317.

tendre[2] (TENDĔRE) *tr.* to outstretch, extend 137, 331 ; to bend (a bow) 780 ; — **de** (*infin.*) strain hard to 2165.

tendror (TĔNĔR-ŌRE) *f.*II pity 842, 1446, 2217.

tenebres (TĔNĔBRAS) *f.*I *pl.* darkness, gloom 1431.

tenebros (TENEBRŌSU) *adj.* I*a* full of shadow, dark 814, 1830, 2896.

tenir (TĔN-ĪRE) *tr.* to hold, take, keep ; to rule as seigneur 116, 755 ; to hold as retainer 3716 ; to lead, manage, guide 2212 ; to keep the observances of 687, 2256 ; — **qqn por** (*with nom.*?) 364, 2294 ; **sei — a** to hold to, keep to 229, 569 ; **sei — contre** to hold out against 3183 ; **tenez !** here, take ! 387, 654. *Fut.* 3 **tendraṭ**. *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **tiengeṭ**.

tens (TĔMPUS) *m. indec.* time, life-time, life 523, 1419, 1603 ; **a** — in time 1841 ; **toz** — always, at all times 1858, 2244 ; **lonc** — 2310.

tenser (LL TENSARE) *tr.* to defend, support 354, 1864, 3168.

terdre (TĔRGĔRE) *tr.* to wipe 3940.

tere, terre (TĔRRA) *f.*I land, region 35, 199 ; (**la**) — **maior** the empire of Charlemagne 600, 818, 952, 1532, 1667, 1784 ; **en** (*or* **a**) — on earth 1674, 2449 ; **contre** — on the ground 2932.

terme (TERMĬNU) *m.*I end of a period, appointed day 54.

[**termínie**] (TERMINIU) *m.*I ; **en cel** — during this period, while this was proceeding (2283).

terremoete (VL TERRÆ MŎVĪTA) *f.*I earthquake 1427.

tertre (< ?) *m.*I hill (flat-topped and detached) 708, 2267, 3065.

Tervagant (< ?) *m.*I one of the three gods of the Saracens 611, 2468, 2589, 2696, 2712, 3267, 3491 ; his statue 2589 ; his standard 3267.

teste (TĔSTA) *f.*I skull, head 935, 1586, 1904.

Tiedeis, Tiëis (Thiudiſk-s) *adj.* I*a*. Low German ; *sb. pl.* 3795.

Tiedri, Tierri (Theodrik) *m.*I.

(1) Terry, Duke of Argonne, commands the Lorrainers and Burgundians 3083. 3534.

(2) Terry, a French knight, brother of Jeffrey of Anjou and champion of Charlemagne 3806, 3818, 3843, 3850, 3871, 3892, 3896, 3899, 3924, 3934, 3939.

tierz, tierce (TĔRTIU) *adj.* Ia third 3027, 3224, 3240.

tige (TĪBĬA) *f.*I trunk (of a tree) 500.

timome (THȳMĬAMA + AMŌMU ?) *m.*I fumigating incense 2958.

Timozel a Saracen killed by Gerin and Gerier 1382.

tinel (TĪN-ALE) *m.*I beam, rafter 3153.

tinter (VL TĪNNĬTARE) *tr.* to ring (a bell) slowly ; — **mot** to let fall a word 411.

tirer (< ?) *tr.* to pull 2414, 2943, 4001.

tochant (< **tochier**) *adj.* II prodding ; **baston** — goad 861.

tochier (VL TŬCCARE) *tr.* to touch 1316.

toe *poss. adj. and pron. See* **ta.**

toldre (TOLLĔRE) *tr.* to take away, take off, wrest from 236, 1488, 2171. *Ind. Ps.* 3 **tolt,** 6 **tolent.** *Fut.* 3 **toldraṭ.** *Pf.* 3 **toliṭ.** *P. ptcp.* **toluṭ** 1962 *and* **toleit** 2490.

Tolette (TŎLĒTU) Toledo, in Castile ; **escuṭ de** — 1611.

ton (TŬŬM) *masc. poss. adj.* thy. *atonic: sg. nom.* **tis,** *obl.* **ton** ; *pl. nom.* **ti,** *obl.* [tes].

toneiḍre, toneirre (TONĬTRU) *m.*I thunder 1424 ; *pl.* 2533.

topaze (TOPAZION) *f.*I topaz 1500.

tor (TŬRRE) *f.*II tower 98, 853, 3636.

Torgis[1] (Norse Þorgils ?) **de Tortelose** a Saracen Count of Tortosa(?), city of Catalonia, on the Ebro ; one of the Saracen Twelve 916, 1282.

Torgis[2] a Saracen, killed by Oliver 1358.

Torleu a Persian (= Turkish) king in Baligant's army 3204, 3216; slain by Rabel 3352 ff.

torment (TORMENTU) *m.*I storm, tempest 1423; trial, danger 3104.

torn (< **torner**) *m.*I assault 1686.

torner (TŌRNARE) *tr.* to turn, turn away, go away 650 ; *ref.* 3644, **s'en** — 1745, 2184, 2227 ; *intr.* to return 3960 ; to turn up 2011, 2896, to turn over 3881 ; — **contreval** to throw to the ground 1264 ; — **a perdre, a perdicion** to doom to destruction 1296, 3969.

tort (TŎRTU) *m.*I wrong, injury 833, 1592 ; **a** — wrongly 469, 1899 ; **aveir** — to be in the wrong 1015, 1212 ; **reconoistre son** — 3588.

Tortelose (< DERTOSA ?) probably Tortosa, city in Catalonia, near the mouth of the Ebro 916 (*see note*), 1282.

tost (TOSTU ?) *adv.* quickly, fast 1184, 3217.

tot (VL TŌTTUS, CL TŌTUS) *m. nom. pl.* **tuit** *adj.* Ia all.

I. whole, entire (= CL TOTUS): **tote Espaigne** 869, **tot le païs** 2637 ; **tote m'ost** 2815, **tote lor lei** 3338 ; **tot son tens** 1419, **tote jorn** 1780, **tote la nuit** 2644, **tote**

l'eschine 1201 ; **tote veie** continually 2274.

with adjs.: **sanc tot cler** 1980, **os tot nuț** 3607, **teste tote falve** 1495 ; *pred.* **trestoz seit fiz** 3290 ; *cf.* 122, 879, 1189.

With pred. noun or pron.: **toz seit fel** 1924, 2062 ; *cf.* 571, 1872.

As a "heightener": **tot mal** the worst of evils 1632, **tote pais** permanent peace 391 ; **tot fol** utterly foolish thing 286 ; **tot en un fou** right in the midst of a fire 3106, **totes les rues** 2691.

With advs.: **tot veirement** 3101, **tot issi (si) tot a son talent** 400.

Adv. completely: **tot sorvesquiẽț** 2616, **tot reflambeiț** 1003.

Noun: the whole thing **ço aț tot fait Roḍlanz** 322; *cf.* 1038; **venir a tot** (*or* **atot** = **avoec**; *cf.* 1357); **del tot** 167, **ensorquetot** above all 312.

II. each and every (= CL OMNIS): **toz les altres** 823 (**li altre tuit** 2655; *cf.* 1757, 2832); **toz jorz** 1882, **toz tens** 1858, **sor tote gent** 393, **toz les doze pers** 903.

As noun: **si·s pent toz** 3953, **tuit li sont faillit** 3815; *cf.* 1147, 1833.

Trace 3042. See note to line.

traḍir, traïr (VL TRADĪRE) *tr.* to betray 1192, 1792, 3829.

traḍison, traïson (< **traḍir**) *f.*II treason, act of treachery 178, (1024), 1208.

traḍitor (TRADĬTŌRE) *nom.* **traḍitre** 201, *m.*III traitor 942.

traire (VL TRAGĔRE) *tr.* to drag 3749 ; to take out, draw (sword) 811, 1324, (horn) 2104 ; **soi** — to betake oneself 2131 ; to shoot 2265 ; to tear (one's hair) 2596, 2906 ; — **a** to take after 3177 ; — **a chief** to carry out, complete (604) ; to betray 3959, 3974 (*Ps.* 3 **traist**, *var. of* **trait**).

trametre (TRĀMĬTTĔRE) *tr.* to send 2393 ; send as a gift 90, 967. *Pf.* 3 **tramist**, 5 **tramesistes**. *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **trametteț**.

travaillier (VL TRĬPALIARE) *tr.* to torment, distress 380, 540.

travailliẽț (< **travaillier**) *adj.* I*a* battered, toil-worn 2525.

travers (VL TRAVERSU) *adv.* **en** — across 3239.

traverser (VL TRAVERS-ARE) *tr.* to cross over 2690.

[trebuchier] (TRA-**buff**-ARE) *intr.* to stumble to the ground ; *tr.* throw headlong (1971).

tref (AS **trǽf**) *m.*I tent 159, 671.

treis (TRĒS) *num.* three 2875, 3035 ; **doblẽț en** — triple-lined 995.

trenchant (< **trenchier**) *adj.* II sharp, keen-bladed 554, 867, 1301.

trenchier (< TRŬNCARE) *tr.* to cut, slice 57, 732, 3583.

trente (TRĬGINTA) *num.* thirty 1410, 2544, 3781.

tres (VL TRAS < TRANS) *adv.* very, right 1578, 1385 ; —

que up to, as far as, until 685, 1645, 2372 ; — **en mi** right in the midst of 1385.

tresaler (VL TRAS-ALLARE) *intr.* to go by, pass away 717.

treschever (TRAS-CAP-ARE) *tr.* to put an end to, despatch 3372.

tresor (THĒSAURU) *m.*I treasure ; treasure-house 602.

tresorier (THĒSAUR-ARIU) *m.*I keeper of the treasure-house 642.

trespasser (VL TRAS-PASSARE) *tr.* to go beyond, pass by 2865, 3324.

tresprendre (TRAS-PRĒNDĔRE) *tr.* to seize completely, overcome 2355.

tressaillir (TRAS-SALĪRE) *tr.* to leap across 3166.

tressuḍer, tressuër (VL TRAS-SŪDARE) *intr.* to sweat profusely; *p. ptcp.* in a sweat 2100.

trestorner (VL TRAS-TORNARE) *tr.* to turn completely over 1287, 1357, 2291.

trestot (VL TRAS-TŌTTU) *adj.* I*a* whole, complete 323, 371; quite all 291, 1085, 3970; *n.* quite, fully, entirely 790.

treüt (TRĬBŪTU) *m.*I tribute 666.

trobler (TŬRBŬLARE) *tr.* to cloud, dim 1991.

tronçon (TRŬNC-IONE) *m.*I fragment, stump 1352.

trop (< ?) *adv.* very much, very great, very 309*a*, 1100; too much 659, 1806, 1841.

trosser (THŬRS-ARE) *tr.* to load (by strapping on a pack) 130, 701, 3154.

trover (VL TRŎPARE) *tr.* to invent, find 613, 781, 1747. *Ind. Ps.* 1 **truis** 613, 893, 2676 *and* **trois** 914.

truis *see* **trover.**

Tuḍele, Tuële (TŪTĒLA) Tudela, town in Navarre, on the Ebro 200.

Turc (*v.* Der Islam IX : 99) *m.*I Turk 3240, 3284, 3518.

Turoldus (Turhold < Thorvaldr) Latinized form of **Turold, Torold,** last redactor of the Oxford *Roland* 4002.

Turpin (TYLPĪNU) *m.*I Archbishop of Reims : is present at Charlemagne's Council 170 ; offers to be ambassador to Marsile 264–73 ; joins Roland and the Twelve Peers in the rear-guard 799 ; harangues the French before the fighting 1124–41 ; he slays King Corsablis 1243 ff., the enchanter Siglorel 1390 ff., Abisme 1481–1507 ; is acclaimed by the French 1508–09 ; slays Malquidant 1605–12 ; is mortally wounded, and unhorsed 2077–82, but slays four hundred pagans 2083–94 ; with Roland, makes a last charge 2130–45 ; Roland binds up his wounds 2169–75 ; he blesses the dead Peers 2176–2221 ; attempts to bring water in the olifant 2223–32 ; his death and eulogy 2233–58 ; his burial honors 2963, 3691.

U

Uglez *m. pl. indec.* the Ugleci, a Slavic tribe 3243.

ui, oi (HŎDIE) *adv.* this day 1210, 1735, 2940 ; — **matin** 2601.

uitme, oiḍme (VL OCTĬMU) *adj.* Ia eighth 3068 ; *sb.* 3229, 3259.

un, une (ŪNUS, ŪNA) *indef. art.* a 6 ; *pron.* 240 *a*, 3955 ; l'un 403, 2069 ; **par uns aḍ uns** two at a time 2190 ; *with a noun of material:* **d'— oliphant** 609.

user (US-ARE) *tr.* to use up, wear out 523.

V

vaillant (< **valeir**) *adj.* II valuable 1168 ; (*of persons*) valiant, brave 1636, 3186 ; *sb.* 3020.

vair (VARIU) *adj.* Ia (of eyes) blue-grey, steel-blue 283 (*v.* note).

val (VALLE) *m.*I vale, valley 814, 1018, 1084 ; *f.*II (2209) ; **a —, aval** downward 2235 ; **encontre —** downstream 2472.

Valdabron a Saracen naval commander, godfather of Marsile ; he slays Sanson, but is himself slain by Roland 617, 1562.

valeḍe, valee (VALL-ATA) *f.*I valley 710, 1449.

valeir (VALĒRE) *intr.* to be strong, be worth 376, 921 ; *impers.* to avail 1840. *Ps. ptcp.* **vaillant** 1962. *Ind. Ps.* 3 **valt.** *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **vailleṭ.**

valentine is(VALENTĪNU + iſ!) *adj.* Ia of the make of Valencia, 998.

Valérie (VALĔRĬA) *f.*I the region of St. Valier, on the Rhône above Valence, and still known as La Valloire (Department of the Drôme) 1626.

Val-Foït home of the pagan Chananaeans 3239.

Val-Fonde (1) **le Castel de —** toponymic of Blancandrin 23 ; (2) region whence came a division of Baligant's army (3260).

Val-Metas a place mentioned in connection with the pagan Abisme 1502.

valor (VALŌRE) *f.*II value, worth, merit 534, 1362, 1877 ; glory 1090.

Val-Penose, cil de a pagan tribe 3256.

Val-Sevreḍe (VALLE SĒPĔRĀTA ?) *f.* one limit of the kingdom of Canabeus 3313.

Val-Tenebre (VALLE TENEBRÆ ?) the Dark Valley, in Spain 2461.

Valterne probably Valterra, on the Ebro ; one of Roland's conquests 199 ; **Escremiz de —** 931, 1291.

vantance (VANĬT-ANTIA) *f.*I boast, 911.

vanter (VL VANĬTARE) *intr.* to boast 1961 ; *ref.* 2861, 3974.

vassal (LL VASSALLUM) *m.*I vassal (holder of a fief under an overlord), hero 231, 352, 545, 1444 ; *adj.* II heroic 3839.

vassalment (< **vassal**) *adv.* heroically 1080, 3576.

vasselage (VASSALL-ATICU) *m.*I virtue proper to a good vassal, heroism, loyalty 25, 744, 898 ; heroic deed 1508, 1715 ; heroic words 3135.

veḍant, veant (< **veḍeir**) *m.*I sight ; **vostre —** with you as witness 326 ; *prep.* in full view of 2997.

veḍeir, veeir (VĬDĒRE) *tr.* to see 270, 1720, 1992. *Ind. Ps.* 1 **vei**, 2 **veiz**, 3 **veit**, 5 **veḍez**, 6 **veiḍent**. *Impf.* 3 **veḍeit**. *Pf.* 1 **vi**, 3 **vit**, 5 **veḍistes**, 6 **viḍrent**. *Fut.* 1 **verrai**, 5 **verrez** *and* **verreiz**. *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **veieṭ** 2004. *Impf.* 3 **veḍist**, 4 **veḍissom**, 5 **veḍissiez**. *P. ptcp.* **veḍuṭ**.

veḍuḍe, veüe (< **veḍeir**) *f.*I sense of sight 2012.

veiage (VĬĂTĬCU) *m.*I journey, trip 660.

veie (VĬA) *f.*I way, road 365, 405, 986 ; **tote** — all the time, continually 2274.

veier (VĬCARIU) *m.*I police lieutenant 3952.

Veillantif (< ?) *m.*I Roland's war-horse 1153, 2032, 2127, 2160, 2167.

veintre (VĬNCĔRE) *tr.* to conquer 235, 1046, 1233 ; *absol.* to win (a battle) 735, 2567, 3930. *P. ptcp.* **vencuṭ**.

veir (VĒRU) *adj.* I*a* true 2384 ; *n.* — **dire** 760, 2754 ; **par** — assuredly 87 ; **por** — as being true 520.

veirement (VĒRA MENTE) *adv.* truly, certainly 615, 784, 1427.

veirs (VĒRE-S) *adv.* truly 381.

veisdie (< **visde** VĔGĒTU) *f.*I quick-wittedness, shrewdness, cunning 675.

veltre (Celtic VERTRĂGU) *m.*I hunting dog 128, 730, (2563).

vendre (VENDĔRE) *tr.* to sell 1633 ; to betray for money 1407 ; — **chier** to cause a high price to be paid 1633, 1924.

vengier (VĬNDĬCARE) *tr.* to avenge 213, 1149, 1548, 2428.

venir (VĔNĪRE) *intr.* to come 54, 94, 1091. *Pf.* 1 **ving**, 3 **vint**, 4 **venimes**, 6 **vindrent**. *Fut.* 3 **vendraṭ**. *Sbj. Ps.* 1 **vienge**, 3 **viengeṭ** *and* **vaigneṭ** (1091). *P. ptcp.* **venuṭ**.

venjance (< **vengier**) *f.*I act of revenge, of punishment 1459, 3975.

vent (VENTU) *m.*I wind 1424, 2533.

ventaille (VENT-ALIA) *f.*I*a* flap of the hauberk which, when laced or buttoned in place, covered the chin and the front of the neck 3449.

ventele (< **venteler**) *f.*I *var. of* **ventaille** (711), (1293).

venteler (VENT-ĔLL-ARE) *intr.* to wave, flutter (in the wind) 48.

ventre (VENTRU) *m.*II abdomen 3922.

ver (VĔRRE) *m.*I wild boar 727, 732.

verai (VERU AIO ?) *adj.* I*a* true, genuine 3368.

verge (VĬRGA) *f.*I switch 3323.

vergier (VĬRĬDIARIU) *m.*I orchard, grove 11, 103, 501.

vergoigne (VĔRĔCŬNDIA) *f.*I shame 1705.

vermeil (VERMĬCŬLU) *adj.* I*a* bright red, crimson 950, 999, 2872, 386 ; gilded 1619 ; *sb.* crimson 1299, 1600.

[vermeillier] (< **vermeil**) *tr.* to dye scarlet, encrimson (3390).

verne (Celtic VERN- ?) *f.*I prow (of a ship) 2632.

vers (VĔRSUS) *prep.* opposite, towards 372, 706, 1162; against 2369; with reference to 2750.
verser (VERSARE) *intr.* to turn over 3573.
vert (VL VĬRĬDU) *adj.* I*a* green 671, 1612, 2175.
vertuḍable (< **vertuṭ**) *adj.* I*a* valiant, courageous 3424.
vertuḍos, vertuos (< **vertuṭ**) *adj.* I*a* powerful; *sb.* 1637.
vertuḍosement (< **vertuḍos**) *adv.* mightily 1644.
vertuṭ (VĬRTŪTE) *f.*II power, strength 1045, 1246, 1551; *pl.* powers 2369; miracle 2096, 2458, 2716.
vespre (VESPĔRU) *m.*I evening, vesper hour 157, 1807, 2447.
vespreḍe, vespree (VESPĔR-ATA) *f.*I evening, night-fall 1736, 3560.
vestement (VEST-AMENTU) *m.*I garment 2348; *pl.* 1664.
vestir (VĔSTĪRE) *tr.* to put on (clothing, armor) 384, 683, 1042; to invest (with a fief) 3213.
vezconte (VĬCE-CŎMĬTE) *m.*III viscount 849.
Vianeis (VIENN-ENSE) *adj.* I*a* made at Vienne (town on the Rhône, just below Lyons?) 997.
victórie (VĬCTŌRĬA) *f.*I victory 3512.
viḍe, vie (VĪTA) *f.*I life 492, 964, 1408.
[vide *or* **visde]** (VĔGĔTA?) *f.*I shrewdness, ability, skill (212).
***vieil** (VL VĔTŬLU) *adj.* I*a* old 523, 1771, 2048; **lo — the** elder, senior 797, 2189; *sb. pl.* 112.
vif (VĪVU) *adj.* I*a* alive, living 691, 746, 1309; lively, vigorous 1660.
vigor (VIGŌRE) *f.*II strength 3614; **de —** vigorously 1438; **par —** vigorously 3683.
[Vihiers] (VĪGĔRIU-S) town south of Angers (Maine-et-Loire) (2209).
vil (VĪLE) *adj.* II vile, contemptible 1240.
vile (VĪLLA) *f.*I city 3661, 3678.
viltéṭ (VĪLI-TĀTE) *f.*II degradation, disgrace 437, 904, 1064.
vin (VĪNU) *m.*I wine 2969.
vint (VĪGĬNTĪ) twenty 13, 41, 3039.
violer (VIOLARE) *tr.* to take by force 704, 1567, 2757
Virgílie (VIRGILIU) *m.*I Vergil, the Roman poet 2616.
vis (VĪSU) *m. indec.* face, visage, countenance 142, 1159, 2025; opinion 659, 3501.
visage (VĪS-ATĬCU) *m.*I face 283, 1640, 1978.
vivant (< **vivre**) *adj.* II living 562, 1074; *sb.* lifetime 323, 791, 872.
Viviën a Christian leader, who is to be rescued by Charlemagne 3996.
[Viviers] (VĪVARĬOS?) ancient town on the west bank of the Rhône, below Valence (1626).
vivre (VĪVĔRE) *intr.* to live, be alive 544, 1923, 2030.
voḍe, voe (VŌTA) *f.*I; **faire male — de** to vow the destruction of 918.

voiţ, vuit (VL vŏcĭtu) *adj.* I*a* *fem.* **voide** empty, vacant 1507, 2400.

voiz (vōce) *f. indec.* voice 2985, 3612 ; **a (grant)** — at the top of the voice, with a shout 1561, 3641, 3767 ; sound of a horn 1755, 3309.

voleir (VL vŏlēre) *intr.* to will, wish, intend, start to 308, 522, 651. *Ps. Ind.* 1 **voeil**, 3 **voelt**, 5 **volez**, 6 **voelent**. *Impf.* 3 **voleit**. *Pf.* 3 **volt**. *Ful.* 3 **voldraţ**. *Cond.* 1 **voldreie**, 6 **voldreient**. *Sbj. Ps.* 3 **voeilleţ**, 6 **voeillent**. *Impf.* 3 **volsist** 332.

volentiers (volŭntarie-s) *adv.* gladly, willingly 2254, 2672.

voler (VL vŏlŭlare) *intr.* to fly 723, 1616, 3912.

voltiz (VL vŏlticiu) *adj.* I*a* vaulted 2593, 2709, 3992.

vostre (VL vostru, vostra)
(*a*) *poss. adj.* I*b* your ; **por — amor** for love of you 2139. *masc. sg.* 696, 1101, 1983, 3499; *fem. sg.* 212, 1726, 3539.
masc. pl. nom. **vostre** 3514, *obl.* **voz** 133, 1131, 1256 ; *fem. pl. obl.* **voz** 1132, 1232, 1926.
(*b*) *poss. pron.* **les voz** 1591, *as pred. nom.* 2183, (3509).

W

wigre (AS wigar) a weapon for throwing 2075, 2155.

Willalme (Willehalm) **de Blâvie** one of Charles' knights 3938.

Y

ýdele (ĭdŏlu) *f.*I idol 2619, 3664.

ymâgene (ĭmagĭne) *f.*I image 3268, 3493, 3664.

Yvórie 1895, *see* **Ivórie.**